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1887

## HISTORY OF ISRAEL

LONDON

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.

NEW-STREET SQUARE

THE  
**HISTORY OF ISRAEL**

TO THE DEATH OF MOSES,

BY

HEINRICH EWALD,

PROFESSOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

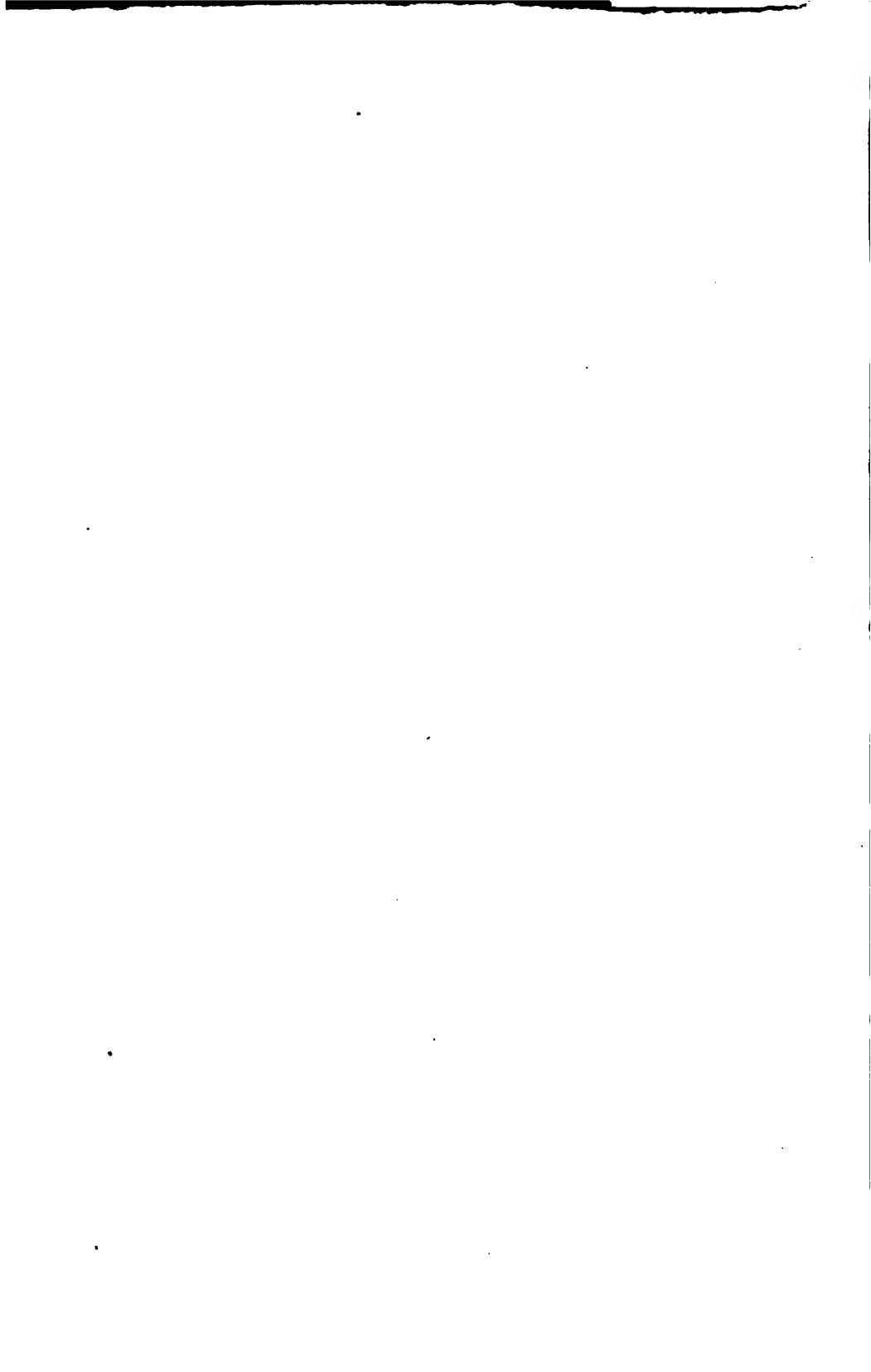
*TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.*

EDITED, WITH A PREFACE, BY

RUSSELL MARTINEAU, M.A.

PROFESSOR OF HEBREW IN MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE,  
LONDON.

LONDON:  
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.  
1867.



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## P R E F A C E.

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ON BEING ASKED to write a Preface to this Translation of a portion of Professor Ewald's 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' my first impulse was to reply that such a work needed none—that the author is known to be one of the most intellectually powerful, as well as most learned and accurate of the Hebraists and Biblical scholars of the day; that his History of Israel, his largest, and perhaps his greatest work, is acknowledged by both friends and foes to be striking, original, and ingenious; and that, being already not merely known by name, but read and studied at our Universities, it has gained a standing among us which could not be made securer by any words of mine. In the latter opinion I was confirmed by many expressions in Dean Stanley's widely-read works; especially the following:—

Thondeneon purchase

Jan. 4/

At that time Ewald was only known as one of the chief Orientalists of Germany. He had not yet proved himself to be the first Biblical scholar in Europe. But year by year he was advancing towards his grand object. To his profound knowledge of the Hebrew language he added, step by step, a knowledge of each stage of the Hebrew literature. These labours on the Prophetic and Poetic books of the ancient Scriptures culminated in his noble work on the History of the People of Israel—as powerful in its general conception as it is saturated with learning down to its minutest details. It would be presumptuous in me either to defend or to attack the critical analysis, which to most English readers savours of arbitrary dogmatism, with which he assigns special dates and authors to the manifold constituent parts of the several books of the Old Testament: and from many of his general statements I should venture to express my disagreement, were this the place to do so. But the intimate acquaintance which he exhibits with every portion of the sacred writings, combined as it is with a loving and reverential appreciation of each individual character, and of the whole spirit and purpose of the Israelitish history, has won the respect even of those who differ widely from his conclusions. How vast its silent effect has been, may be seen from the recognition of its value,

not only in its author's own country, but in France and in England also. One instance may suffice—the constant reference to his writings throughout the new 'Dictionary of the Bible,' to which I have myself so often referred with advantage, and which, more than any other single English work, is intended to represent the knowledge and meet the wants of the rising generation. (*Jewish Church*, pt. i. preface.)

and the references on almost every page to chapter and verse of Ewald's books, containing occasionally such emphatic declarations as this :—

Strange that it should have been reserved for Ewald to have first dwelt on this remarkable fact. In what follows I am indebted to him at every turn. (Pt. ii. p. 117.)

**Moreover Dean Stanley does not stand alone ; Dr. Rowland Williams speaks of Ewald**

whose faculty of divination, compounded of spiritual insight and of immense learning, I only do not praise, because praise from me would be presumption. (*Hebrew Prophets*, i. preface.)

**And Ernest Renan, tracing the history of Semitic philology, says :**

Dès lors la connaissance de l'hébreu rentra dans le domaine général de la philologie, et participa à tous les progrès de la critique par les écrits des deux Michaëlis, de Simonis, Storr, Eichhorn, Vater, Jahn, Rosenmüller, Bauer, Paulus, de Wette, Winer, et surtout par les admirables travaux de Gesenius et d'Ewald, après lesquels on pourrait croire qu'il ne reste plus rien à faire dans le champ spécial de la littérature hébraïque. (*Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, liv. i. ch. 1 end.)

**And on Ewald's merits in the elucidation of particular books, Dr. Ginsburg testifies thus of his treatment of Ecclesiastes :**

After tracing these ingenious conceits, it is cheering to come to Ewald, whose *four pages* on Coheleth, subjoined to his work on the Song of Solomon, contain more critical acumen, and a clearer view of the true design of this book, than many a bulky volume noticed in this sketch. (*Coheleth*, p. 205.)

**And Renan thus of his labours on Job :**

Il serait injuste d'oublier qu'après Schultens, c'est M. Ewald qui a le plus contribué aux progrès de l'exégèse du livre de Job. (*Livre de Job*, p. viii.)

But further consideration convinced me that a few words of introduction would not be out of place, and were in fact necessary, to indicate to the general reader the point of view from

which the book must be judged, to prevent his approaching it with false expectations, and then feeling disappointment or vexation; and desirable, for the purpose of explaining peculiarities and apologising for weaknesses and errors in the translation.

The term ‘History’ has a very wide scope—embracing (apart from significations which have become obsolete except in particular connections, such as *Natural History*) all that can be told or known respecting the Past. Its application varies according as the historian thinks this or that series of facts best worth recording. We thus have histories of kings and courts, of battles and sieges, of treaties and legislation, of civilisation and the arts. All these and many more are perfectly legitimate subjects of history, since the only point on which all are agreed seems to be that its subject must be something deserving serious inquiry: we speak of the *dignity* of history. The manner may be varied nearly as much as the matter. This is inevitable, from the various conditions under which the historian works. When recounting an event of yesterday, of which he himself and a thousand other living men were eye-witnesses, he needs only to recount the event itself in the clearest language. When recording an event of a hundred years ago, of which there are abundant contemporary accounts extant, his duty is different: he must sift these accounts, and prepare his story from the most trustworthy. When speaking of what happened a thousand years ago, the discrepancy in the notices he finds of the event may be so serious as to make it impossible to give a connected narrative at all; and his history will consist of fragmentary pieces from various chroniclers, fitted together by an avowedly conjectural combination of his own. Let the subject-matter be from an immeasurably older period, of which contemporary records are impossible, and the history will then be almost entirely an endeavour to penetrate by critical skill to the core hidden beneath the overgrowth of tradition and fanciful stories, which in prehistoric times inevitably embellish and ultimately utterly conceal the facts round which they cluster. Here the object is still the same—the knowledge of the facts of the past; and the name History therefore still properly describes a work of this character. No one would deny to the ‘Histories of Hellenic

Tribes and Cities' (the Dorians, the Minyans, &c.) of Otfried Müller, nor to the opening part of Niebuhr's 'History of Rome,' the name History. And for the same reason the present work, even in this its introductory portion, claims to be a History of Israel; although no such lucid and connected narrative will be found in it as is generally associated with that term.

It must also be borne in mind, that the nature of the History is affected not only by differences in the age described, but also by the distinctive views of the historian. Look to the older histories—for example, Mitford for Greece and Goldsmith for Rome—and you will find the earlier ages portrayed in the same vivid colours, their events succeeding each other with the same order, as the later and latest. Consult Otfried Müller and Niebuhr, and you will find this all changed—names of individuals assumed to be designations of nations, single battles transformed into long interneceine contests, days treated as ages—and as the net result, a picture grander and vaster, but dim and hazy, and wanting all the sharp lines and brilliant colouring which alone satisfies the mind craving knowledge. Yet Müller and Niebuhr are historians, equally with Mitford and Goldsmith. The same difference of treatment is found also in the ancient Hebrew history. We read the books of Genesis and Exodus, and find a narrative of events, as clear, vivid, and apparently connected as if it dealt with the ages nearest to our own; and the various modern Biblical histories which are merely abstracts of those books, of course leave much the same impression on our minds. We read Ewald, page after page, and seem to come across no clear and distinct event; and in our disappointment perhaps we say, 'This is no advance but a retreat; we knew more and better than this before.' Yet if O. Müller and Niebuhr are historians, Ewald, who has done on the field of Hebrew history what they have on that of Greek and Roman, is so also.

The difference, then, is simply one of opinion. Müller, Niebuhr, and Ewald do not *believe* the history as it had been told: they tell it as they believe. And the question is not which makes the best story, but which is the *Truth*. No one ought to need to be told that all else must be sacrificed to Truth; and that whoever, whether as writer or reader, hesitates

to sacrifice even the most cherished and beautiful stories on the altar of historic truth, or shrinks from submitting such to an impartial and rigorous examination, forfeits all claim to be regarded as historian or student of history. These modern historians have subjected their various histories to such examination, and have arrived in every case at analogous conclusions. The earliest period of the life of the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, is now called Mythical, and shrouded in mist where all appeared clear before. The same is found to be the case with all other nations whose history we have adequate means to trace. It is not pleasanter; we should not choose to live in a mist, nor wish to see the clouds gathering round and obscuring our favourite scenes; but the previous clearness being discovered to have been not the clearness of nature, but a mere daubed picture drawn by imaginative artists, we cannot keep it longer standing between ourselves and the truth.

When we have advanced thus far, we find immediate comfort and compensation for what we have sacrificed, not only in the feeling that, after all, there is no real beauty but in truth, but also in the new light in which we now see history. Mythical is not synonymous with fictitious;<sup>1</sup> the myth covers an event, or a thought, generally grander than itself. Dorus and Aeolus were not single men, but represent the whole nations of Doriens and Aeolians; Shem and Ham, the whole known populations of their respective regions, the south-west of Asia and the north of Africa. So when Ewald shows us Abraham as a ‘representative man,’ and his wanderings as those of a large tribe, and the quarrels between Jacob and Esau as great international struggles between the Hebrew and the Arabian tribes, rather than the petty strife of a few herdsmen, the history assumes a grander scale than we had any idea of before; and we look with heightened eagerness for what more it may disclose. Stories which before amused us with their prettiness now tell of the fates of empires and the development of nations; and we see why they have been preserved from an antiquity so high that the deeds of individuals have long been obliterated. The mythical system, therefore, as understood and wielded by its

<sup>1</sup> The word has indeed been used, with very questionable propriety, by Strauss and others, of stories spread in an age of history and of writing, of which the literal truth is not guaranteed, and which may turn out to be fictitious.

chief masters, is anything but destructive of history : it rather makes a history where before there was none. But it is not a key which must be used everywhere alike. Of course there is a point where history begins to be literally and not allegorically true, where persons are individual men and not nations in disguise. Even before this point some few literal facts may be found ; after it some few mythical conceptions may remain. The tact of the historian is shown in discriminating these. The mythical system must not be brought down into historical times, nor the mythical fancies of the early ages be presented with the vivid colouring of literal history. The mythical system is not a new sort of history that is everywhere to supplant the old, but a process by which a large field of mere fable is recovered to history, and made to yield its hidden stores. Its general spirit is therefore not destructive, but constructive ; through it we have more, not less history, than we had before : and this character is not vitiated by the fact that some unskilful applications of the system have been made.

These remarks will be found to have an important bearing on the present work. The portion here translated deals with the prehistoric and earliest historic age—the age of myth and fable, where the method just described may elicit some important historic facts. The reader will find many such, which will probably be new to him ; and if he is at first inclined to rebel and reject them as far-fetched and over-ingenuous, he may after longer digestion of them come to think that after all there is something in them. This is my own, and I believe many others', experience of many of Ewald's most original ideas.

I cannot forbear to remark that much injustice is done to the subject and to Ewald himself, by this translation of a mere *fragment* of his work. The history extends to the destruction of Jerusalem, and comprises the whole period of the existence of the Hebrews as a nation. Only at the Exodus did their national existence in the fullest sense commence ; and there this translation ends. It can therefore hardly be taken as a specimen of the general character of the work. The age it deals with (the prehistoric) is absolutely exceptional ; the treatment required (the mythical) is equally exceptional. However convinced we may be of the soundness of the mythical prin-

ciple for the interpretation of the primeval times, we shall never find the history of those times a very attractive study—at least until our minds are specially trained to enjoy it. The *stories* were attractive and beautiful—only we now see they could not be literally true; the *interpretation* put upon them may be true—but it wants the beauty and attractiveness which belongs to stories of individuals only. Hence most minds experience disappointment till they reach the period of literal undoubted history. But that is the very point where this translation breaks off! Of course there were good reasons which induced the Translator to act with such apparent perverseness. The question was not simply which part of the book was most attractive; but primarily which was most required. And no one will surely question that the ideas of a great scholar and original thinker on the facts concealed beneath obscure myths of the earliest age, on the gradual formation of the nation, on its sudden adoption of its new and lofty religion, and on the composition of the ancient books to which almost exclusively we are indebted for our knowledge of these things, are likely to be of higher value to us than his description of purely historical times, on which less difference of opinion is possible. Besides, Ewald's most peculiar talents appear in greatest force here—tact not only to detect the mythical but to discover its interpretation; and what is styled by Dean Stanley a ‘loving and reverential appreciation of each individual character,’ and by R. Williams his ‘faculty of divination,’ which leads to such noble conceptions as we here find of the character and history of Abraham.

The fragmentary nature of the portion translated gives to this volume a peculiar appearance as regards the arrangement. An Introduction of 250 pages is out of all proper proportion to a volume of only 650 in all. But it must be remembered that the Introduction was prefixed to a history in seven volumes; and that it discusses and discriminates not the sources of the Premosaic and Mosaic history only, but those of the whole Hebrew history down to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.

In another sense also this part of the history appeared to be most required. It had suddenly attracted universal attention in this country. After the publication of Bishop Colenso's book, every one rushed into print on the Exodus. Publications

of every size, every temper, and every amount of learning (except perhaps the highest) succeeded each other rapidly, and appeared to be read with avidity. The opinions of eminent foreign theologians were quoted on both sides; but without much effect, since quotations taken out of their context might be made to mean many things. It appeared to the Translator, who had long cherished the hope of publishing this book, that now had really come the time when it would do certain good; when it would answer many questions that were daily asked, and solve many difficulties; when the opinions of one of the chief authorities on the subject, presented entire and not in quotations only, would be studied by the many who were seeking light and not disposed to shirk the labour of finding it. The first excitement of that time has passed—an excitement roused, however, more by Bishop Colenso's position in the church, and his presumed obligation to teach one prescribed form of doctrine, than by the nature of his inductions, and his system of interpretation. But the Biblical question never can be settled to the satisfaction of men who think for themselves until it is dissociated from the Ecclesiastical question; and it is therefore well that this book should not have appeared till now, when it will come before tempers less heated, and minds more clear and collected, yet still interested. Let me add, that neither the Translator nor I expect from our readers any general or enthusiastic adoption of our author's views. No book which propounds half the new ideas which will be found here *can* receive such immediate homage from persons who think for themselves. It is a book whose influence must be silent and slow; and those only will do justice to it who study it long and quietly before venturing to express a confident opinion upon it.

A few biographical data respecting the author may be interesting to his English readers. Georg Heinrich August von Ewald was born at Göttingen, Nov. 16, 1803. Little is known of his origin, which was not illustrious; the 'personal nobility' indicated by the *von* prefixed to his surname was conferred on him in 1841 by the King of Würtemberg, but is now seldom if ever assumed. He was educated at the Gymnasium of his native town, whence he proceeded at Easter 1820 to the University of the same place. In 1823, on leaving the Uni-

versity, he took a situation as teacher at the Gymnasium of Wolfenbüttel; and in the same year gave good proof of his diligence and the depth of his Hebrew studies by the publication of his first work, ‘*Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht*’ (the Composition of Genesis critically examined)—which, though written as a warning against the overhasty assignment of that book to various writers on the ground of the various names of God—the then newly-discovered principle—is still far from obsolete. At Easter 1824, however, he returned to Göttingen on receiving, through the instrumentality of Eichhorn his former teacher, a licence to lecture at the university as tutor (*repetent*) in the faculty of Theology. Promotion followed faster than usual; for in 1827 he became Extraordinary, and in 1831 Ordinary, Professor in the Philosophical Faculty; and in 1835 specially Professor of the Oriental Languages. After Eichhorn’s death in 1827, he lectured on Old Testament Exegesis. During this period (in 1826, 1829 and 1836), he travelled to consult various Oriental manuscripts, to Berlin, Paris, and Italy; and published the following works on Oriental literature: ‘*De metris carminum Araborum libri duo*,’ Brunswick 1825; ‘*Ueber einige ältere Sanskrit-Metra*,’ Göttingen 1827; ‘*Liber Wakedi de Mesopotamiae expugnatæ historia e cod. Arab. editus*,’ Göttingen 1827; ‘*Grammatica critica linguae Arabicæ*,’ 2 vols. Leipsic 1831–33; ‘*Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Literatur*,’ Göttingen 1832. On Biblical subjects he also published: ‘*Das Hohelied Salomo’s übersetzt mit Einleitung, &c.*’ (The Song of Solomon translated, &c), Göttingen 1826; ‘*Commentarius in Apocalypsin*,’ Göttingen 1828; ‘*Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes*’ [called in the second edition ‘*Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*,’ the Poets of the Old Testament], 4 vols. Göttingen 1835–39; 2nd edition 1840–67; being a translation of Psalms, Lamentations, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Job. On Hebrew grammar he published: ‘*Kritische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache ausführlich bearbeitet*,’ Leipsic 1827; ‘*Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*,’ 2nd edition (essentially a new work), Leipsic 1835, and greatly enlarged in successive editions up to the seventh, entitled ‘*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes*,’ Göttingen 1863; and a smaller grammar for

schools, ‘Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache in vollständiger Kürze,’ Leipsic 1828, the later editions of which are known as ‘Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger.’ In 1837 he founded (with the cooperation of other Orientalists) the valuable periodical ‘Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes,’ which prepared the way for the formation in 1845 of the German Oriental Society, which publishes a ‘Zeitschrift’ four times a year. In the year 1837 trouble came upon Hanover, and specially upon the University of Göttingen, on the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne. His very first act was the arbitrary abolition of the Hanoverian ‘Staatsgrundgesetz’ or Constitution; and this encountered among the professors a spirit unfortunately not common enough in Germany. Seven of the most eminent—the two Grimms, Gervinus, Wilhelm Weber, W. E. Albrecht, Dahlmann, and Ewald—entered a solemn protest; and when that was of no avail, resigned their professorships, and left the King to enjoy the desert he had made—for the seven professors *were* the University, and when they were gone it rapidly declined, till eleven years after even a Guelph could admit his folly and invite the professors back again on honourable conditions. But the fifteen hundred students whom men now living remember to have seen there could never be recalled; and the University can even now count only its six or seven hundred. Ewald, then, left Göttingen, Dec. 12, 1837, and came to England; but in the following year he received and accepted a call to the University of Tübingen, to be Ordinary Professor of Theology. This position he held till his recall to Göttingen in 1848, which he, alone of the seven, accepted. During his residence at Tübingen (besides preparing new and enlarged editions of works already mentioned) Ewald published his translation of the Prophets, ‘Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt,’ 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1840–41, and commenced this History. The first edition of the first, second, and third volumes was published in 1843, 1845, and 1847; and a supplementary volume on Hebrew Antiquities was added, ‘Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel.’ After his return to Göttingen, and up to the present time, the following are his chief literary labours: ‘Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft,’ a journal which he established in 1849, and to which he was the chief, indeed generally the only con-

tributor; twelve volumes were published, from 1849 to 1865, after which it was given up; many valuable investigations of special subjects of Biblical history and criticism were carried on in it, and are referred to in this volume. But his chief labour of this period was expended on this history, to which the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes were added in the years 1852, 1855, 1858, and 1859; a second and enlarged edition of the first three volumes was prepared in 1851 and 1853, and a third of vols. i.-iv. in 1864-66. The fifth volume of the history, entitled 'Geschichte Christus und seiner Zeit,' is the only part of the work which has been translated into English; it was published as 'The Life of Christ by H. Ewald, translated and edited by Octavius Glover,' Cambridge 1865. Ewald was also engaged in the study of the New Testament, and published 'Die drei ersten Evangelien übersetzt und erklärt' (the First Three Gospels translated and expounded), Göttingen 1850; 'Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus übersetzt und erklärt' (the Epistles of St. Paul translated and expounded), Göttingen 1857; 'Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt' (the Johannine Writings translated and expounded), 2 vols. Göttingen 1861. Many disquisitions, some of considerable importance, chiefly on Phœnician inscriptions, on the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and on the Sybilline Books, were contributed by him to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen and to the 'Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen,' and are also to be had separately. I have omitted small pamphlets, and even larger works, whose interest is merely ephemeral—local, controversial, or political.

It remains to speak of the translation. My constant endeavour in revising it has been to make it self-consistent and uniform—which qualities it could otherwise hardly have possessed, as the principal translator has had several coadjutors. Insofar as the uniformity has not been attained, I must claim the reader's indulgence. I will here note the more important cases. The word 'Gemeinde' (גְּמִינָה) and 'בְּנֵי־בָּהּ' is, I fear, rendered now by *community*, now by *congregation*; the former appearing the more natural when political or civil, and the latter when religious union is spoken of. One term ought to have been used throughout, to show the identity between the political and the religious bond in the Theocracy; and for this purpose *com-*

munity is decidedly better, as alone possessing the necessary vagueness. *Congregation* is recommended solely by the fact of its being the term used in our Authorised Version. The terms ‘Urväter’ and ‘Erzväter’ have been merged in the one word *Patriarchs*. The former is applied to all the early progenitors of Israel, in fact to all the personages of the primeval history before Abraham, and might perhaps have been better rendered *Ancestors*, or *Fathers*; the latter is intended to be a title of great honour, and is restricted to the three immediate Fathers of Israel—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob;—these are the proper *Patriarchs* in the narrower sense. The word ‘insurrection’ has been used in the section commencing at p. 438 for the German *Erhebung*, with a consciousness that it represents that very imperfectly, inasmuch as the German term refers to the *elevation* of *aim* and *character* which generated the desire to be freed from Egyptian slavery, as much as to the political rebellion itself; but no English word suggested itself which combined the two kinds of *rising*. In the orthography of personal names Ewald, consistently with his constant spirit of dependence on the original sources alone, and carelessness about what has been spoken or written since, follows the Hebrew strictly; and it is quite intelligible that a scholar who lives his whole life among the old Hebrew books may be unable to force his lips to such barbarisms as the modern pronunciation of Isaac, Jacob, &c. But the translation will fall into the hands of persons who know the *Patriarchs* already under their modern names, and as we wish to speak to them of their old friends, we take the liberty of still calling them by the familiar names. To this there is one important exception. The Divine name, usually written Jehovah, is by Ewald written *Jahve*, and we have adopted this form. The case is a peculiar and difficult one. *Jehovah* is so manifestly and demonstrably wrong, and is a monument of such gross ignorance, that I feel the greatest repugnance in ever writing it myself, and could not for shame allow it to appear in a book of Ewald’s, whose ear would be offended by it as a musician’s by a note out of tune. If I had to print the book again I should probably adopt the abbreviation **JHVH**, which exactly represents the Hebrew vowelless spelling, and indicates the uncertainty that exists as to the vowels to be inserted; this, with a note to the reader apprising

him that it is a mere abbreviation, and that the pronunciation formerly adopted was *Jehovah*, but that the most probably correct is *Jahveh* (with *J* as *Y*, and the first *h* aspirated), would be the most satisfactory course, prejudging nothing that is doubtful, and leaving freedom to readers on a point which might touch their religious feelings. But the form *Jahve* was inadvertently admitted into some of the early sheets, and then it seemed better to carry it out consistently through the book. I append to this preface a note, which will explain the nature of the question to readers to whom Ewald's remarks on pp. 578-81 are insufficient.

The division of the Old Testament into chapters and verses sometimes differs in the Greek, Latin, and modern versions, from the original Hebrew. Ewald always quotes from the Hebrew; but for the sake of non-Hebraist readers we have in these cases of discrepancy always given the other numbers (which are those of the English Bible) in brackets: thus, Num. xvii. 3 [xvi. 38]; Ps. xl. 4 [3].

In order to render the divisions and subdivisions of the work more easily intelligible, I have prefixed a Table of Contents far more detailed than that in the original work. The titles given to the smaller sections—all, that is, which do not occur as headings in the work itself—are added by me, and must be regarded as only approximate hints of what will be found in the sections in question. The difficulty of indicating in half-a-dozen words the contents of a section, should be considered in my defence by any who find these descriptions misleading. Imperfect though they are, they appeared to me at least harmless, and more satisfactory than a mere blank.

The Translator wishes me gratefully to acknowledge assistance and counsel received from Dr. John Nicholson, of Penrith, the pupil and friend of Ewald, and translator of his Hebrew grammar. Dr. Nicholson had himself translated a considerable portion of the period comprised in this volume, and kindly handed over his work to be incorporated with the rest. It should also be noted that the translation was undertaken with the full sanction of the author.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

LONDON: Sept. 20, 1867.

## NOTE ON THE NAME יְהוָה (JAHVE, JEHOVAH).

THE Hebrew spelling of this name is JHVH. The vowels are, as a general rule, not written in Hebrew, nor in the cognate Chaldee, Syriac, or Arabic languages. The system, therefore, closely resembles modern systems of shorthand, which disregard the vowels except where they are essential to distinguish one word from another. So long as the language lived this system was sufficient; but when it became obsolete it was necessary to note the vowels as well as the consonants, if the correct pronunciation, or any approximation to it, was to be maintained. But the written letters of the sacred books had come to be regarded as so sacred that interference with them was out of the question. All that could be done was to invent dots and other small marks to be appended (generally beneath, in one instance above) the consonantal letters which precede them, thus: לֶמֶךְ *Lmch*, לֶמֶךְ *Lamech*. But the Divine name יהוה, which had from the first been treated as pre-eminently sacred, and which, as the sign of the Covenant of God with his people, ought to be reserved for use between them, and not employed in speech to the heathen nor on heathen lips, gradually so advanced in sanctity that Hebrews themselves would not utter it, but in reading the Scriptures substituted אֲדֹנָי Adonai (*the Lord*; properly *my Lord*). To facilitate this substitution, when the vowel-points above explained were appended to the text, the word יהוה was treated as if it were אֲדֹנָי, and the vowels belonging to the latter appended to it, thus; יהוה— the difference between the ו and ה of the first syllable is so slight as to be immaterial. That this substitution of אֲדֹנָי for יהוה is very ancient is proved by the fact that the Seventy render it by κύριος, which is the literal translation of the former name, and that the same word is used throughout the New Testament. But the Christians, not understanding the Jewish devices of spelling, treated יהוה as a word with its own vowels affixed, and read it JEHOVAH!<sup>1</sup> The utter barbarism of this would-be word cannot be fully appreciated by non-Hebraists, yet they may gain some faint idea of it. The termination *ah* is confined to feminine nouns, and therefore Jehovah, if the rest of the word were a possible form, would be a goddess rather than a god. But the rest of the word is *not* a possible form: the single *v* is rare between two vowels, and impossible where the preceding one is *o* or *u*. Moreover, all this proceeds on the assumption that the radical letters are יה Jhv, which is perhaps absolutely impossible, and at least has nothing to recommend it. The 'J, is a prefix, and the root is to be found in the letters יהוה; and it is formed like Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, &c.: עֵשָׂו.

<sup>1</sup> It will probably surprise those to whom this subject is new, to learn that the word Jehovah was probably first so written in Roman characters and the corresponding pronunciation suggested, though hardly sanctioned [*'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronunciari (si tamen pronuntiandum est)'*], by Petrus Columna Galatinus, in his *'Opus de arcanae catholicae veritatis'*, in 1516 A.D.

*Jitschak*, זִצְחָק, *Ja'akob*, זַקְוָב, *Joseph*, which are derived from the roots בְּרֵךְ, בְּרֵךְ, יְסֹדֶה (יסָדֶה). The prefix ' is identical with that by which the imperfect (or future) tense is formed, and has the same power, describing the persons above-cited by their permanent or frequently-recurring acts: thus Isaac, פָּרוֹשׁ, *he who laughs, the merry*. It is not a common prefix; it is chiefly used in proper names belonging to the Patriarchal age. Now our root is חָזֶה; it is therefore one of the large class of roots called חַזְקָה, or having חַזְקָה as third radical. The derivatives of these roots are formed with absolute uniformity, and take the vowel ē in their last syllable; thus we must have חַזְבֵּה, *J-h-vēh*. As to the two preceding letters, if we were right in treating it as an analogous form to בְּרֵךְ, &c., the ' must have, and the חַ be without, a vowel: thus we get חַזְבֵּה, *J-h-vēh*. The only point now left open is what vowel the first syllable has. Following the analogy of פָּרוֹשׁ, *Jitschak*, we should say חַזְבֵּה, *Jihveh*; but a guttural letter (like the חַ) at the end of a syllable almost always takes the vowel ē before it in preference to any other, as in בְּרֵךְ, *Ja'akob*; and hence it ought to be חַזְבֵּה, *Jahveh*. חַזְבֵּה, or even חַזְבֵּה, might indeed be suggested as possible forms; but as the root חָזֶה, with which this root is always assumed to be connected, always treats its חַ as a hard consonant, not as a guttural (חַ, not חַ), and חָזֶה, which generally closely follows the conjugation of חָזֶה, also makes חַזְבֵּה, חַזְבֵּה is far more probable than חַזְבֵּה or חַזְבֵּה. The imperfect (future) of the verb being חַזְבֵּה *yihyeh* (with i in the first syllable), it might perhaps be urged that the name ought to be חַזְבֵּה, *Jihveh*; but the argument is by no means cogent, since the vowel of the first syllable of the imperfect (future) is not fixed, but very variable, thus: יְחַזְקֵק, *yechəzak*, but יְחַזְלֵם, *yachələm*; יְחַזְבֵּק, *yehgeh*, but יְחַזְפֵּה, *yahəphok*. And a far stronger argument on the other side (in favour of *Ja-*) is that the name is used also in the abbreviated form חַ, *Jah*, which directs us to *Jahveh* rather than *Jihveh* as the original form. There are many other important facts that bear upon the question; it is not, however, my intention on the present occasion to write a disquisition addressed to scholars,<sup>1</sup> but only to adduce the most essential facts to show the unlearned reader that the change in the Divine name is not capricious or conjectural, but very firmly established.

If any should here be tempted to urge that according to our own showing the pronunciation *Jahveh* is not quite certain as to both its syllables, we may admit the fact, but retort that whatever be right, Jehovah is certainly wrong, since it adopts the vowels which were never intended for that word at all: it is therefore not merely wrong, but grossly ignorant. On the other hand, *Jahveh* must be either exactly or very nearly correct. I should indeed prefer, when writing it in Roman letters, to retain the final silent h (silent in Hebrew as in English), without which the word does not look like a *τετραγράμματον*, or *quadrilitterum*, as it is designated by grammarians; for so long as we

<sup>1</sup> They may refer to the article חַזְבֵּה in Gesenius's great Thesaurus, or even that in his Lexicon; to that in Gussetius's Lexicon, 1743 (who contends for חַזְבֵּה or חַזְבֵּה); to that in Fürst's Lexicon, translated by Davidson; and to Ewald's articles in the *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wissenschaft*, x. 199, 291, xi. 213.

retain it in other Hebrew proper names, as *Mizpeh*, *Manasseh*, and all the feminines in *ah*, as *Hannah*, *Leah*, there seems to be no reason why it should be dropped in this particular word. I would therefore in future write *Jahveh*; the question, however, is one of orthography only. In *Jahveism*, *Jahveist* (which latter ought to be used instead of *Jehovist*), the final *h* ought to be dropped, since the *n* is silent in Hebrew only at the end of the word, and is therefore omitted when another syllable is appended, which would bring the *n* into the middle of the word. In English also, if we wrote *Jahvehism*, there would be a strong temptation to pronounce it *Jahve-kism*, which is barbarous.

Take care, however, to pronounce as well as write the name correctly. The *j* is our *y*, as in all Biblical names. With wonderful inconsistency this is understood by all Englishmen in the one word *Hallelu-Jah*, but ignored in all other words, Jesus, Joseph, Jacob, &c. The first *h* in *Jah-veh* is to be fully aspirated, opposed though it be to the English practice to have an aspirated *h* at the end of a syllable. The final *h*, as before mentioned, is silent.

The above arguments, it will be seen, are equally cogent whatever be the ultimate derivation and meaning of the word. They simply assume that יְהָוָה comes from a root יָהַן, every letter of which it retains. I will in conclusion go one step further, and observe that יָהַן is generally regarded as a dialectic variety (an older form, though it also crops up again in the latest times, in Chaldee) of יָמַן, *to become, to be*. This etymology is distinctly given in Ex. iii. 14, where Jahveh explains his name: ‘And God said to Moses, I am he who is;’<sup>1</sup> and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the sons of Israel: *He who is has sent me to you*—he who is, i. e. the (ever) Existing, the Eternal. Many, if not most, of the etymological explanations of names in the Old Testament, are against the rules of language,<sup>2</sup> or otherwise forced and absurd;<sup>3</sup> and we are therefore not bound to accept this. Ewald himself suggests something different at p. 580, note 3. But the difference of opinion that can legitimately exist, affects the meaning to be ascribed to the root rather than the mode of formation from it. Of this at least the Biblical etymologist has a perfectly correct apprehension, and it is difficult to imagine a Hebrew misconceiving so very obvious and ordinary a formation.

As the old Jewish substitute for the sacred name has been adopted in our Bibles as *the Lord*, it is desirable to note here the injury that is done by that practice, and the importance of restoring the real

<sup>1</sup> אֶת־יְהָוָה יְהִי אֶל־אָנֹכִי, literally ‘I am he who am,’ the first person in the relative clause being occasioned by the fact that its subject, the relative pronoun, refers back to a first person pronoun, as in Ex. xx. 2; see Knobel on Exodus iii. 14. To render it quite clear that this sentence is the definition of his nature, Jahveh then quotes from it, and says (still retaining the first person in speaking of himself), יְהִי־נָתֵן (*he who is*) has sent me to you.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. that of Moses in Ex. ii. 10, as ‘drawn out of the water,’ which would require a passive form; whereas מָצָא (if it be Hebrew at all, and from the root מָשָׁא) is the active participle, and might mean *the drawer-out, deliverer* (out of Egypt).

<sup>3</sup> E. g. that of Samuel in 1 Sam. i. 20: as if לְאַשְׁר־בְּנֵי־אֲנֹכִי were לְאַשְׁר־בְּנֵי־עָדָה exauditus a Deo; those of Jacob’s sons in Gen. xxix. xxx., &c.

Name. Jahveh is a *proper name*, and as strictly the personal name of the Hebrew God, as Jupiter, Mars or Saturn of the Roman deities. This makes the *point* of all the passages where it is used at all emphatically, as especially frequently in the later Isaiah, e. g., Is. li. 13, ‘and forgettest JAHVEH thy [Israel’s] maker ;’ 15, ‘I am JAHVEH thy God’ [=Israel’s special God and protector]; xlix. 23, ‘that thou mayst know that I am JAHVEH’ [=that I who now address thee am thine own God and protector]. And in Ps. cxliv. 15, we have בָּרוּךְ יְהֹוָה, ‘Blessed is the people whose God is Jahveh,’ but the Greek and Latin versions, μακάριος ὁ λαὸς οὗ κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, Beatus populus, cuius Dominus Deus ejus, at least look as if the substitution of the title for the name had produced an entire misapprehension, since the natural rendering (at least of the Latin) would be ‘Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God,’ i. e. which is ruled theocratically, by a divine and not a human sovereign. A mere title, *Lord*, carries no individuality with it, as it might be (and was) equally applied to many other beings, Divine and human; and it must therefore entail frequent confusion. Perhaps the best instance of this is the use of κύριος in the New Testament Epistles, where it is constantly ambiguous whether God or Christ is meant. So long as we retain THE LORD in the Old Testament, we cannot fully enter into the spirit of the Jahveistic religion, which contrasts JAHVEH with the heathen gods, regarding him and them alike as actual or possible divine persons, having their distinctive personal names like men, glorying in Jahveh’s power and goodness, and scorning the weakness and folly of the heathen’s gods. Moreover, the phrase *the Lord God* leaves quite a false impression—the title and the name having changed places; for *God* is the epithet attached to the previous word, as is obvious when we restore *Jahveh the God*, or *God Jahveh*.



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## HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

### BOOK I.

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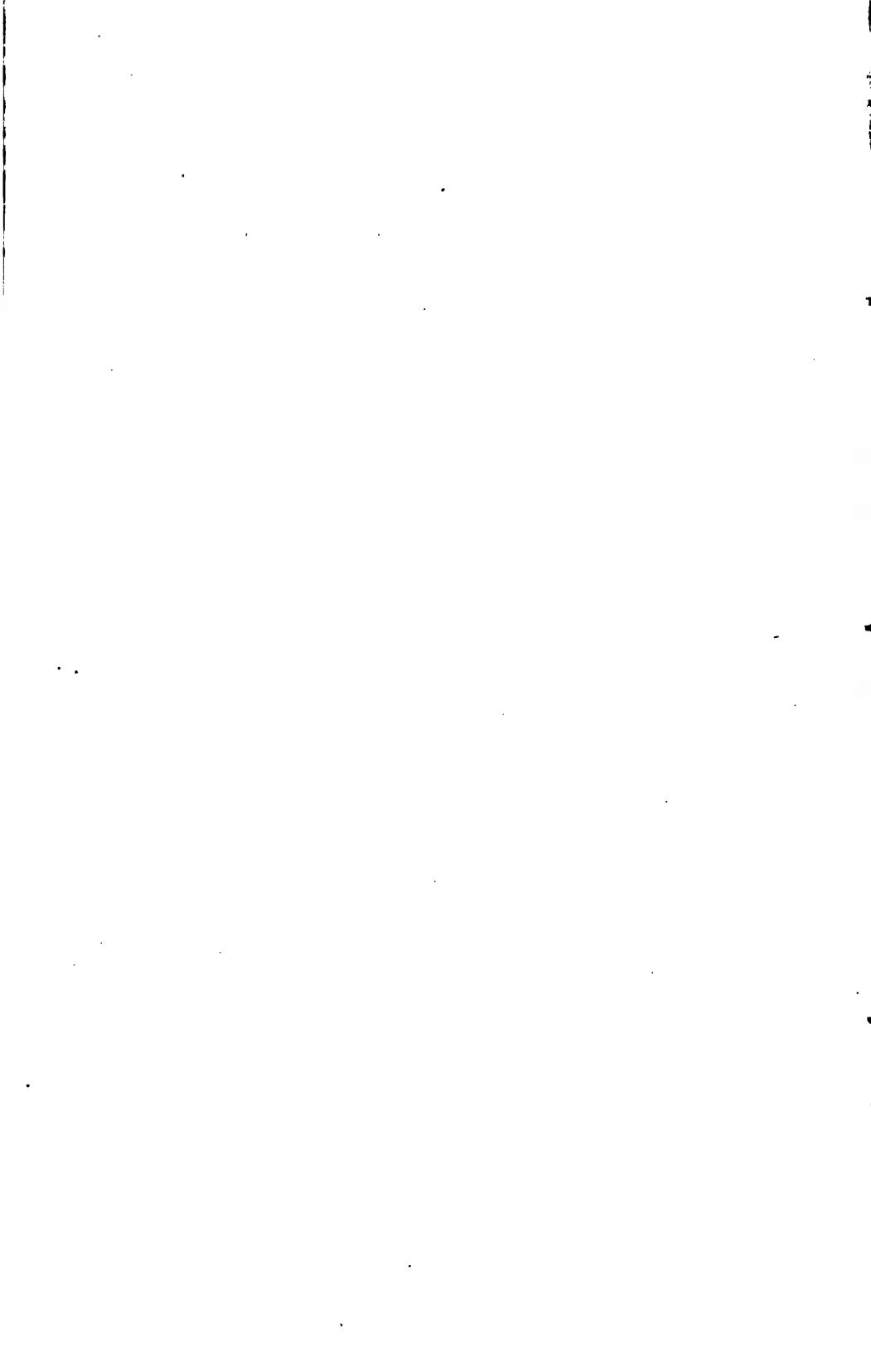
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# INTRODUCTION.

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## SECTION I.

### DESIGN OF THIS HISTORY.

THE HISTORY of the ancient people of Israel lies far behind us, as a concluded portion of human events. Its last page was written eighteen centuries ago; and no one able to read it, or even to decipher a few of its hardly legible characters, will expect from the future a new page to complete this chapter of the world's history. This is the basis of its first use for us. For those portions of universal history whose varying fortunes reach down into the conflicts of the present, are in themselves more difficult to survey and to describe correctly: and, even when described by a historian of profound insight and impartial judgment, are unwelcome to the many, whose eye is dazzled by the illusions, and whose heart is enslaved to the chances of the day. Any one who should now write the history of Hanover since the year 1830, might be doing a work which would benefit an unprejudiced posterity; but at present, though he spoke with the tongues of angels, he would speak to the winds. But even when the history is further removed as to time, the truth is less likely to find a fruitful soil, if the people or the constitution which it concerns is the same. Thus many very learned Germans are incapable of understanding even the Middle Ages, or the time of the Reformation—periods which are yet far removed from our present position and requirements. The case is entirely different with those portions of history which we not only find completely finished and irreversibly sentenced, but which do not immediately concern our country and people, or our constitution and religion. There every passion and strife is for ever hushed for us; we are no longer fellow-actors on that stage, compelled by the inevitable arrangements

of the play to represent our respective parts only: but we stand afar off as mere spectators, and tranquilly let the whole great drama pass before us, through all its perplexities and denouements, down to its final close. There the manifest results of the once varied and complicated play have long ago written down its great moral, in generally intelligible and eternal characters, which no one can refuse to study; so that, though the successful investigation of histories thus remote may cost more trouble than the writing of the history of our own time, its utility for the present may be so much the greater. For though the study of these remote histories is in the first instance only an exercise of the eye and judgment, which strengthens the better disposed, and directs others to surprising truths, which they will not see in the present; yet this silent influence will go deeper, and affect decisions and acts also—and the past, with its struggles and its lessons, will not have been in vain for us. The most evident and certain truths of history are found here in abundance, and above all dispute.

This history is, moreover, that of an original people belonging, as to the period of its prime, to remote antiquity, which, though constantly in close contact with many other peoples, followed out, with the strictest independence and the noblest effort, a peculiar problem of the human mind to its highest summit, and did not perish until it had attained it. The history of the antiquity of all nations that have in anywise raised themselves to a lofty stage of human effort, in general not only shows us the rudiments of the same mental powers and arts which still exist, more or less pursued and developed, among ourselves; but also leads us, through more perfect knowledge of their origin and formation, to a nearer view into their necessity and their eternal conditions. For it will always be instructive to discern how polity, laws, poetry, literature, and similar intellectual possessions, have developed themselves in a nation, when they spring from no idle imitation and half-repetition, but from impulses and powers inherent in the nation, and therefore with all freshness and energy. Nay, such study is indispensable, to preserve us from being overwhelmed or confused by the great wealth, or endless wilderness, of traditionary thoughts and secondhand clevernesses, with which later times are inundated, and to elevate us again to what is original, independent, and necessary. Now ancient nations are generally distinguished by a greater restriction as to space and place, by a narrow attachment to their own sanctuary and country, by a shy fear of what is strange, and a strict sepa-

ration according to religions, customs, and views:<sup>1</sup> for the rapid communication of distant lands with each other, and the frequent interchange of opinions, doctrines, and worships, date, with trivial exceptions, from the latest centuries of antiquity, which altogether display a great resemblance to what we call modern times. One consequence of this excessive self-enclosure of each nation, with its inherited possessions and its favourite views, was that each more easily adopted its own characteristic aim and activity. For as, in consequence of this very isolation, the religions and gods were infinitely various, and every energetic people conceived itself to dwell in the centre of the earth, and regarded the world only from its own point of view,<sup>2</sup> so it formed its peculiar estimate of the prizes of life, and pursued what appeared to it the highest aims in its own special way. Everything was on this account more domestic, more hearty, more limited—therefore also more varied and manifold. And as the intellectual aims, contests, and victories possible to the mind are numerous and diverse, so we see that every nation that pursued a lofty career in the open arena of such aspirations, chose one special high aim, which became the pivot of everything in it, and which, even under frequent intercourse with foreigners, was never relinquished. But because every nobler nation, to which the happiness of thus aspiring was early allotted, then devoted the whole youthful energy of its intellectual efforts to the attainment of this one aim, and pursued that sole good which was its chief end with courageous pertinacity—nay often, at first, with truly Titanic efforts—to the uttermost: therefore those wonderful results were produced—those finished works of some nations of antiquity, of which history tells, and the effects of which still endure. Thus Babylonians, Indians, Chinese, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, each under favourable circumstances, pursued one particular aim—to a height which in some respects no subsequent nations have ever again reached. And even when each nation reached its highest ascent, and its day began to decline, it was still occupied in the exclusive pursuit, as if all its energies had just sufficed to reach that one height. The problems of the human mind, moreover, which these ancient nations have severally solved with wonderful independence and consistency have borne infinite fruits for all subsequent times, and for the most different and distant peoples. This whole truth especially applies to that ancient nation whose history is to be

<sup>1</sup> Observe how Amos (vii. 17), Hosea regard sojourn in foreign countries. (See (ix. 3), and other similar prophets call Ewald's *Psalmen*, 2nd ed. pp. 183 *et seq.*) every foreign land polluted or unholy; <sup>2</sup> Compare Ezek. v. 5; the Koran, Sur. or how the poets of the seventh century ii. 137.

explained here : for the most sublime and gigantic achievements of Israel as a nation especially belong to those primitive times, which also hold in their obscurity all that the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Phoenicians attained.

The ancient people of Israel had, indeed, times in which it appeared disposed to prosecute similar aims to those pursued by other nations. Under David and Solomon it laid a firm basis for external dominion over the nations of the earth, out of which an Assyrian or a Roman Empire might perhaps have grown : in the vigour of its temporal power, it attempted to rival the Phœnicians in commerce and navigation ; and by its own energies it advanced quite as far as the Greeks before Socrates towards producing an independent science or philosophy.<sup>1</sup> But all such aims, by which other nations of antiquity became great, in this people only started up to yield at once to the pursuit of that aim which it had beheld too distinctly from the commencement of its historical consciousness, and toiled after too strenuously, ever to be able permanently to desert, and which, after every momentary cessation, it always resumed with fresh pertinacity. This aim is Perfect Religion—a good which all aspiring nations of antiquity made a commencement, and an attempt, to attain ; which some, the Indians and Persians for example, really laboured to achieve with admirable devotion of noble energies ;<sup>2</sup> but which this people alone clearly discerned from the beginning, and then pursued through all difficulties, for many centuries, with the utmost firmness and consistency, until they attained it, so far as, among men and in ancient times, it could be attained. The beginning and end of the history of this people turn on this one high aim ; and the manifold changes, and even confusions and perversities, which manifest themselves in the long course of the threads of its history, always ultimately tend to the solution of this great problem, which the human mind was to work out here. The aim was lofty enough to concentrate the highest efforts of a whole people for more than a thousand years, and to be reached at length as the prize of the noblest struggles. And as, however the mode of the pursuit might vary, it was this single object that was always pursued, till finally attained only with the political death of the nation, there is hardly any history of equal compass

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the latter, see the third volume of this work, and the Essay 'On Israel's Civil and Intellectual Liberty in the time of the Great Prophets,' in Ewald's *Jahrbuch der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1848, pp. 95 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> To prove this more at length does not fall within the province of the present work—at any rate, does not belong to its commencement. I shall, however, touch below on some part of the subject.

that possesses, in all its phases and variations, so much intrinsic unity, and is so closely bound to a single thought pertinaciously held, but always developing itself to higher purity. The history of this ancient people is, in reality, the history of the growth of true religion, rising through all stages to perfection ; pressing on through all conflicts to the highest victory, and finally revealing itself in full glory and power, in order to spread irresistibly from this centre, never again to be lost, but to become the eternal possession and blessing of all nations.

The quest of the true religion was without doubt the task of all the nations of antiquity at the commencement, no less than during the course, of their progressive civilisation. But this people is the only one which from the very first plays its part on the grand stage of national movements, simply in consequence of its daring to find its earthly existence and honour only in true religion as the rule and law of its life. And although, through the discreetness and humility of its religion, it never regarded itself as one of the oldest and mightiest nations upon earth, but always remained conscious of its historical position among far earlier and greater nations ; yet the true commencement of its importance in the world's history, compared with that of most other distinguished nations, goes back to a relatively very early period. But, even in that early age, its religion could be formed only in close contact with a very different people, possessing not only a higher antiquity and importance, but also a very early adoption of the refinements of civilisation. But since the people of the present history had received its most precious and important though scattered recollections from that early time of its origin, long before it became, through the bold conception of true religion, really a people of historical significance, this history stretches back in its first threads even to those primeval times, when, like every other human aim, religion itself was less unfolded, and heathenism had not so far degenerated, and when, in consequence, the rudiments of true religion could acquire an easier and a firmer basis. But, as is well known, this people separated at a very early period from the Egyptians, the then representatives of higher human civilisation ; and through the conception of true religion not only conquered at once a problem new in antiquity, affecting its inner life and continuous existence on the earth, but obtained a beautiful country as its home, and a voice among the nations. Still, after that, it remained in constant and close communion with the most intellectually distinguished and stirring nations of the western half of the civilised

world, and even exerted an influence upon them, and was stimulated and guided in return. And if this people—which, the longer it remained true to its religion in the midst of the nations, could not but become the more peculiar and strange—never for any long period maintained a superiority over others in arms, arts, or commerce, yet it preserved itself through all the earlier centuries in honourable independence and free progressive development, through the power of its true religion, which gained strength with age. And, finally, in that which was from the first at once the most strange and rarest thing in antiquity, it acquired sufficient strength to preserve itself when its material powers were shattered in this struggle of a thousand years, and to enter through dire national ruins, new-born with the true religion, into those last centuries of antiquity, when all the western nations came into closest contact with almost all the eastern, even the most remote. Even then, in the closing scene of all antiquity, it still maintained its place, reacting upon the world through its spiritual power, and thus gaining the only end then conceivable.

The ultimate attainment of perfect true religion was at once the highest and noblest aspiration of antiquity, and a goal in striving to reach which most lost their way far too early; others, who had descried the mark more clearly, eventually lost it altogether from their sight; and this one people alone, at the end of a two-thousand years' struggle, actually attained it. But as this mark, from the very first, was held out before the whole of antiquity as the noblest aim, apparently by clear Divine predestination, and yet was attainable only by a single path; so the history of this people, so far as it had this aim from the first, and coming gradually nearer, ultimately attained it, always seems to proceed in a straight line through the whole of antiquity, though distracted by constant contact with other and highly civilised nations. Thus this nation's history stretches from the very commencement of the scarcely discernible dawn of antiquity, shares the full noonday beam which lights up the history of a few of the most prominent ancient nations, and ceases only with the termination of the long day of ancient history, to give place to the coming of a new day of the world's history. The history of no other ancient people is therefore, with all its internal movements, so closely interwoven with the loftiest spiritual endeavours of other highly civilised nations, or so necessarily passes into universal history; or while preserving its form, internal unity, and consistency, undergoes such variety and such complete alteration of external form.

No nation has so significantly kept on its course through the three vast epochs of the past, radiating out ever, in the course of two thousand years, from the smallest and most insignificant into ever-widening circles, and closing the day of antiquity with a sunset which is itself the earnest of the upspringing of a new and still loftier life. Issuing from the same source as that of other nations near it both in position and in blood, this history, as regards its inner significance, separates itself in progress of time more and more from them, and develops itself into a peculiar form, which enables it at last to irrigate them with ever ampler and purer streams.

To describe this history, therefore, as far as it may be known in all its discoverable remains and traces, is the design of this work; and its best commendation will be, that it describes it, with the greatest fidelity, as it really was. It needs no embellishment or exaggeration: its subject is sublime enough in itself; and its chief glory lies in the fact, that posterity feel its last influences and fruits, even when they know or acknowledge it least. But just as little cause has it to dread the strictest investigation of all its parts; since the profoundest examination—even though it should destroy ever so many later erroneous views about particular subjects of this history—will enable us to discern, with greater and greater distinctness and certainty, its actual course from beginning to end, the vital coherence of its parts, and, in them, its true and unrivalled greatness. To examine a proposed historical theme without any foolish fear, but with a hearty love of the subject, and the single assumption that everything, when correctly understood, has its reason and its value; with no inflexible ulterior preconceptions, but a generous appreciation and joyful welcome for all true and great results, is the universal law of every historian: conscientiousness demands that it should be observed here too, and that nothing foreign should intrude from any quarter whatever. Even the few remarks just made on the unparalleled importance of this history, are to be regarded here, at the outset, only as a conclusion, the proofs of which will be adduced below, in the investigation of the facts themselves. But the reader's own experience ought to teach him that the appreciation which this history meets with is high and cordial in proportion as the knowledge of its original features is minute and exact. Those who do not investigate it, or who examine it the wrong way, or in anywise imperfectly, are in the end its worst enemies.

Like every history which reaches back into remote antiquity,

so this especially lies before us only in scattered notices and monuments—here in faint hardly discernible traces, there in simple lofty ruins, which stand out amidst the desolation, and strike every eye; and the farther back its beginnings ascend into the primitive times, the more does every sure trace seem to vanish. The common view overlooks those unobtrusive traces on the ground, and clings only to the smooth sides of the huge blocks of stone, which rise in bold relief in this region. Many enquirers of modern times, however, who give themselves the air of being very wise and circumspect, not only scorn to pursue the modest traces on the ground—preferring the mazes of their own invention—but will surrender even such a lofty and conspicuous personage as Moses the man of God, and, in cowardly indolence, retire altogether from the examination of these scattered monuments. But it is not thus that this history can become alive again among us, as it ought, and can yield us its proper fruit: in this way any great single phenomena that are fortunate enough to be noticed at all, are left as isolated and obscure as undeciphered hieroglyphics. It is only when the investigation indefatigably pursues with equal zeal everything that has been preserved and can be understood, and cheerfully follows out the faint and hidden traces also, that what is dead is recalled to life, and what is isolated enters into its necessary coherence. Even what appears the most inconsiderable fact in itself, may become an important or indispensable link in the chain; and a spark which lies unnoticed in the way, often serves, when raised up and properly directed, to illuminate a confused mass lying round about.

Nor should the difficulties which meet us here in extraordinary force, to say nothing of the more easily discarded mass of errors created in modern times, deter us from such investigation. There are many portions of this long and diversified history for which we possess but few sources: the farther back we trace its most remarkable original features and fundamental impulses, the more scanty is their stream; for large portions of it we find only brief notices and secondary authorities; and even the sources which are now accessible, are often hard to understand and to apply to their proper use. But even these scanty means, well applied and carefully used, are able to accomplish more than from a superficial estimate would be supposed. One sure step, once taken, of itself leads us on farther and farther; the sparks set in motion on all sides, and flying together, kindle an unexpected light. And while no great obscurity can thus rest over main points, it is a

gain if only those portions which remain obscure are more distinctly marked out for future research and illustration, should such be possible. As the linguist, from a few specimens of an ancient or modern dialect, settles its position in the great chart of the languages of the earth; as the naturalist, from a few distinct phenomena, forms a conclusion as to the whole,—so too the historian must exercise the art of correctly arranging, and laying in their proper sequence, all the infinitely scattered and various traditions from remote antiquity, and then proceed to form further deductions from a few certain traces and testimonies, so as to piece together again the scattered and decayed members of the ruined whole into greater completeness and distinctness. To overlook and despise this history altogether, to avoid all questions or opinions about it, is surely impossible; and in modern times every one is proud of any sort of investigation into the antiquity which has become so obscure to us now: why then should we not endeavour, one after another, boldly to conquer all the difficulties, and to recognise every truth as perfectly and as surely as is now possible?

There are especially two means which, properly applied, may happily complete the imperfect notices of many periods: the uniform use of all sorts of sources accessible to us, and the constant attention to all, even the most diverse, phenomena in the varying conditions of the people. As long as we use only the historical portions of the Old Testament, but lack the skill to employ the infinitely rich and (if judiciously used) extremely reliable and distinct prophetical and poetical portions, much must be utterly lost to the substance as well as to the elucidation of this history, which, if adroitly fitted into the other notices and indications, would often fill up perceptible gaps in a surprising manner. It may rather, indeed, be laid down as an axiom, that these sources, hitherto almost totally neglected, universally deserve the first rank; because they speak most directly the feelings of their age, and show us in the clearest mirror the genuine living traits of the events to which they allude. In fact, the historians of the Old Testament themselves acknowledge the high value of these sources, as they, like the Arabian annalists, frequently cite songs, and have adopted much from the prophetical books into their works. Moreover, so long as the historian devotes his chief attention to the conspicuous affairs of state and war, and neglects to investigate those branches of the activity and aspiration of the nation which flourish in modest obscurity, as well as all its

changing circumstances in their chronological succession, he will never comprehend the history in its full truth and importance. It is only when we draw into this circle, not only the history of the religion, literature, and arts of the people, but also all the most important parts of what is called archaeology, and attempt, from all discoverable traces and testimonies, to discern the true life and character of each period, that we can hope to draw a not altogether unsatisfactory picture of this great and comprehensive history.

The series of these narratives cannot, indeed, be related as smoothly as a European history of the last few centuries. The various sources of this history are as yet too little estimated according to their respective value, for this; much also stands too isolated in the wide circle to be unhesitatingly admitted, without an exposition of the reasons for a decided opinion about it: all of which chiefly applies to the older periods, which yet, in many respects, contain the sublimest and most peculiar elements of the history. Although there is much which, having been already sufficiently discussed elsewhere, I shall admit without further disquisition, and much which I shall notice as briefly as possible, nevertheless a large portion of this work will necessarily consist of a general and particular investigation into the sources. But such enquiries are most advantageously interwoven where an attempt is made, at the same time, to reconstruct a whole province of history by a correct valuation of the sources: and to know the right reasons for fixing the events and epochs of remote histories, is to comprehend the histories themselves.

Further, there is no need, on the threshold of this work, to state at length that the true commencement of this history, which comes to its close with Christ, begins with Moses (although the mighty advance achieved in the time of Moses, which is the basis of all subsequent developments, presupposes the sojourn of Israel in Egypt as the first step in this direction); nor to show that this history passes through three great successive periods from its commencement, until its course is run, and its final close attained—externally indicated by the successive names of Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, the people itself being a different one in each of these periods; nor, further, that what precedes the sojourn in Egypt, as being foreign to this domain, belongs to the preliminary history of the nation, and might be called its primitive history. All this could not now be briefly explained with sufficient clearness, but will distinctly appear in the course of the history itself.

## SECTION II.

## SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY.

As Israel at length loses its separate national existence in that of other nations, and disappears as a people, so the facts of its later history are derived in increasing copiousness from the history of those foreign nations. This is not the place to enter beforehand into a general description of these sources of the late history, whether derived from heathen or other writers. The general valuation of these various sources, so far as they only occasionally concern our subject, belongs elsewhere; and their peculiar character, in so far as they give more precise views about Israel and its history, cannot be shown until we treat this later history itself. We shall then see how, when this gradual dissolution of Israel took place, the heathen came to think of it, and Israel of them. It is also to be remembered, that, on account of the greater proximity and abundance of these sources, the later passages of this history are much easier to understand than the earlier. It is the most ancient portions—the most important for the correct understanding of the whole—which are the obscurest: not only because the early stages of everything historical are to an ordinary eye dark in proportion as the original forces mysteriously working there are powerful, but also because the sources of information are there scantier and obscurer.

Nor can I here discuss what the monuments and writings of foreign nations offer incidentally for the elucidation of portions of the ancient history of Israel. Important and instructive as much of it is, it always concerns separate passages only of this history, and will therefore be best appreciated where these occur. It does not, indeed, belong to this place to substantiate correct notions about these foreign sources at all.

What the soil of the Holy Land displays on its present surface, has been examined with growing diligence, though by no means adequately, in modern times. But that which is buried in it, beneath the rubbish of thousands of years, and which is possibly of great value for history, is yet unexplored;

and cannot well be otherwise, so long as the great Christian States pursue their present various but equally mistaken policies towards Islam, and only foster the great injustice and unjust prejudices from which it sprang.

Prodigious and numerous relics of gigantic architecture and other handicrafts, such as we possess in the monuments of the Egyptians and of some other ancient nations, we shall look for in vain in the territory of Israel, either below or above ground; because this nation's external power and glory was never of long duration nor of any considerable extent, and, moreover, in course of time became rarer and rarer. Another characteristic feature of this nation is that the most important evidences of its history are not found engraved on the rocks, as in the case of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians.

The most important sources, therefore, which the people itself furnishes for its early history, are its written documents, and these are the most considerable that can be found for the history of any ancient people. It is only in cases in which something like a complete and varied literature of an ancient nation has been preserved, that we are able to attain a reliable and perfect knowledge of the depths of its intellectual life. The Bible, however, with its uncanonical appendages, preserves to us in small compass very various and important portions of such a literature; and thus affords for this history an abundance of wellsprings, with which no other equally ancient nation of high cultivation can vie. It could not, indeed, well have been otherwise, if the highest power that moved in the history of this people and made it immortal, was true religion itself; for this is a force which always acts on both literature and art, and can only easily perpetuate itself in such written monuments of eternal meaning. I have elsewhere shown how the prophetical and poetical parts of this literature are to be regarded, in an historical point of view;<sup>1</sup> but the historical books, which supply almost the only materials for many periods, must here be submitted to a special enquiry, which must be exhaustive in itself, and the results of which will always be assumed throughout the sequel. These historical books, at the same time, most distinctly show us in what relation the ancient people stood to the art and appreciation of history generally; and on what level all historical composition originally commenced among them, and then continued to advance. Here therefore, before

<sup>1</sup> In *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes* 1835-39, 4 vols. 8vo.), some volumes of (Stuttgartt, 1840, 2 vols. 8vo.) and *Die Poetischen Bücher des A. B.* (Göttingen, which have subsequently gone through a second and a third edition.—*Transl.*

we can trace even the rudiments of historical writing in Israel, we must set out from a consideration of the ultimate basis which it found preexistent—nay, which every historical writing, even now, really finds already there, before it begins its business. It is by the accurate discrimination of *tradition* and *history*, first of all, and then by the distinct appreciation of the relation which the historical books of the Old Testament bear to both, that we must gain the first step towards any sure treatment of a great portion of the history itself, as well as towards a just estimate of the historical books which have been preserved.

#### A. THE STORY AND ITS FOUNDATION. TRADITION.

One of the primary duties of every historical enquiry, and of every historical composition springing therefrom, is to distinguish the story from its foundation, or from that which has occasioned it, and thus to discover the truth of what actually occurred. Our ultimate aim is the knowledge of what really happened—not what was only related and handed down by tradition, but what was an actual fact. Such a fact, however, if it is anything really worthy of history, will always, however wonderful it may be, form a link in a larger chain of events, and—in its effects at least—leave unmistakable traces behind it; and when all that surprises us, or appears at first sight impossible, can thus be known and proved from independent testimony, the doubts about it disappear, and it becomes in a strict sense an historical possession.

A momentous event is very independent of the story about it, which only arises as a faint counterpart, and propagates itself as a variable shadow of it—an image that we must do all we can to warm into life, if we wish to approach the event with a vivid sense of the reality. Even when we receive an account from an eyewitness, we must test it by itself, and by other stories about the same occurrence which may be in circulation, in order to obtain a correct representation: how much more necessary is it, then, to discriminate between the story and its foundation, when the narrative has passed through several hands or periods, or we find several discrepant accounts of the same event! At any rate, we of later times, who receive such various stories and from such distant ages and countries, cannot, for the sake of our main object—namely, instruction for our guidance in life from the light of history—elude a labour which dispels

only the caricatures of history, and restores its living features with greater vividness and perfection.

Now we apply the name *Saga* (or *tradition*) to the story as it primarily arises and subsists without foreign aid, before the birth of the doubting or enquiring spirit. As such, it is the commencement and the native soil of all narrative and all history, just as a deep religious feeling is always the germ and basis of all high conception of history. For that reason, it possesses a peculiar character and a life of its own, which develops itself the more freely the less its opposite, critical history, is manifested ; and therefore it made the greatest progress, and became most independent, in the early antiquity of all nations. We cannot be too mindful of the fact that, in contrast to our modern time, tradition is, as to origin, spirit, impulse, and contents, a thing *per se*, which may indeed—in its simplest shape at least—under similar conditions, be formed in any place and time, but which (like so much else) only once developed itself in all its capabilities—namely, at the beginning of all history, and in nations which early aspired to high culture. To these it was a rich treasury of memories, and an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction. In our brief account of it here, however, we always specially refer to the form in which it appears in the Old Testament.

I. Tradition is formed by the co-operation of two powers of the mind—memory and imagination. But the circle where its play is most vivid, and its preservation most faithful, is at first very narrow, and may easily remain so even down to a later period. This circle is the home, the family, the throng of like-minded men, or in its greatest extent, in antiquity especially, one single nation. When therefore, in the remote past, nation separated itself very sharply from nation, each had its peculiar traditions, and each developed any given tradition in its peculiar way ; and the shaping due to national character must therefore be admitted as an essential feature in all these traditions. And since the older and more peculiar a people is, the more its religion influences its national character, one can easily understand how powerfully the true religion of the Israelitish people must have preserved its traditions from degenerating into falsehood and exaggeration. Yet even this religion could not change the very nature and import of the traditions ; indeed, generally speaking, tradition possesses too great inherent power to be thus constrained ; and its power had moreover obtained the upper hand in this nation long before the higher religion arose and began to take root. Accordingly it is needful, even in the present

instance, to pursue this subject further, that we may obtain a deeper insight into the extent to which tradition influenced preeminently the early history of Israel.

1. An event, whether experienced or heard by report, makes a first powerful impression on the imagination. It is often the truest impression that it can produce ; but so long as the story remains stationary there, in the mere imagination, it is still only tradition. It commonly remains a considerable time at that stage, however, without being fixed by writing ; nay, it may even continue to develop itself for a time in spite of writing ; for in ancient times, when the abundance and animation of tradition were great, writing had not so rapid an effect ; indeed even now there are conditions in which its influence is small. When an event is very far removed as to time, the imagination forms only an indistinct idea of it, even though it have passed into written record, or live in accredited history. Thus the imagination is an agent in the formation of tradition, and the latter has its most fruitful soil where the former predominates. The substance of tradition, however, finds its storehouse in the memory alone for a longer or shorter time. The memory, however, as the only treasury of tradition, labours under many weaknesses ; but easily discerns them, and more or less consciously employs several auxiliaries to remove them.

1) The memory will indeed faithfully receive and retain the striking incidents that have passed through not more than two or three hands, but as the tradition advances the minuter circumstances are gradually obliterated. It is difficult to form a correct idea of the circumstances under which a great event budded and reached maturity, since the eye is more attracted by the beaming light than the dark ground from which it shot forth : but when the first vivid impression has faded away and gone for ever, the bright centre of a great event will still more throw its outer sides into shade. The memory of a very signal event would at last survive only in a very barren and scanty form, if no reaction subsequently arose.

But this reaction is not always wanting. For the imperfect dress in which an important event is handed down cannot satisfy every one and for ever ; and the lively imagination of the relator and auditor, rather than leave it so bare, will endeavour to supply the missing details. But when it is no longer possible to complete the story by referring to the original authority, it is left to the imagination of the relator to fill in the concomitant circumstances ; and this is a main source of

that discrepancy which is a characteristic of tradition. Trivial variations of this sort are easily found throughout the traditional portions of the Bible; but nothing so well shows the extent to which they may run, as the fact that a story, essentially the same and sprung from *one* occurrence, is multiplied, by successive changes in the details, into two or more discordant narratives, which, being produced in different places and then subsequently brought together, finally appear as so many different events, and as such are placed beside one another in a book. This happened oftenest, of course, in such stories as were most frequently repeated on account of their popular subject; as in a beautiful tradition of David's youth (1 Sam. xxiv. and xxvi.), and still more markedly in a favourite tradition of the patriarchal time, which is now preserved in three forms (Gen. xii. 10-20, xx. and xxvi. 7-11). The same thing is also met with under similar circumstances in far later times.<sup>1</sup>

But the spirit of the event—the imperishable and permanent truth contained in it which sinks deeper into the mind the more frequently it is repeated, and, through countless variations in its reproductions, always beams forth like a bright ray—that spirit gains even greater purity and freedom, like the sun rising out of the mists of the morning. We may indeed say that in this respect tradition, dropping or holding loosely the more evanescent parts, but preserving the permanent basis of the story the more tenaciously, performs in its sphere the same purification which time works on all earthly things; and the venerable forms of history, so far from being disfigured or defaced by tradition, come forth from its laboratory born again in a purer light.

2) The memory, however, always tries to lighten its labour. Therefore when, in the constant progress of events, new stories, more important than all that went before, come crowding on out of the recent present, the circle of the older traditions gradually contracts, and, if the accumulation of later matter is very great, contracts so as at length to leave hardly anything of the remoter times but isolated and scanty reminiscences. Thus tradition has also a tendency to suffer the mass of its records to be more and more compressed and melted away, obscured and lost. This may be traced throughout the Old

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the story in the Gospels mentioned in vol. v. p. 363, and foll. The two narratives in Acts v. 19-26 and xii. 4-11 have a like resemblance; and how such cases of reduplication could arise is well shown by the instances mentioned in vol. iv. p. 365.

In the *Samaritan Chronicle* (chap. xx. and foll., cf. xxix. p. 148, Msc.) the miracle of the sun standing still is made to occur twice, and is expressly emphasized as having so occurred.

Testament; the Hebrew tradition about the earliest times—the main features of which, as we have it, were fixed in the interval from the fourth to the sixth century after Moses—still has a great deal to tell about Moses and his contemporaries ; much less about the long sojourn in Egypt, and the three patriarchs ; and almost nothing special about the primitive times which preceded these patriarchs, when the nation was not, nor even its ‘fathers,’ yet in Canaan. So, too, the Books of Samuel relate many particulars of David’s later life passed in the splendour of royalty, but less about his youth before he was king. And everything might be thus traced by stages.

But because this tendency of tradition would in the course of centuries produce its total dissipation, perhaps with the exception of an obscure memory of some very signal events, therefore it all the more seeks some external support to sustain and perpetuate itself. The most natural aids of the memory in all ages are signs ; even our letters of the alphabet and books are originally nothing more, and it is only subsequently that they became, by a new art, the means of speaking to those at a distance. But whereas in later times, when writing has got into daily use, this single means becomes universally available, and makes all other auxiliaries less necessary, we have here to conceive times in which writing was used but little or not at all—in which tradition therefore, if once subjected to this tendency to lose its records, fades away more and more irresistibly, and is obliged to have recourse to all possible aids to preserve itself from destruction. Of these aids, in general there are three kinds, in the following order :—

a.) There are recollections which, on account of their peculiar form or power, serve as supports of tradition, and which, although themselves propagated by the memory, afford the memory an abiding aid for preserving history. *Songs* have this capability in a preeminent degree ; and while the charm of their diction secures their own more lasting transmission, the artistic fetters of their form preserve their contents more unalterably than prose can do. But great events beget a multitude of songs, since the elevation of mind which they produce awakens poets, or calls forth an emulation to celebrate memorable incidents ; and the earliest kind of poetry, the lyrical, springs so immediately from the events and thoughts which agitate an age, that it reproduces the freshest and truest pictures of them. Moreover, the Hebrews and Arabs were just the peoples among whom every important event and time of great emotion at once generated a multitude of songs, and who

retained a preference for this simple kind of poetry in the later stages of their civilisation. Songs therefore became a chief support of tradition; they preserved many historical traits, which otherwise would have been lost; just as, conversely, the historical allusions, of which songs are full, subsequently demanded explanation when the favourite verses were separated. The propagation of songs and traditions thus went hand-in-hand, and each could reciprocally illustrate the other; but at every step tradition felt that the best vouchers it could produce were citations from songs. How very much this applies not only to Arabian but also to Hebrew tradition, this work will so frequently prove, especially in its earlier parts, that it is superfluous to cite particular illustrations here; but how decidedly antiquity, down to the time of David, regarded songs as one of the best auxiliaries of the memory, is shown by the story of David's providing for the publication and transmission of his dirge on Jonathan and Saul, by causing the sons of Judah to learn it correctly by heart,<sup>1</sup> which in our days would be equivalent to sending it to the press.

*Proverbs* which have an historical origin afford a similar support to tradition. For genuine popular proverbs, which have sprung from memorable events, do not always contain propositions of naked truth, but often allude to the incident which gave them birth; and as they thus require history for their own intelligibility, they preserve many historical reminiscences which would otherwise be lost. That Hebrew tradition—in this respect also like that of the Arabs—leans especially on these supports, is evident from cases like Gen. x. 9 and 1 Sam. x.11. cf. xix. 24, where the proverb is cited. Some cases of this sort, however, require close observation to detect them in the present form of the narrative: thus the stories of Gideon and Jephthah (*Judges vi.-viii., xii.*) would not by any means have been preserved so completely, if they had not been sustained by a number of proverbs. Occasionally even a new story has been formed, by later development, out of a proverbial phrase about a remarkable incident of antiquity; of which the passage in *Judges vi. 36-40* is a striking example.

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the meaning of נִזְבֵּן, 2 Sam. i. 18; for that it means 'bow,' and thus became a casual name of the song, is highly improbable from the mere connection in which it occurs; it must stand for the Aramaic נִזְבֵּן, and signify 'rightly, correctly.' There is similar evidence in Ps. ix. 1 [title], which inscrip-

tion may belong to the original Davidic portion of this Psalm. The expressions in Deut. xxxi. 19 *et seq.* are, on the other hand, coloured by the Deuteronomist's special object, but may still evince the value attached in antiquity to historical popular songs.

To these we must add many *proper names* of ancient persons and places, the meaning and interpretation of which serve as a support of tradition. For it cannot be doubted that proper names had their ultimate origin in actual experience of the thing stated, and therefore often changed and multiplied with new experiences: whereas in later times, which stand further from the living formation of language, and exercise their intellect in other directions, they lose their original signification more and more, and are propagated by mere repetition. Now the times in which tradition develops itself freely, border on the period of the living formation of language, and the names of things have not yet become mere external means of mutual intelligence (as they have amongst us); on the contrary, they still mean something of themselves, and have some life of their own, an intrinsic connection between the sense and the thing signified being felt or assumed. Thus, then, the whole historical significance of a hero lives on in tradition together with his name, and with the name of an ancient place is associated the memory of its origin or history. And as all names, especially those from remote times, appeal to tradition for their interpretation, they preserve many recollections connected with them. The memory of Isaac, for instance, is in part preserved by his being the 'laugher,' or the 'gentle,' as his name imports, or his having something to do with laughter; Jacob 'the cunning,' and Israel 'the wrestler with God,' also appear so characterised in tradition, and all books which describe the period before the Kings are full of such explanations of names. On the other hand, the four Books of the Kings explain many names of places,<sup>1</sup> as these might more easily be given afresh in later times; but only a single personal name, that of Samuel, at the beginning of the history, where the style is antique.<sup>2</sup> In the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah nothing of the kind any longer occurs.

But all these supports, which after all are themselves supported only by the memory, only avail up to a certain point. For the ancient songs may perish, and the historical allusions which they contain become obscure, when far removed from the present, and when new songs and stories have become popular. The exact import of an event which gave birth to a proverb may be forgotten, so that later times may explain the origin of the proverb in diverse ways.<sup>3</sup> Proper names also are capable

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 12; 2 Sam. v. 20; cf. 2 Chron. xx. 26, from the time of Jehoshaphat.

<sup>2</sup> 24 shows; likewise the frequent disputes of the Arabian traditionists and commentators about the meaning of their exceedingly numerous ancient proverbs.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. i. 20; cf. 28.

\* As the proverb in 1 Sam. x. 11 and xix.

of so many meanings as to the mere literal sense, that, as soon as the historical memory grows faint, tradition may treat them very variously.<sup>1</sup> The early Hebrew tradition is, indeed, particularly fond of explaining proper names ; but this—as will be subsequently shown—is to be ascribed to a later desire to investigate the origins of things. It is not surprising, therefore, that this artificial explanation of names becomes prevalent in the later historical writings<sup>2</sup> ; but as the scientific explanation of words was unknown to the whole of antiquity, tradition always had the freest play in this respect.

How much such simple supports can achieve, even unaided by others, is shown by Arabian tradition, which, as that of a nomad people, knows hardly any others. It is wonderful to see what enormous masses of ancient songs, proverbs, genealogies, and histories, gifted Arabs repeated from memory in the first period after Mohammed ;<sup>3</sup> for the memory, when left to its own unaided resources, often develops an astonishing power. But immense as was the mass of these reminiscences, and often painted in the most living and truest colours, when they began to attract the notice of Chalifs and Emirs, and to be written down, they evidently reached back only a few centuries before Mohammed ; any older ones that were preserved among them were very fragmentary, and devoid of all exact estimate of chronology. No record, therefore, that is entrusted to the mere memory, embraces more than a limited period : this cannot be more forcibly evinced than by the example of the Arabs, who were second to no people in pride and passion for glory, and probably surpassed most in strength of memory.

b.) Tradition derives another kind of support from the visible monuments of ancient history, such as altars, temples, and similar memorials, which, although not designed for that end, become witnesses to posterity of former great events and thoughts ; or such as are purposely erected for memorials, as columns and other such works, often on a gigantic scale, of times destitute of heroic songs or other refined means of perpetuating memory. Now it is undeniable that, when tradition developed

<sup>1</sup> The various explanations of the name of *Isaac* suffice to prove this.

<sup>2</sup> Namely in the prophetic narrators of the early history, as I call them. Here, however, certain prophets of very early date had preceded them with vivid allusions to the meaning of proper names, as that old prophet whose words Isaiah repeats (*Is. xv. 8 et seq.*), and Hosea xii. 4, 12 [3, 11].

<sup>3</sup> This is thoroughly confirmed by the *Kiðb alaghâñî*; we need not go beyond the portions already printed, especially the section about the traditionist *Hammâd*. The Arabs, about whom we possess such minute and reliable information, may be regarded as model illustrations of this point.

itself to its present forms, Palestine was full of such monuments, and that, although not so great and durable as those of Egypt, they were by no means few. Even in times that belong to the broad day of history, we read of monuments which were erected as memorials for posterity; nay, in the erection of which those who had no historical claims to them had a pride.<sup>1</sup> We likewise read of altars, or similar objects, serving as memorials of their builders or first inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> Beyond doubt similar things happened in the time of the Patriarchs: whenever the narrative refers to altars or other monuments erected by them, a real monument was extant, which either actually belonged to the primitive time, or to which some definite memory was attached. Some of these, as the sepulchral cavern of Abraham at Hebron, Jacob's stone at Bethel, and the boundary-stone erected by him and Laban at Gilead,<sup>3</sup> are of such importance that a great portion of the tradition turns on them.

These external supports are of course much more durable than those first described; and there is no doubt that whenever Hebrew tradition has preserved any considerable reminiscences of times several centuries anterior, it has mainly been owing to the erection of monuments, the history of which was treasured in the memory of a proud posterity. Later ages even were proud to show extraordinary relics of conquered foes.<sup>4</sup> In a country, indeed, and at a period when such monuments were left without inscriptions (as we shall show to have been the case constantly, at least in the patriarchal times), even these supports are not always adequate, as the stories to which they relate may gradually become obscure, although the same nation remains in the land; but they secure tradition from this danger much longer than the first kind of supports.

c.) The firmest support of tradition, beyond doubt, is a great *institution*, which has sprung from an historical event, and has fixed itself in the whole people: such as an annually recurring

<sup>1</sup> Samuel commemorates the great victory over the Philistines, which was followed by a long and honourable peace, by a monument on the field of battle, called 'the Stone of Help'—that is, of victory—and from which the neighbouring country derived its name (1 Sam. vii. 12; cf. iv. 1). So Saul, on his return from a victory over Amalek, near Carmel, on the west of the Dead Sea, erects a monument which detains him there some time (1 Sam. xv. 12); so also David after his victory over the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 13). Absalom also prematurely desires this honour,

under the pretence of making himself a name to supply the place of children (2 Sam. xviii. 18). Such a monument is called **מְצַדֵּקָה**, or specially **מֶצֶד**, 'hand;' that is, an elevated index to attract the attention of the passers-by. (Is. lvi. 5, xix. 19, sqq.; Ezek. xxi. 24 [19].)

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 17; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, sqq.; cf. Judges, vi. 24, sqq., xxi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxi. 44, sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Like the iron bed of the ancient giant king in Rabba, the capital of Ammon. (Deut. iii. 11.)

festival, which cannot pass without recalling the great incident to which it owes either its origin, or at least some of its attendant ceremonies. Nothing perhaps so fixed the memory of the deliverance from Egypt in the popular mind, as the fact that the Passover served as a commemoration of that event; and certain expressions distinctly indicate how the memory of it was at this festival handed down from father to son.<sup>1</sup> To a still greater degree was the memory of the institution of the congregation and of the encampment at Sinai sustained by the permanence of the congregation itself and the consciousness of its nature. Obliterated as the details may be, the essence and basis of historical recollections such as these can perish only with the institutions that have sprung from them; and nations that have early had lofty aims, and achieved much, never entirely lose that higher historical consciousness on which much of their best strength is founded.

3) Now however many subjects the memory be supposed to retain and however faithfully their particulars be preserved, yet it cannot possibly hold this huge mass in exact historical connection, having already enough to do with mastering the multifarious contents of the stories, and being moreover called upon only when an occasion demands the repetition of a particular tradition out of the immense store. Tradition, therefore, will retain the original historical connection and order of the incidents only so long and so far as it can do so easily; but is prone to let the materials fall asunder, and so become confused and intermixed. This affects first the particulars of one circle of stories of the same period, then the different circles, and so on; until at length nothing remains of distant times but single great ruins, which stand out on a plain of desolation, and resist decay. And because tradition is careless of the close coherence of its materials, its circle is always open to the intrusion of foreign elements.

This very tendency, however, provokes a counter-action; for if tradition were always to suffer its records to become obscure and fragmentary, it would at length have great difficulty in performing its own proper function. As the mind cannot be satisfied with what is unconnected and obscure, tradition also endeavours at length to repair and complete whatever has become too isolated and obscure in its province; and

<sup>1</sup> What is incidentally mentioned in Exod. xiii. 8-10, 14-16, as a direction for the future, was undoubtedly something more than that in the time of the author.

Deuteronomy enforces this direction much more frequently and pointedly, as if it had been necessary, in the time of its composition, to resist a growing indifference.

just where it has been most lacerated and obscured, it makes the greatest efforts to close up the rents and round itself off, or even to fill up the gaps from conjecture, inasmuch as it always aims at being the counterpart of real history. This effort, indeed, also affects the narration of events, since it will not hesitate to fill up a gap with any such transition, or minor interpolation, as the context may seem to require. This prevails most in cases in which the necessity is urgent; especially:

a.) In the lists of the *names of persons*. For later times may, indeed, preserve but few of the most important names of the many heroes which were the theme of young tradition; but these, from the indispensable necessity of genealogical lists, are maintained all the more firmly. Among nations which pay the most zealous regard to the purity and glory of every family, like the Hebrews and Arabs, the exactest and most comprehensive genealogies constitute one of the chief elements of tradition. And though after Moses the individuality and special prominence of families in Israel was subordinate to the higher whole, yet on the other hand the importance of the hereditary estates and privileges appertaining to families formed an additional motive for still considering exact genealogical lists indispensable.<sup>1</sup> But it was evidently too difficult to preserve all names in the lists referring to remote times; and when, in the further development of tradition, an attempt was made to carry back the series of generations in the ascending line to the first generations of the earth, many names were undoubtedly found standing very isolated. We are still able to discern the means that Hebrew tradition adopted in order to bring the disjointed parts into closer coherence, and to control such large masses of names. For the times from the Patriarchs down to Moses, or even to David, tradition was satisfied with one member of the genealogical series for a whole century, even though in so doing many less celebrated names of the chain were irreparably lost. Thus the sojourn in Egypt, which is reckoned at 430 years, has the four or five members of the tribe of Levi (Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron (Moses), and Eleazar) to correspond to it;<sup>2</sup> and the five members of the tribe of Judah<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ezra ii. 62, Neh. vii. 64, as evidence of the latest times. The ancient Arabs, down even to the first times of Islam, had experienced and renowned

And it was the same with the ancient Indians: see Max Müller's History of Anc. Sanskr. Lit. p. 378, et seqq.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. vi. 18-25.

genealogists, النسبيون (*Hamasa*, p. 123), from whose recollections a special branch of literature, pedigree-tracing, grew up.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth iv. 18-20, compared with Num. i. 7. The correct explanation of this is found in Gen. xv. 16, compared with verse 13.

(Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, and Nahshon). Of kindred nature to this is the tendency which tradition has to fix upon a definite round number of members of a genealogical series for a long period, in order to prevent one of the scattered names from being lost. Ten members, each corresponding to about a century, are thus reckoned for the long interval from the Patriarchs to David—the ten parting in the middle into two equal halves, at the great era of Moses;<sup>1</sup> whereas we are able, from other sources, to show that more than twice as many members were formerly reckoned for this very period.<sup>2</sup> But as ten generations were gradually assumed as an adequate round number for the period from Jacob's twelve sons to David, so likewise tradition used the same number to fill up the interval from Noah's sons to Abraham's father, and, further back still, that from Noah to Adam;<sup>3</sup> although this assumption required more than a century to correspond to a single member. Further, the remoter the times are, the more does tradition confine itself to the exact coherence of the series of the chief families, and neglect all but the indispensable part of the others. But whenever a knot occurs in the line—the commencement of a new epoch, whence diverge a multitude of new celebrated families or nations—tradition was prone to set up three equally privileged brothers instead of the usual single members. Thus three sons, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, proceed from Levi; three, Abraham, Nahor, and Haran, from Terah, who concludes the decade; and three, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, from Noah, the tenth progenitor. The pattern of this, however, has not been derived from the three great families of Levi, as will be shown below. Further, after the knot, the line of the chief family is carried on in the firstborn in the case of Noah and of Terah, but not in that of Levi, where Aaron descends from the second of the three; for as individuals, the descendants of Levi are much more strictly historical personages than those of Terah and Noah.

The case is the same with regard to *numbers*, which tradition is least of all able to hand down with exactness. Here also, as it is always the counterpart of real history, it endeavours to

<sup>1</sup> Ruth iv. 18-22.

<sup>2</sup> We find, namely, in 1 Chron. vi. 7-13 [22-28] and 18-23 [33-38], two evidently very old traditions, according to which there were twenty-two generations between Levi and David.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 10-26, and v., concerning which we shall speak subsequently. That

the number 10 was reduced to 7 is shown not only by the case of Gen. c. iv. compared with v., but also by that of a still later period in Neh. xii. 35 compared with 1 Chron. xxv. 2, where from the time of Asaph to that of Nehemiah there appear only 7.

fill up gaps by more definite statements; and in so doing does not necessarily go far wrong, provided it still retains a glimmering consciousness of the distinctions of things and times. For, whether a state lasted a short or a long time, whether a hero died in youth or old age, whether many or few fell in a memorable battle, are points on which tradition easily retains some consciousness. All that tradition does, then, is, that instead of vague statements, it gives a roughly estimated definite number, since its inmost impulse forbids it to give up the distinctness of actual life. It is thus that Hebrew tradition gets certain favourite round numbers (like 3, 7, 10, 40), of which it makes the freest use, either in these simple forms, or somewhat reduced, or increased, or even multiplied together, as the case requires. How far tradition succeeds in thus restoring a coherent chronology in the main, may be best shown further on from the *Book of Judges*, and still more distinctly and comprehensively from the *Book of Origins*. Ancient Hebrew tradition, however, in accordance with the religious sobriety of the nation, has always been much more temperate in this use of numbers than that of the Indians, which makes them the sport of the freest fancy.

b.) Tradition is less liable to confuse different *periods*, as a certain feeling of the wide separation of the ancient from the more recent, as also of the essential character of long periods, generally becomes so firmly fixed as rather to modify the stories of individuals in distant times in conformity to the general view of the whole epoch than *vice versa*. If tradition desires to arrange and classify the immense mass of reminiscences and stories of distant times, it fixes on a suitable number and scale of divisions and periods, with their distinctions, according to which it disposes them all. Thus it assumes the scheme of four great ages, embracing all generations of men and events on earth, from the creation to the present—in remarkable accordance with the four *Yugas* of the Indians, and which is to be ascribed to many other conspiring causes besides the mere power of tradition.

Nevertheless, such means cannot always secure the recollections of different cycles and ages from being gradually intermixed and confused. Thus, for example, some achievements are ascribed to Samson, as the later and better-known hero, the complexion of which sends us back to the patriarchal time.<sup>1</sup> Still more easily does the imagination of tradition combine later

<sup>1</sup> Judges xv. 17-19.

incidents with earlier, when they seem to have some intrinsic connection, and the more recent appears to explain the older and obscurer.<sup>1</sup>

c.) If with the desire to collect the scattered legends a kind of artistic skill is combined, then certain favourite modes of piecing together and classifying the manifold and scattered materials are developed—arts hardly known, however, to the simplest forms of tradition, such as those of the ancient Arabs. One of the first of these means is the accumulation of kindred materials, and the combination of several stories of cognate import.<sup>2</sup> Next, tradition tries to gather the loose mass of scattered stories, and group them in a round number around the chief subject, so as to have them all together in one series and under control. As the Greek tradition reduced the labours of Hercules to a definite round number, so that of the Hebrews arranges the whole story of Samson in round proportions. In like manner the fourth narrator of the Pentateuch disposes the Egyptian plagues, and reduces them to the number ten. To this head also belongs the apt disposition of diverse legendary materials, so as to correspond to an internal sequence: thus the legend of Jonah consists of three or four short stories, in harmonious sequence and bringing the story to a natural close.<sup>3</sup> This last mode of combining traditional elements is very ingenious, and borders on the more artificial modes of restoring history, which we need not yet describe.

2. As to its spirit or inner life, however, tradition rests less in the understanding than in the imagination and feeling. An extraordinary event affects the imagination so strongly that the latter forms as extraordinary an image of it. This image may be very true and striking, and at first, so long as the event remains fresh in the memory, is exposed to no great abuse; but subsequently, when separated from its living reference, and preserved as to its extraordinary outside only, may become the fruitful source of misapprehensions, of which we shall adduce several examples farther on. Tradition, thus filling the imagination, penetrates very deeply into the mind, and occupies the whole feeling, but remains stationary there without examining its own contents to their foundation, and expects, just as it is, to suffice for the instruction of the hearer, who receives it in its simple meaning. It is at the same time possible that the

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Josh. vi. 26, 1 Kings xvi. 34. the explanations in the *Jahrbuch der Bibl. Wissenschaft*, 1848, p. 128, sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On this and other kindred topics, see <sup>3</sup> *Die Propheten des A. B.*, vol. ii. p. 557, sqq.

person who collects many traditions, may prefer those which are more agreeable or profitable in his own estimation, and thus exercise a certain judgment on their contents. But so long as the judgment does not embrace the whole subject, and seek proofs extrinsic to all traditions, the peculiar power of tradition still maintains its rights and its continuance.

This life of tradition produces special advantages. Taking root in the narrow but deep realm of feeling, and never sustained by the mere memory, but always by the sympathies of every hearer, tradition becomes one of the most intellectual and influential possessions of man. Its lore, as yet undisturbed by doubt, acts on the mind with so much greater force. And to any one who can fathom its whole meaning, and master it by the right art, it offers an abundance of prophetical and poetical materials; since the world of feeling is also that of poetry, and the doctrines which tradition may enshrine may, to the mind of antiquity, be emphatically of the prophetic kind. The materials of tradition, moreover, notwithstanding a certain uniformity, are nevertheless so fluctuating (according to page 16 sq.), and therefore so plastic, that the poet's art is little impeded by them; and the farther a cycle of tradition has advanced, up to a certain stage, the more easily does it admit poetic treatment. And a poetic breath does sensibly pervade the traditions of the Old Testament; and if, notwithstanding this, epic poetry has never flourished on this field, this must be ascribed to special causes, which lie beyond our province.<sup>1</sup>

But what lives chiefly in the feeling, shares its defects also. Feeling is exceedingly different in individuals; and therefore the inner life of tradition assumes different forms with individual relators, since their whole mental idiosyncrasies pass unobserved into it. And as no great and permanent unity is ever produced by the mere feeling, the historical import of tradition passes through incalculable changes, and never attains a settled form. These fluctuations will not indeed much affect the essential spirit of a tradition, as described at page 16 sq., and for the reason there indicated; but may produce great varieties in the conception of the same event.

Moreover, when, with altered times and circumstances, the general views and opinions, which always exercise a great influence on the feelings, have undergone a great change, then tradition, laying aside more and more of its ancient dress, conforms itself to the later ideas, and displays even greater diversity

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dichter des A. B.*, vol. i. p. 14, sq., 50, sqq.

of conception than before. We can trace this in the Old Testament, if we observe the different forms which the same tradition assumes as it passes through different times and countries. Whereas, for instance, the two oldest narrators of the times before Moses in the Pentateuch have a distinct consciousness of the difference of the state of things anterior and subsequent to Moses, the later narrators infuse into their description of the times anterior to Moses a strong mixture of Mosaic ideas, which in their time had penetrated much deeper into the popular mind, while the exact recollection of the pre-Mosaic age, and its different character, began to grow dim. The intellectual significance of the subject—that which interests the feeling—is the element which least of all can be secured by those aids and supports of tradition described at page 15 sqq.

**3.** But the final and crowning property of tradition is still to be mentioned—that tradition only develops and fixes itself originally in a narrow domestic circle. At any rate, the circle of those who feel a lively interest in an event strongly affecting the imagination, and also are zealous to preserve it by tradition, will always be a narrow one at first. But in remote antiquity every people really moved in such a narrow circle of life and aim. We may therefore say that nationality is a last and very important property of tradition. Like all possessions of a nation on such a stage of civilisation, like its religion, its law, and its view of the world, tradition is embraced by the strongest bands of nationality, and grows up with the people itself, with its heroes and their antagonists, its joys and sorrows, its destinies and experiences. For as a nation holds fast in tradition and incorporates with its own spirit only what appears worthy of perpetual memory from its accordance with its own peculiar life and aim, the best part of its knowledge of itself and of its early appointed destiny lives in tradition; and as, in such time, the religion of each people belongs to its nationality, so their tradition is full of the meaning and life of their peculiar religion. To this cause tradition owes its chief importance: it is one of the most sacred and domestic possessions of every people, its pride and its discipline, an inexhaustible source of instruction and admonition for every succeeding generation.

Now a noble people which has already passed through a history pervaded by a certain elevation of purpose, will, by the purifying influence of tradition described at page 16) have presented to it the great personages to whom it owes its elevation under even purer and more brilliant aspects, and find them a source of perpetual delight. But in cases where the memory

of such lofty examples has, by the lapse of centuries and internal changes, lost much of its original circumstantiality and distinctness, and only survives in a few grand isolated traits, this memory will generally become all the more plastic, assimilating to itself the new great thoughts which now constitute the aspiring people's aim, and, when thus ingeniously modified through their influence, be born again into the beauty of a new life. For we are also to take into account, that no aspiring people can dispense with ideals surpassing the most favourable image of its actual life, in which it beholds the realisation of that better state which it has in part achieved, in part has yet to accomplish, and in which it sees its better self. And as the eye that seeks that ideal, and finds it not in the present, sometimes looks forward into the future, sometimes backward into the past, some prophets will sternly rouse the people to a sense of their shortcomings, and to the need of future perfection; but others will look back with fervent longing to the solemn forms of antiquity, to strengthen themselves by their model greatness, and to imagine how they would now act. Should one of the latter, however, be versed in the old traditions, and filled with the poetry that pervades them, he will easily remodel one of the heroic forms of ancient time, and shape it to the advanced higher requirements of his own age. When thus presented anew in eloquent language, eager ears will listen to the story and treasure up its beauties. . Thus it is really the aspiring national spirit which by these means preserves, secures, and glorifies the old heroic traditions; and accordingly even such renovated traditions will be distinctly impressed with the peculiar spirit of the nation:—of all of which we have the most instructive examples in the Patriarchs.

Such excellent results are attainable when an enlightened and courageous nation is steadily advancing in everything good. But when, on the other hand, depressing times supervene, in which the nation retrogrades as much as it might have advanced, the intellectual conception of its tradition also suffers, the progress of its purification is interrupted, and its tone bears traces of the disturbance of the national spirit. Even the glorious forms which once elevated the heart are no longer comprehended in their pure majesty, but are misunderstood, or degraded to lower standards, or even forgotten.<sup>1</sup> In the actual

<sup>1</sup> Let the reader only remember what have blindly followed him in this, have the Talmud, for example, often makes of afterwards made of them, partly from want the traditions of the Old Testament, or of comprehension, but still more from what Mohammed and the Muslim, who *hauteur* or indolence. A main cause of

life of a nation, indeed, there rarely is either pure advance or pure regression of all the better powers and aspirations: a people may advance in some directions, and lag behind in others. Thus with the fifth author of the Pentateuch, while the image of the Patriarchs and Moses is prophetically exalted, his view of the national enemies betrays many signs of that ill-humour which gradually arose as the relation between Israel and its neighbours grew worse.

Always, then, and in every way, tradition remains deeply impressed and firmly held by the nationality, depends on it and changes with it. It does not yet soar above its native earth into the pure heaven of the universal history of all nations, emancipated from the narrowness of a particular people. It is evident, therefore, how useful it is to compare the stories of different nations about the same event, especially when a tradition has passed through many stages in a nation. The comparison of different traditions preserved about an event in the same people, however, often ensures a similar advantage, since different portions of the nation may easily take different views of the same thing.

Should foreign traditions, however, intrude into the circle of a very extensive system of national tradition, they will never acquire a firm position and life there, unless they adapt themselves to its dominant spirit, and are filled by its peculiar manner; of which also we have a few examples in the Old Testament. Nationality embraces and limits even the widest circle of traditions, and cherishes nothing in its fostering bosom but what proceeds from or assimilates with itself.

But if the case stands thus with the nationality of tradition, and if the people of Israel acquired their peculiar position among the other nations through nothing so much as through the circumstance that true religion got rooted in it with a power and distinctness nowhere else beheld—one can understand how it must have become in external form and dress, no less than in substance and soul, something quite different to what it became among the heathen. True religion, during the whole course of its struggle for ascendancy, perpetually moulded this people according to its own inner impulse and inextinguishable light. Accordingly tradition, already existent or

the internal rottenness of Islám is the fact that it has never been able to emancipate itself from the lifeless and perverse view of antiquity with which such Tai-

mudic stories inoculated it, and that it is doomed by its very origin to remain unhistorical for ever.

newly-born, shaped itself pliantly and obediently by the peculiar spirit of the religion ; the result of which is that no other national and antique traditions ever dived so deep into the life of true religion as these. As already remarked on page 14, the Hebrew tradition possesses a vivid sense for truth and fidelity, for sobriety and modesty, and an aversion to everything immoderate, vain, and frivolous, by virtue of which it may be regarded as the diametrical opposite of all heathen, and especially of the Egyptian and Indian traditions. Of course, even among this people, it shaped itself very differently, according to varieties of time and place. Where, in the many centuries of this nation's history, the true religion raises itself highest and most freely, there we constantly see tradition produce a glorious reflected image of the religion, though varying according as tradition has more or less power, and clothed in the most diverse colours. And tradition is indeed constantly working, even down into the New Testament history ; and with what sublime simplicity and trueheartedness, conjoined with what faithfulness and love of truth ! But when the true religion is seriously or lastingly obscured, as in the history of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, or later among the Hellenists, then the tradition also becomes more fragmentary, gloomy, monstrous, and wild. But amongst the people of Israel the substance of tradition must continually overflow, not only with the general spirit, but also with the most distinct conceptions and views of true religion. Many of the profoundest reminiscences of the events and thoughts in which the true religion was revealed, are preserved by it most faithfully and imperishably. But also not a few of the sublimest thoughts, which could only arise from the actually experienced and completed life of distinct ages of the true religion, were transformed into stories of a lofty kind, through the endeavour to retain these thoughts by giving them a lively historical form ; and thus, by passing from mouth to mouth, they became one of the richest and most varied elements of tradition. Of such importance, even to religion itself, was tradition in this nation.

II. If this is indeed the essence of tradition, then one can readily understand further, that when once arisen, and become so important a part of the entire mental treasures of a people, it should also have a life and significance of its own, and may even go through a series of various stages of development. Even when it issues immediately from simple narrative, it passes incessantly through infinite changes, but never returns

to its own foundation. The best way of surveying the modes of its changes, and the other impulses and mental capabilities which at length associate themselves with it, is to observe the three stages of its possible progress.

**1.** Every great event soon finds a suitable style of narrative to perpetuate itself in. The first vagueness of the impressions disappears, the recollection grows distinct, and an accordant and prevalent mode of relating the event begins to be formed. Now as the story thus arises from the immediate experience of a memorable event, it was quite as possible in those ancient times as in ours, for it to be the most graphic and vivid counterpart of the event; nay, it was more possible then than now, since antiquity had a youthful susceptibility for strong and true impressions. The Old Testament contains passages which evidently come very near this primitive style of narrative. Accounts like that in Judges ix., or those about the great scene in David's life in 2 Sam. xiii.-xx., present such graphic pictures of that period, drawn on so real a background, that we can completely transport ourselves to the times in all their circumstances, without feeling anything worth notice to mar our vivid sense of the actual events. Graphic simplicity of relation is a characteristic excellence of antiquity, which narrative, even after it has passed through the stages we are about to describe, gladly reassumes. For when the whole national life was more compact, and in its narrower circle more hearty, the observation and narration of the smallest circumstance had its value and its charm. And as nothing but the complete picture of the entire background and concomitant circumstances of an event can represent its whole truth, narrative develops that lifelike picturesqueness and that naïve and enchanting simplicity which later ages either reject, because their style only gives prominence to the main features, and therefore has less life and soul, or are only able to produce by new poetic art and imitation. The Old Testament has a wealth of such narratives, which, without pretending to be so, are artistic in the best sense of the term, and, like the verses of the Iliad, have the stamp of eternal grace and life. Without looking further for examples, we may refer to the *Book of Origins*, which clothes its driest subjects with unsurpassable grace, and makes of the smallest story a living picture. And after this ancient mode of simple faithful story had become typical through the Pentateuch and other sacred writings, how wonderfully it was renewed in a late age in the First Book of Maccabees, and finally, growing wondrously with the unrivalled sublimity of

the subject itself, in the first three Gospels, and a great portion of the Acts of the Apostles !

Tradition is most beautifully developed in this simple style, when the eminent person or period which forms its subject, though already removed to some distance, so that the purification above described has commenced, and the subject already begun to display its true greatness more freely, is still regarded with undiminished interest as one of the last grand incidents of a past era, and is therefore still preserved more completely. As the heroic deeds of the Samnite and still more of the Punic wars, although then remote, could still be made alive again in all Roman hearts at the time of Livy ; so likewise when the Books of Samuel (or rather the ancient Book of Kings) were written, the majestic forms of Samuel and David were not too far removed, but were only just raised above the misappreciation of their own time, and sustained by tradition in the pure light that belonged to them. Hence no portion of the history of the Old Testament produces comparatively so satisfactory an effect on the historical enquirer as this does ; for here we see the whole reality and truth of a great human scene peep out behind the tradition, and discern historical greatness surrounded by all the fetters and limitations of its temporal conditions.

This first and simplest stage is that at which the ancient Arabian tradition has, in the main, remained stationary, and which we can therefore most thoroughly comprehend by studying it on Arabian ground. When it attracted the attention of the great, and the best traditionists, sought out from all parts and honoured, revived the enormous mass of reminiscences which writing soon attempted to perpetuate, the best achievements of Islam were already done ; but they had roused the national consciousness, and excited all the greater desire to look back into the antiquity that was daily growing more dim. We know certainly that they did not set to work in this without foresight. The most talented and reliable relators were preferred, who appealed, on events of which they were not themselves eyewitnesses, to others as authorities, often adducing a long series of them. And as the field of the traditions was immense, and those who wished to hear them, or to have them written down, generally lived very far from the interior of Arabia, in consequence of the wide diffusion of Islam, this citation of the authorities was transferred in all its prolixity into the oldest historical books. Now although Hebrew history does not adopt this custom of textually incorporating these

authorities for the oral tradition,<sup>1</sup> yet there can be no doubt that the Hebrews paid great attention to the question whether a tradition was derived from a good authority or not; for though tradition never examines its own foundation, it may nevertheless discriminate very well within its own limits, and be on its guard against too gross misrepresentations.

But if the effort to collect and survey tradition gains ascendancy at a period, and in a people, disposed to poetic art, then that poetic and prophetic spirit will manifest itself, which, we said above (p. 27), is latent in tradition, and therefore only waits for the most favourable opportunity to start forth. There must indeed first be a narrator who is capable of thus treating traditionary materials, and whose example may teach others. Should there be such a one, he may cast a seasonable glance from above downward, and, while speaking of an early time, refer prophetically to a later one, the results of which he intends to explain, and thereby link together the different materials so much the more closely. In this case there must of course be an intrinsic connection between the things themselves; and the traditionist, gifted with prophetic insight, then only combines matters which, although separated by wide intervals, have an internal nexus. But tradition, when, under the hand of a skilful master, it assumes this higher form and order, passes unmistakably into a new semi-artificial stage; and we must regard this as the germ of epic poetry. The fulfilment of that which, in the prophetic survey, had been briefly foreshadowed at the beginning, must at length come; and a period full of prophetic truths may most easily inspire this breath of prophetically poetic art into the dead bones of ancient tradition. Ancient Hebrew tradition remained stationary at this strictly prophetic rudiment of a certain kind of epic poetry. A signal specimen of it is found in Genesis xvii., where the description of a solemn moment in the life of Abraham foreshadows the whole history of Moses and David.

When this superadded artistic tendency is further developed, the traditionist will often try—quite in dramatic fashion—to tie a knot at the commencement, and then to unloose it

<sup>1</sup> The *Asântid* (in the singular, *Iendd*), which occupy such a large space in the oldest historical books, and which only later writers venture gradually to omit. The cause why the Arabs stand alone in this respect is to be sought (without excluding their general sobriety of mind, existing by the side of a tendency to occasional exaggeration) in the enormously

wide dispersion of the first Muslims. While their achievements extended over the whole world, and generated an infinite supply of matter for narration, the number of talented relators was so much reduced by their bloody wars, that a stricter attention was very early paid to the personal guarantees of a story.

pleasurably and satisfactorily in following the course of the narrative. For when the narrator is about to relate a long series of stories concerning an eventful time, their varied and scattered images first come before him condensed into one thought, and he is prone, as he surveys the entire sequel in his mind, to let *that* thought start forth at the very beginning, which all the subsequent stories as they are unfolded will thoroughly confirm. Such a mysterious beginning, by giving a brief summary and presentiment of the grand result, rivets the attention more forcibly, and forms a frame in which all the subsequent scenes, down to the foreknown necessary catastrophe, can be tranquilly exhibited. The present books are full of such genuine epic plots<sup>1</sup>—more, indeed, in the later and more artificial literature than in the older, but in both manifestly prompted by the mode in which the oral tradition itself was delivered by a series of skilful narrators.

In these sometimes poetical, sometimes prophetical, attempts to round off and skilfully dispose a series of connected traditions, the freedom required to treat the traditional material is so variously developed, that we may justly regard it as forming a transition to the next great change in this province.

**2.** For as soon as new and yet already concluded events of surprising greatness, and stories that rival antiquity, attract the most attention, or the ancient traditions are thrown aside merely from lapse of time and change of the nation's condition or abode—then this first and, in its degree, very finished form of the simple tradition inevitably changes. The overflowing abundance of the old stories, with the exact memory of the temporal and local conditions of the ancient events, will be more and more washed away by the stream of new ones. And if even at an earlier stage the simple tradition carried on its function of purification and elimination in a quiet way, now a severer struggle arises between the cycle of ancient stories and that of the more attractive new ones, in which the purification and classification of tradition spoken of above (pp. 16, 28) is carried on by the strongest means to its extreme limits. Whatever comes off victorious out of this struggle must, first, have been so ineffaceably ingrained in the mind of the people that it never can be lost again: some imperishable truth or elevating recollection must have been attached to it, which cannot now be permanently divorced from it, and the province of tradition must therefore have in some

<sup>1</sup> Like 1 Sam. ii. 27–36; Gen. xv. 13–16; 1–12. From still later times we have Ex. iii. 12–22. There is much resemblance also in the passage in 1 Sam. xvi. 1 Kings xiii. and other passages, of which we will speak further on.

respects already become archetypal and sacred. Secondly, it may be that these few indestructible reminiscences are saved out of that severe clearance, as sublimated images of a mighty past—a few names, and the events connected with them, standing out in these different later times as witnesses of a hoary antiquity, like solitary granite rocks on a wide plain—but the extreme rarity and dilapidation of these few great remains of earlier tradition render it especially difficult to tell the stories over again, since tradition, so long as any real life remains in it, cannot long rest satisfied with such meagre and dry materials, but will again try to put new life into them.

A new phenomenon may then possibly arise to overcome this difficulty. After the storms of time have passed over such a field of tradition, and it may have long lain forgotten and desolate in the period of transition, the nation is awakened to a sense of the majesty and sanctity of its ancestors; and the relics of the early tradition are in a manner resuscitated, the old tradition comes out of the grave with new and more splendid power, the simple tradition is *born again* and remodelled by art. It is not in general difficult to discern how this remodelling proceeds. The principal thought itself, which was preserved as the indestructible ground of a province of tradition, or as its permanent idea, is now used to cement together all the still extant parts. Whatever they contain that does not harmonise with it, is neglected and rejected in proportion as the fragments are reunited in a firm and beautiful body. Tradition, when gathering up scattered stories into a comprehensive system, is prone (according to p. 34) to seize upon one prominent truth, and to find that truth in all particulars. The same is only more necessary here. And the delineation of all the particulars, which has now to be adopted, naturally takes the same tone as the tradition itself (according to p. 32), and may therefore easily be as graphic and charming as the latter. But because this reanimation of the whole and of the parts proceeds from a narrator and remodeller, whose warmest sympathies are for his own time, and who revives the old tradition mainly for the sake of his own time; later ideas are sure to mix themselves, more or less unobserved, in the description, and the peculiar spirit of the age and religion of such a remodeller can never be dissembled. Thus a multitude of genuine Mosaic ideas and truths have penetrated into the Hebrew tradition about the primeval age, and even, sometimes, look quite natural there.

For tradition is essentially a very plastic material, every one conceiving and representing it in his own fashion: a gifted

person, therefore, can with freedom reproduce it with much more beauty than he received it, without much altering its basis. But it is most plastic when it has reached the advanced stage of which we here speak: when it has gradually laid aside all temporal fetters, and, in its ruins, only hands down a few lofty images of antiquity as so many pure thoughts, then it not only requires the most artistic and poetical narrators to reanimate it (ordinary ones being then inadequate to this work), but it must allow them much greater freedom than is permitted in the first stage, since without that the very object of reanimation would not be attained. Here, therefore, tradition allies itself almost necessarily with new powers and mental endowments, and produces creations of which the first stage hardly displayed the faintest rudiments. If it here observes what is congruous and true, it becomes, by setting out from the fundamental thought of a whole province of tradition, and reviving all fragments through that thought, the genuine restorer and new-creator of forgotten stories, and delineates—with other colours indeed than those of the common story and history, but with no less truth and with greater splendour—the eternal element of antiquity afresh in the pages of the transitory present. And because it sets out from the pure and heaven-directed thoughts of an ancient cycle of tradition, and moreover moves in a province sacred to the national feeling, it can introduce the immediate action of Gods and Angels, and depict the living commerce of heaven and earth exactly as the religion of the nation on the whole conceives it, and as the special significance of the fundamental thought of the tradition requires. We are here, therefore, close on the confines of epic poetry with its mythological machinery; and if the Mosaic religion were not rigidly opposed to the development of a regular mythology, Hebrew tradition also might undoubtedly have easily passed on from this stage into epic poetry—whereas it now displays a leaning towards it, and occasionally thoroughly epic description<sup>1</sup>, but nowhere real epic poetry. Nevertheless, the Hebrews advanced so far on this stage that late writers even attempt to remodel ancient tradition with new thoughts, and care less for the tradition than for its new application and conception. This transition to the greatest freedom of representation, of course, almost destroys this stage of tradition, and rather surrenders the ground to mere poetry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A beautiful example of which is found *fourth* and *fifth* narrators in the Pentateuch, as will be shown further on Gen. xviii.—xix. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The chief examples of which are the

There are, however, innumerable transitions from the simple tradition to this its later revival on more or less *sacred* ground. Whereas the life of David given in the Books of Samuel only at its commencement takes one little flight towards a comprehensive survey from a superhuman point of view,<sup>1</sup> but only once introduces an angel, and then in no important matter;<sup>2</sup> in the life of Moses, as we now have it, the renovation of tradition is very marked, and in that of the Patriarchs it prevails almost exclusively. This anticipatory remark may here suffice: it gives a tolerably distinct notion of the manner in which this kind of tradition advances. Subsequently indeed, when the more natural and living conception of antiquity gradually gave place to a cold reverence for what was old as being in itself sacred, an utterly different kind of clearing out of tradition was introduced: the Books of Chronicles, which elevate the life of David and Solomon to the same stage on which the older books place that of Moses, simply omit everything in their lives that did not accord with the notion of sanctity.

**3.** If we take all this into account, and consider from how many different ages and provinces traditions of most varied character come down to us, this alone will suffice to prove how wide the province of tradition may be. The thorough knowledge of it, in the times when it flourishes, forms the special business and pride of those who have a talent for it,<sup>3</sup> just as in other periods the study of real history; and then the traditionists do not merely minister to the amusement and instruction of curious hearers, but are consulted as authorities in questions of usage or law.

But such a great circle, once formed, will inevitably continue to expand, and take up a multitude of materials that are at first foreign to it in their origin and purport. If favourable circumstances occur, which unite portions hitherto separated of the same country, the local traditions come into contact and are interchanged. If, in addition, a people is in frequent intercourse with foreigners, their foreign traditions are adopted and mixed with their own. We are able with tolerable distinctness to survey in the Greek, but still more in the Indian tradition, the enormous wealth of the circle when thus expanded;

<sup>1</sup> I refer to the passage 1 Sam. xvi. 1-12. such ideas and expressions are not generated by the tradition.

<sup>2</sup> In the pestilence, namely, 2 Sam. xxiv.

16. But the people of that period felt the angel of death to be then personally active among them, just as they recognised the presence of an angel in the conduct of the army and in battle (Judg. v. 23); and

\* There is no doubt that the ancient Hebrews had such persons as the Indians call *Purdnavidas*, and the Arabs call *Râvi*, although we do not now know their designation.

but among the Hebrews also, not only were the traditions of different tribes brought together after the union of the nation under the Kings—as the story of Jephthah, from the Transjordanic land ; that of Samson from the tribe of Dan ; that of Elijah and Elisha from the northern kingdom—but others also, the matter and even the manner of which proves their foreign origin, were admitted.<sup>1</sup> All these, however, were recast by the Mosaic religion before they were incorporated.

Questions about the *origins* of things—among nations, at least, that are sufficiently elevated to propound such, and to find ingenious solutions of them—are especially prone to crowd into this circle. For tradition embraces, from the outset, the whole wealth of the genealogical stories, and therefore legends or opinions about the origin of the progenitors, which it endeavours to reach by tracing them back in a line to a point beyond which there is no advance—nay, even to the gods. Now when tradition has already become accustomed to that poetic remodelling of the subject which we described at pp. 36 sqq., it will gladly receive the answers which the enquiring mind gives to the questions about the origin of the universe, into its own account of origins, clothe them in similar forms, or weave them as well as it can into combination with its own fixed circle. Such are the questions about the origin of the other nations, or of celebrated families of obscure descent—of the many wonderful phenomena which have attracted notice, of inventions and arts, of earth and heaven, or of the gods themselves—subjects which are enigmas for the intelligence of the most ambitious times. Their solution requires powers utterly unknown to the primitive simple tradition : knowledge of foreign countries, mastery of political affairs, imagination, religion ; for the question about the origin of the visible world, for instance, as propounded by antiquity, belongs essentially to the province of religion. These are only admitted in so far as they are answered in the same popular manner that characterises tradition, and are thus interwoven with an existing tissue of ideas. Nevertheless, a people is most prone to form such traditions about origins at a period when it is still contented

<sup>1</sup> We should be able to decide this with much greater precision if we possessed the ancient cycles of tradition of the Phœnicians and other heathens in Palestine, and of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and others. Such traditions, however, as those which we must ascribe to the Fourth Narrator (Gen. ii. 5–iii., vi. 1–4, xi. 1–9), present indisputable indications that their

essential features are derived from foreign sources. The basis of the story in Gen. ii. 5–iii., indeed, must have wandered through many foreign nations before it received its Mosaic costume. As matters now stand, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (which are daily becoming more accessible to us) furnish the most instructive comparisons for the Hebrew tradition.

with a poetical conception of things ; or, if any purely philosophical element should obtrude into this circle—as has happened among the Indians in their Purânas, the simple style of which rather stamp them as popular writing—it is first obliged to assume the easy and naive garb of the popular tradition. Many specimens of this popular development of tradition have been admitted even by the Hebrews ; but these are neither so varied nor so bold as in heathen mythologies ; for the sober and strict unity of God necessarily rendered impossible many questions—such as that about the origin of the gods—which the heathen views of God and the world vainly attempted to solve.

It is on this last stage, and in order by such means to explain the obscure origin of things, that tradition even creates new persons under suitable names, which, from their very novelty, are not hard to interpret. It represents the obscure beginning of a nation under the notion of a single progenitor, whom, in the absence of a traditional name, it calls after the people or the country itself : thus Eber (Gen. x. 24) becomes the ancestor of the Hebrews, Edom (or Esau) that of the Idumæans, Canaan that of all the Phœnician tribes. Further, it makes progenitors of entire quarters of the globe, as Ham and Japheth ; or of the whole race, either of one definite period, or of the earliest conceivable time—as Noah, the father of the renovated race, Adam, that of primitive humanity.

Its transition into myth—that is, legendary lore about the gods—must in like manner be most prevalent here. For the farther it is removed from ocular testimony or the reality of events it has itself experienced, the more freely can it explain isolated and obscure facts by introducing the immediate agency and incarnation of the Deity. The ambition to animate such remote and essentially lifeless subjects leads it naturally to this boldness of introducing the unveiled presence of Deity into history, and thus lifting that veil which so covers ordinary events that the common eye does not even discern the mediate operation of the Deity in them. On the first stage, it barely ventures even to begin to introduce the Deity just here and there, as if tentatively (cf. p. 38) ; on the second, Hebrew tradition is bolder and freer in representing the appearance of God or angels on the earth (cf. p. 37) ; but on this third stage, it makes the Divine agency, without any further limitation, the exclusive subject of history, so that hardly a distinct trace of independent human action manifests itself, and the history of the Flood, for example, becomes not so much a history of Noah as of God himself.

But on whatever stage Hebrew tradition thus introduces the

Deity acting and incarnating itself in history, it undoubtedly is always mythic on those occasions—taking that word in its largest acceptation; and it is of no use to deny that in this it approaches the style and nature of heathen mythologies. But it is just as certain, nevertheless, that it could never become an actual heathen mythology. Pure religion imparts to it a sensitive dread of false, or even too gross, views of the Deity, as well as of dangerous confusion of the divine and human, and—even where it makes these attempts to introduce the immediate agency of the Deity—inspires it with that beautiful considerateness and reserve which are perhaps nowhere so necessary as here. As it thus preserves the true dignity of the Divinity through all these perilous attempts, its choicest productions may serve us as a model, and afford a standard to determine how far a pure religion may venture to make sensuous representations of the Deity. And because the Greek term *myth* is inseparably connected with the whole system of heathenism, and means not *story about God*, but *story about the gods*, therefore we avoid it in Biblical subjects, and rather speak, when we must, of *sacred* or, better, of *divine tradition*.

On this last stage, which embraces the widest compass of traditions flowing from the most diverse sources, is also lastly developed that easy artistic style of combining any mass of traditions by *intercalation*. Here art allies itself with mere convenience, and thereby loses its limits and its beauty. This mode of combination, however, (which among the Indians begins to develop itself fully even in the *Mahâbhârata*, and early passed from them to the Persians and Arabs) is wholly foreign to Hebrew tradition, although its commencements can be plainly discerned in Homer.

III. Now the earliest historians found tradition in this condition—a fluctuating and plastic material, but also a mass of unlimited extent. They evidently could not do much more than is open to any talented narrator: each selected such and so many subjects as his special object required, and settled the uncertainties and smoothed away the discrepancies as the connection in which he viewed the whole appeared to demand. But, inasmuch as writing allowed all this to be effected with greater deliberation and on a larger scale, it all necessarily took a more definite form and observed more fixed limits under the writer's hand than was possible in oral delivery. In this respect the written record, which is moreover more durable, undoubtedly produces the first reaction against the unrestrained power of tradition; and in the Old Testament, the earliest historical

writings of which important remains have been preserved, the *Book of Origins* and, in a degree, the ancient Book of Kings, also display instructive examples of this earliest kind of historical composition.

If, however, such beginnings produce a national historical composition, it may, like every other special intellectual activity, develop itself independently in the course of centuries, and thus gradually unfold the germs of beautiful representation and peculiar art which originally were only latent in it. Tradition, according to what we said above, contains much that demands a reanimating style of representation, a free combination of scattered reminiscences, and an explanation of hidden causes from a higher point of view. All these are so many germs of artistic representation: and historical composition, having once entered on its career of progress, may easily take possession of these germs, in order to develop them, and so acquire a higher art. Now this has palpably occurred in the second period of Hebrew historical composition. The *Book of Origins*, and the still older work, represent tradition very simply, and even in cases where they venture on a lofty style (as in Gen. xvii., Exod. xix.), it appears quite cramped by the strict spirit of the Mosaic religion, like the Egyptian or early Greek statues, which look as if chained motionless to the ground. This is not the case with the Book of Kings, the Fourth Narrator of the primitive history, and other later historians. In these the representation has acquired much greater freedom, and the old limits of the sacred tradition are more and more obliterated. These writers are the first that treat long series of traditions with the great art described above (p. 35 sq.); and the Prologue to the Book of Job, which is at least as late as the beginning of the seventh century, shows to what height of beautiful free art this tendency may at length attain. Another example of the increasing art of this advanced literature has been explained above (p. 20); and others will be particularly noticed below.

When, in the midst of a general advance in the intellectual view and activity of a nation, historical composition adopts this tendency, it is evident that it then plays into the hands of tradition itself, and produces no strong reaction against its influence. The first powerful agent against that influence is the removal of the narrow bounds that limit the original nationality; for when a people, during the period of its own advancing culture, spreads itself, as the Greeks did, over many other nations, and curiously compares their discordant traditions with its own, it will hardly adhere so exclusively to its own hereditary traditions

as before, but will adopt other views of their importance. Moreover, if the simple influence of the imagination and the sentiment gradually gives place to the enquiring and sceptical understanding (and this restless critical spirit is more promoted by frequent intercourse with distant countries), then the second power of tradition, the predominance of the imagination and the feeling, is lost in the process. Then the sober judgment gains courage to sift it, the more so as it has been already resigned to the above-mentioned poetical freedom. Lastly, the collation of many writings, in which it has been recorded with variations, may often help to display its fluctuating character; and the more the immediate history of a time is written down, or the heroes of it commit their own memoirs to writing, the more swiftly does the first power of tradition, the memory and the mere transmission, lose its power.

How long soever, then, the period may be during which tradition, oral and written, may develop itself in compass, and unfold many a bright flower on its course, it is nevertheless doomed to perish. For it is only a peculiar mode of viewing events, which necessarily arises under certain situations and temporal conditions, and must vanish as soon as these are completely changed, but yet does not entirely lose its power until history, as such, is investigated as to its own foundations. But as these its indispensable conditions are not abrogated among all peoples at once, its power lasts, after it has ceased to flourish, longer in one people than in another. The Hindus, so highly cultivated a people in other respects, have in the main never been entirely emancipated from its influence, as is evinced by the fact that Purânic literature continues to flourish down to the end of the Middle Ages, nay down to our own day, and that historical literature, strictly speaking, has not been developed. The ancient Hebrews also disappeared from the theatre of the world's history before this transformation, which began among them, was completed. It is true, the very oldest historical works, the *Book of Origins* and others, though exhibiting some dependence on tradition, display, in accordance with the Mosaic religion, so sound a judgment in the conception and delineation of historical events, that in process of time a genuine historical literature might have been developed out of them. But the decay of the entire ancient nation, consequent on the division of the Davidic kingdom—in which only religion and, along with it, poetry and a kind of philosophy developed themselves for a time unchecked—gradually caused historical composition to degenerate more and more from these glorious beginnings. To what

extent the power of tradition kept its ground in certain favourable provinces, even long after writing had become a substitute for the memory, and a kind of contemporary history had begun to be formed, is shown by the history of Samson in the Book of Judges, and by that of Elijah and Elisha in the Book of Kings. At last, in the third period of historical composition, when the heroes of history at once wrote down their memoirs in full, the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah about their own achievements, and the Book of Esther, which shows to what result the unrestrained power of tradition may lead, stand irreconcilably side by side.

We cannot doubt, however, how we are to treat the tradition of the Old Testament in our investigations of history. When an account is called tradition, the name does not determine from what sources the story may be derived, nor what foundation it may have. Historical research is to supply this deficiency. Tradition has its roots in actual facts; yet it is not absolutely history, but has a peculiar character and a value of its own. Hebrew tradition possesses all the charms that belong to that of the other aspiring nations of antiquity, and, in addition, the altogether peculiar excellence of being filled and sustained by the spirit of a higher religion—nay, of even having become in part the vehicle for its great truths. We must acknowledge and appreciate this excellence in itself, but we cannot use it for strict history without investigating its historical significance. It is absurd entirely to neglect its use for historical purposes, and to consider the duty of science to be to express sad doubts of its truth; thereby depriving ourselves, out of mere folly, of the most comprehensive means of searching out a great portion of history. It is rather our duty to take tradition just as it expects to be taken—to use it only as a means for discovering what the real facts once were. To this we are, even unwillingly, compelled by the different versions of the same incident which we not unfrequently encounter. We must first endeavour to recognise every historian as exactly as possible by his peculiar style, in order to see how he treats traditions; and only then, and by these means chiefly, the traditions themselves. It is most fortunate when we find several traditions about the same thing, by different relators, or (what is still more instructive) from widely distant periods. Thus the single passage in Genesis xiv. throws a new light on all the other stories of the patriarchal world; and many other equally surprising cases of the same kind will meet us further on. When we find only one account of an event, and that one has perchance passed

through many hands and modifications, our task is indeed inevitably much harder : but even then we cannot be entirely in the dark, if we rightly interpret the passage itself, compare it with similar ones, accurately weigh all possibilities, and the general character of tradition, and keep in mind all that we know from other sources about the period in which the event falls. And the thorough understanding of one single portion of ancient history always leads to a surer insight into others.

We shall thus be enabled to attain our main object—to distinguish between the story and its foundation, and exclusively to seek the latter with all diligence. It is not the great and the wonderful in history of which we ought to feel a vague terror, or which we would rather reject and deny. We know that history has its mountains and plains, no less than the earth has ; and how delighted we are to climb the former, without despising the latter ! But we have to discover what the heights of history really are, and to what elevation they rise above the plains ; and the more accurately we estimate their relative proportion, the more purely shall we appreciate and admire those Alpine peaks, which not we but Another has raised.

#### B. COMMENCEMENT OF HEBREW HISTORICAL COMPOSITION. WRITING.

The first historians of a people, as we have said, always find some cycle of traditions ready to their hand ; and precisely the primary characteristics of tradition—the unforced freshness and animation of the story, as well as the general charm of beautiful oral description—are transferred unchanged into the earliest attempts to fetter tradition by writing. The only thing in these rudiments of historical composition, that distinguishes the writer from the mere narrator, is the more comprehensive collection and combination of the traditions themselves, and the wider or perhaps exacter survey of the entire province of history which he purposed to describe in conformity with tradition. If this first attempt to fetter the fluctuating tradition should display too many variations and discrepancies between the separate stories, the writer either places them entirely unaltered beside each other (as the oldest historians of the Arabs do, accurately exhibiting the true picture of all the confusion and variation of tradition, and adducing their several authorities) ; or he tacitly selects what appears to him the most reliable. He may, however, also incorporate in his work two traditions which have been developed out of one incident (according

to p. 16), if to him they appear to refer to two distinct events: thus what is related of Sarah in Genesis xii. 9-20, and what is recorded of Rebecca in Genesis xxvi. 7-11, are both inserted by the same author.<sup>1</sup> Yet, as the first writer who attempts this collection of traditions cannot possibly accomplish the whole task, such essays and commencements of historical writing are repeated until the work is more fully done.

This is in the main the picture which the Arabs give us of the first attempts at historical composition; and as such commencements of an entirely novel literature, among the Hebrews as among other nations of antiquity, have suffered much from the encroachment of later thoroughly different kinds of writing, and as, especially in the Old Testament, they have nowhere been preserved in their genuine pristine state throughout a whole book, a cautious appeal to the example of the Arabs in this cannot be otherwise than very instructive.<sup>2</sup>

It is not, however, merely a given abundance of traditions, and the stimulus of important materials, that of themselves beget such attempts at history; for in that case the Arabs—to cite this most instructive example again—might have had a history long before Islam. The actual rise of independent historical composition presupposes, especially in a primitive people, two other conditions—the occurrence of an extraordinary time by which a people feels itself elevated, and the existence and current use of the art of writing.

As soon as a people is roused from its torpor by such a happy time, which raises it powerfully and lastingly to a higher stage, and inspires it with a far prouder consciousness among the surrounding nations, it also looks farther round about itself in history, and regards with very different eyes the traditions of its own early times. It was not until Islam made the Arabs conscious of their position in the scale of nations that the writing of history commenced among them, setting out from recently revived traditions about their ancient times, and then soon taking up the narration of events subsequent to the origin of Islam. If we apply this to the Hebrews, we are not to imagine that the activity of this people on the great theatre of nations dates its commencement from Moses. Even before Moses, as we shall show, Israel achieved a glory, and advanced to a height among the neighbouring nations,

<sup>1</sup> Both these passages (but not Gen. xx.) belong to the Fourth Narrator of the Pentateuch. *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1832, p. 610. More recently this subject has been discussed by Sprenger in his *Life of Mohammed*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 33; *Zeitschrift f. d. Morgenland*, bd. i. 95; iii. 228, 330, sq.

which were sufficient to awaken in it the germs of historical composition. Nevertheless, it is difficult to prove, from the Old Testament itself,<sup>1</sup> that the rudiments of history were formed before Moses; and, at any rate, those commencements cannot have been very important. But, as will be proved in the sequel, there is no doubt that the Mosaic times were extraordinary enough to develop these germs.

We must therefore pay all the greater regard to the second condition, the existence of an already common written character; in which respect the question takes this form: Did such a thing exist in the time of Joseph, or even Abraham, or, at any rate, in that of Moses? And as we possess no evidence that summarily decides this point—since every investigation into the antiquity and use of writing among the primitive nations is obliged to go back into the mists of the remotest times—nought remains for us but, first to note attentively every mention of writing and its use, and then to search out the oldest documents which necessarily presuppose writing; always keeping in mind the peculiarity of the Hebrew character, and its ancient connection with other kinds of writing.

I. The accounts of the Patriarchal time contain no sure traces of the use of writing in that early age. The *Book of Origins* is so far from alluding in its minutest delineations to such a use, that it gives distinct glimpses of the contrary. According to it, not only divine covenants with man (Gen. i., ix., xvii.) are concluded without written documents—whereas we see from the example of Ex. xxiv., that such documents, when they were conceivable, were not omitted in such descriptions—but also human compacts of the most decisive importance for posterity are, in Gen. xxiii., ratified in a form which never could be adopted when there was a possibility of using written documents. To appreciate the cogency of this argument, we have only to observe how differently the ratification of much more trivial compacts is subsequently described.<sup>2</sup> The Fourth Narrator, who deals with the Patriarchal story subsequently to the date of the *Book of Origins*, does indeed once mention a seal-ring of Jacob's son Judah,<sup>3</sup> and such a ring

<sup>1</sup> We must not appeal to Gen. xl ix. or to Gen. iv. 23 sq., as if these passages must have been written before Moses. It might be more seriously asked, whether such notices derived from the primitive history of the tribes as 1 Chron. vii. 20-27, viii. 13 (see about them below, in the account of the origin of the nation), were not written down before Moses. It cannot be doubted that the Israelites could write during

the time that they sojourned in Egypt, a country which enjoyed the use of writing from a much earlier date, as will be shown when we treat of the Hyksós. Only, what was then written in Israel cannot have been very important—at any rate, we have no traces of it.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25.

necessarily implies the use of writing; nevertheless, this single exception, occurring in this late author, and employed as a mere embellishment of the tradition, has no weight of proof against all the other evidences; although there is no doubt that seals were known in the nation in the time of Moses.<sup>1</sup> Considering, then, that the accounts of the Mosaic times follow a thoroughly different type in this matter, we must admit that that primitive time, even as impressed on the memory of later ages, did not possess the art of writing. And this is one of the many instances that prove that tradition itself may preserve a correct memory of the difference of periods.

For as to the Mosaic time, the most various, and even the earliest reminiscences concur in representing it to have possessed the familiar use of writing. The two stone tables of the law (as we shall show further on) are, according to all evidences and arguments, to be ascribed to Moses: but as the art of writing certainly cannot have commenced with the hardest writing-materials, nor its use been restricted to a few words on one single occasion, the unquestionable historical existence of these tables necessarily implies a diffusion of the knowledge of writing among the more cultivated portion of the people. While the oldest historian expressly states that Moses wrote down the Ten Commandments, and an entire small book of laws besides,<sup>2</sup> the *Book of Origins* not only assigns to him the ancient list of the stations of the people in the desert,<sup>3</sup> but also, in the description of the Mosaic laws, constantly presupposes the frequent use of writing.<sup>4</sup>

The not unfrequent occurrence of writing in the succeeding centuries from Moses to David, which the documents attest in the most credible manner, is in perfect harmony with this. Writing was already a usual auxiliary in common life,<sup>5</sup> and was likewise employed in recording new laws, which were deposited with the older statutes in the sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> It is evident that these troublous times down to David merely continued what had been introduced in the time of Moses.

But in the time after Solomon there is so much writing that ten thousand divine written laws are spoken of,<sup>7</sup> and the great

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxix. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxix. 4, 7. There is a passage from a very ancient work in Lev. xix. 20, which presupposes writing.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxiii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Num. v. 23; xvii. 17 sqq. [2 sqq.]; Ex. xxxix. 30; Jos. xvi. 6 sqq. As a matter of course, the Fourth Narrator, Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 12, xxxii. 32, xxxiv.

27, sq. (cf. also Num. xi. 26), and the Deuteronomist, always assume the existence of writing at that period.

<sup>5</sup> Judges viii. 14; 2 Sam. xi. 14 sq.

<sup>6</sup> This is manifestly deducible from the manner in which the origin of the law about the king is mentioned in 1 Sam. x. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Hos. viii. 12 (*Ketib*); in agreement

prophets are ready at any moment to write down their most important declarations as perpetual memorials for posterity;<sup>1</sup> in conformity with this, the fourth biographer of Moses represents that hero as likewise writing down an utterance made at a decisive moment.<sup>2</sup> Nay, we even read of ready writers, who must have written quite differently to the primitive way,<sup>3</sup> as also of a twofold character; inasmuch as that for the common people,<sup>4</sup> which probably retained more faithfully the simple antique forms of the letters, necessarily implies the existence of another kind, which we may reasonably conceive to have been the abbreviated and less legible tachygraphic character.

II. But even independently of all outward testimonies as to the use of writing, it is indisputable, from the written documents which we can show once existed, that writing was employed as far back as those testimonies reach. It cannot be proved that any written documents of the Patriarchal times came down to posterity;<sup>5</sup> we are likewise unable to show, at any rate from our present sources, that any large historical work was written immediately after the liberation of the people, and while they were still in the desert.<sup>6</sup> But the two tables of the law are an incontrovertible proof that there was writing in the age of Moses; and, when writing once existed, the greatness of the Mosaic age was exciting enough speedily to develop the germs of historical composition. On the same spot, therefore, in the history of Israel, on which the foundation for the whole of its subsequent development was laid, we also find the concurrence of those two conditions from which a national historiography may arise. Passages like the list of stations in the desert from Egypt to the frontiers of Canaan (Num. xxxiii.), the census of the congregation (Num. i. sqq. xxvi.), and others which will be noticed further on, must, according to all indications, have been written early, and may be regarded as historical documents. The 'Book of the Wars of Jahve' (Num.

with this, we find similes derived from writing used in Is. x. 19, xxix. 11 sq.; Ps. xlvi. 2 [1]; for similes can only be taken from phenomena known to every one.

<sup>1</sup> Is. viii. 1, 16, xxx. 8; Hab. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xvii. 14; the mode of delineation is all that is new here; the narrator doubtless found the declaration itself of which we speak in some ancient book, which he might ascribe to Moses.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xlvi. 2 [1].

<sup>4</sup> Is. viii. 1; Hab. ii. 2. I have no doubt that we must take this view of this

matter, although we may possibly yet find actual specimens of these different characters only buried under the soil.

<sup>5</sup> The song of the sword, Gen. iv. 23 sq., is indeed very ancient, and must, from its entire contents, belong to a time anterior to Moses; but its apophthegmatical conciseness makes it probable that it was long preserved in the memory merely.

<sup>6</sup> This will be manifest from the observations which we shall make on all the historical books, and on the Mosaic history itself.

xxi. 14). which, as may be inferred from the citations from it, and other indications, must be very ancient, is by its very title declared to be historical. Thus there was, after the age of Moses, a sufficiently broad and solid basis for the development of historical composition.

We might here further enquire whether the Hebrew alphabetical character was invented by Moses or any of his contemporaries, or whence did the people get its alphabet. Any one who imagines that Moses, or even Israel at all, invented the Hebrew character (as many did in the latest age of antiquity),<sup>1</sup> involves himself in many difficulties. This view is not supported by a single ancient reminiscence, nor in the remotest way by any tradition of Biblical antiquity; and yet the invention of an art like writing is something of which a people may be proud, and of which all civilised nations have from time immemorial been proud. And although the need of a means like writing, for the purpose of fixing the new laws that are to bind the community, may be ever so sensibly felt at the juncture when a new state is founded, as it was in the time of Moses, alphabetical writing is, nevertheless, too artificial a thing to have been discovered all at once and so easily. Moreover, facts themselves contradict this view in many ways. The Hebrew character is a link in the larger chain of Semitic and other cognate alphabets;<sup>2</sup> but it is highly improbable in itself that a people like the Hebrews, which in early antiquity never spread itself widely, nor had much intercourse with foreigners, should actually have communicated the art of writing to such nations as unquestionably excelled it in antiquity of civilisation, in the arts of life, and in extent of commerce, such as were the Aramaeans, the Phoenicians, and others. The converse of this is evinced by the nature of things. Further, an investigation into the Semitic languages shows that the Asiatic members at least all express the simplest notions relating to this art in the same way,<sup>3</sup> whereas later improvements of it are denoted by each

<sup>1</sup> Eupolemus (a writer who, according to Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* ix. 17, is referred to by Alexander Polyhistor, in the time of Sulla, and who is also known to Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 23) makes him the inventor of the Hebrew alphabet (Eusebius l. c. ix. 26); and Artapanus (Eusebi. Pr. Ev. ix. 27) makes him the inventor of even the Egyptian characters. We shall show further on what credit these writers deserve.

<sup>2</sup> See also my *Aufführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr.*, p. 41 sqq. 7th ed. The

cuneiform characters on the contrary were probably derived from the precisely opposite quarter, namely from the North and northern nations. See *Göt. Gel. Anz.*, 1859, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Not only is בְּרִכָּה, *to write*, together with its many derivatives, common to all the Semitic languages (with the sole exception, perhaps, of the Ethiopic and South Arabic, in which בְּרִכָּה is the commonest word for it), but also בְּרִיךְ, *book* (properly *scale*), and בְּרַךְ, *ink*, are found in them.

in different manners.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon cannot be accounted for except by assuming that this character, in its simplest use, was first employed by an unknown primitive Semitic people, from which all the Semitic nations which appear in history received it along with the most indispensable designations of the subject; as surely as the fact that *Eloah*, the name for *God*, is common to all Semitic nations, proves that the primitive people from which they all proceeded, designated God by that term; and just as, in following out such traces generally, we are led to the most surprising truths about the remotest periods in the history of nations. The proper place, however, to pursue this subject will be in the history of the Hebrews in Egypt.

III. We see then here also how surely every enquiry into the origin of writing among the primitive peoples of antiquity, loses itself in a distant mist, which all our present means are inadequate to explore. Writing always exists among these peoples before we can historically trace it; for, like every primitive art, it has always surely sprung from the pressing needs of life, and probably been soonest developed by some nation possessing extended power and commerce. The application of it to write history, or even to fix laws, was then manifestly still far off. Whatever the Semitic people may be to which half the civilised world owes this invaluable invention,<sup>2</sup> so much is incontrovertible, that it appears in history as a possession of the Semitic nations long before Moses; and we need not scruple to assume that Israel knew and used it in Egypt before Moses. For that Israel did not adopt the Egyptian

Only the pen, or instrument of writing, must have early changed, as פַתְחָנָה and פַתְחָנָה

(unless בְּנָה may possibly be related to both) are very isolated, the Syrians using בְּנָה, and the Arabs and Ethiopians, with the later Jews, even employing κάλαμος.

<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the evidently later appearance of the art of making a *volume*, a *roll*. This does not occur among the Hebrews until the seventh century B.C., and its complete designation is בְּנֵת קְרֻבָּה, בְּנֵת קְרֻבָּה Ps. xl. 8 [7], Ezek. ii. 9 sqq.; its shorter one, מִלְחָמָה, Jer. xxxvi. 14 sqq., Zech. v. 1 sq., Ezra vi. 2. But the Arameans use instead בְּנֵת (Assem. Biblioth. i. 26, 34, Wiseman, Horae Syriacae, p. 297) and the Arabs جَلْد, or even لَوْمَه, as the Ethiopians do (this last from the diminutive τομάπιον). We will not here attempt to

determine what people invented this new art; in this, too, the Hebrews doubtless only followed the example set by others, just as in the Babylonian empire they adopted the there prevalent custom of writing on bricks, Ezek. iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Was it the Phoenicians, or not? This question, as also the kindred one, whether there is any possible connection between this character and the still older Egyptian, rather belongs to the history of the Hyksos, which we shall treat of below. Even should the Semitic writing (as is certainly conceivable) have borrowed from the Egyptian the one of its main principles, namely that of making the letter represent the first sound of the name of the object depicted by it, yet its other main principle, that of always representing the same sound by one and the same sign, raises it infinitely above the Egyptian, and is the very thing that actually makes it, in spite of its conciseness, an adequate representation of vocal sounds.

character (which is moreover hardly transferable to a language not Egyptian), but that of the nations cognate to itself, is in perfect accordance with the state of things in the period anterior to Moses.

It is probable that the cognate nations not only possessed the art of writing before Israel did, but an historical literature also; as Israel, according to all indications, was one of the smallest and latest in the series of great and early civilised sister nations. When we reflect that such definite and minute accounts as we find about Edom in Gen. xxxvi. have all the air of being copied into the *Book of Origins* from the older documents of that people itself—since the traditions of the wisdom of the Edomites must have some foundation;<sup>1</sup> when we consider the ancient narrative contained in Gen. xiv., so strikingly different from all other accounts, in which Abraham is described as an almost alien ‘Hebrew,’ much as a Canaanite historian might have spoken of him;<sup>2</sup> and observe further, that the incidental notice which we obtain from the *Book of Origins* (Num. xiii. 22), about the date of the building of the ancient towns Hebron in Canaan, and Tanis in Egypt, has all the appearance of being a fragment of a Phœnician or other foreign work upon an historical province entirely alien to the Hebrew works known to us; then it cannot but appear very probable, or rather certain, that the earliest historians of Israel found many historical works already existing in the cognate nations. That the Tyrians possessed accurate histories with an exact chronology, we know for a fact, from the fragments of the works of Dius and Menander of Ephesus, who worked up their contents for Greek readers.<sup>3</sup>

The more surely, therefore, might historical composition in Israel—even if certain crude attempts at it had not been made before—have been rapidly developed after the great days of Moses and Joshua; and it is incontrovertible that after Moses

<sup>1</sup> Much antique wisdom is ascribed to Edom, although in somewhat later works, Job, Jer. xlix. 7, Obad. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 13. All indications tend to show that this whole piece, Gen. xiv., was written prior to Moses. Only the mention of Dan as a northeastern town (verse 14) is surprising, when we compare Judges xvii. sq.; as wherever in this piece the modern name of a place is placed beside an ancient one, it is always only by way of explanation. However, as the later author who inserts this piece evidently writes with greater freedom towards the end, we may suppose that in verse 14 also he put

the later name *Dan* in place of the ancient one *Laish*.

<sup>3</sup> See Josephus, Ant. viii. 5, 3; 13, 2; ix. 14, 2; Against Apion, i. 17 sq. These fragments, indeed, relate only to the time from David onwards; but as their contents and style are strictly historical, we cannot conclude from that circumstance that the Phœnician histories may not have also described much more ancient times. See also my *Abh. über die Phönischen Ansichten von der Weltgeschaffung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's*. Gött. 1861.

a Hebrew historiography of momentous import both could, and actually did, develop itself. How it advanced, however, and what phases it passed through in the course of centuries, is in the main only to be gathered from an investigation of the documents themselves. For the accurate appreciation of this portion of Hebrew literature shows indeed that its history is most closely connected with that of the general development of the nation, and that the image of the progress of all national efforts and conditions is clearly reflected in this special product of its mind. But as it is very difficult to form a correct appreciation of the date and primitive character of the historical books in the shape in which we find them, we must not shrink from a connected examination of them all, and here at the outset at least establish as much as is necessary to the general aim and conduct of the following work. Special remarks on the historical sources available for particular periods and events can only be introduced in the body of the work itself.

*Grandeur of the Subject of the Historical Books.*

A correct appreciation of this entire province of literature teaches us, it is true, that an uncommon activity and assiduity of the better mind of the old nation was therein displayed, taking a higher flight, indeed, at one time than at another, but yet never giving up through fatigue, but, in spite of every difference in part, maintaining on the whole so even a tenor that the Gospels themselves, the youngest products of the true spirit of this national literature, bear in their most important characters almost involuntarily the greatest likeness to the oldest. But as this branch of literature developed itself more and more, it was soon obliged to climb the special height and assume the peculiar direction which fell to its lot as an important member of the entire national literature. It served, indeed, also the common lower aims of all historical writing, registered the wars and conquests of the nation, the deeds of the rulers, the genealogical tables, and the like. But if (according to p. 15, 31 sq.), as tradition became a national treasure of Israel it was affected by the nature of the dominant religion, much more must this have been the case with history, its full-grown and independent daughter. Where had religion, with its fundamental claims and directions, stood in such intimate relationship with the whole people, whether they would or no, as here? and where the conception of the spiritual God, as constantly watching behind all human thought and action, was so power-

fully active, there all historical observation and description of things and events must also easily draw the narrator up to God. This easy sensibility and excitability for everything truly Divine, this assiduous listening for the voice, the will, and the almightyess of God in human affairs, this keen perception of divine justice, and all the wonderful disposition of divine power, and lastly this open eye for all human perversities and presumption, constantly exhibited by the great prophets, could not indeed but pass over with ever-growing strength to the historians, appear continually in their modes of conceiving and presenting events, lend the brightest colours to their style, and even penetrate the simple narrative in no few instances.

But narration did not need to remain always so simple. Historians who had to survey and describe whole periods, or who undertook to embrace all preceding history, might often design their works from the height of those sublime thoughts which the remembrance of the relation of the true God to human history must always excite. Where true religion has been long active, it generally tenders its profoundest views and truths on occasion of vivid contemplation of the whole past or future, or of great sections of history, lying before the thinker as a reliable and completed experience. Such deep glances into the divine relations of all human history might have been given in their first outlines long before a narrator sufficient for their height and their truth arose to exhibit them with distinct clearness in a large historical work. If now the period which such an historian wished to embrace receded into a long-concluded past, and therefore the divine element in the history could be easily surveyed in its dense and brilliant rays, then there would be found under the hand of the finest historians such works as the *Book of Origins*, to be mentioned further on — works in which the highest sublimity of historical contemplation is balanced by the exactest and soberest description of human events and affairs, and in which one seems to behold a living account of the working of the true God throughout all human history, without on that account losing a correct and (so far as the means afforded) faithful historical picture of man and his deeds.

Moreover, many of the best Prophets gradually came to record so many of the most important occurrences of their own time, and experiences of their own activity, as might pass with posterity for the most reliable and authentic contributions to history. They laid great stress, indeed, upon the Divine element in history, without in the least marring its human

truthfulness, and in this way gave striking hints for the portraying of long periods in accordance with such higher perceptions and views, and for the discrimination in narrative of what was really Divine in human events, and in the fates of empires and dominions. And this contributed most of all to give to Hebrew historiography its peculiar expression.

Now all this taken together created the true greatness of these historical books. Historical writing among this people became childlike, simple-hearted, and filled with the pure love of truth ; not indulging in that vain and lawless phantasy and desire for fame, which easily destroys all earnest truth, but brief and terse in delineating the true, yet at the same time always living and stimulating. When, however, these specialities spring from the predominant control of true religion, then she imparts to historiography her own height of thought, and aversion to all that is frivolous, vain, and empty in narrative, such as characterises more especially the Buddhistic, but in a measure also the entire historical literature of Heathenism. This grandeur of material, and this simple force of representation, becomes therefore more and more the most significant peculiarity of Hebrew historiography, and that by which it is so sharply distinguished from that of Heathenism. Certainly, it suffers palpably enough during retrograde times, and the Books of Chronicles do not attain the height and splendour of the older books, the Book of Esther even becoming, when regarded from this point of view, its precise antithesis. But on this soil its special impulses and preferences easily reassumed their power at each more favourable period ; and when we find in the Gospels that the more original they are, the more these reappear in a new form, this is by no means to be ascribed to mere imitation.

But the height of the subject and treatment in consequence of which Hebrew historiography stands so alone in antiquity, and serves for us too as a perpetual model, remained the sole highest point which it both strove after and attained. This forms at once its genuine glory and its immortal meaning, which one should never ignore : but as it lays claim to no more, it would be folly to bestow upon it any other. That it sought out and faithfully used the most reliable sources, is a matter of course, a consequence of its universal tendency to plain truth and divine earnestness : but to what may be called in a strict sense erudition it never raised itself.

*The Anonymousness of the Historical Books, and the Art of  
Historical Compilation.*

There is a general criterion by which, in spite of its apparent insignificance, the whole peculiarity of Hebrew historical composition in relation to proper historiography can be very plainly discerned at once. This is, the anonymousness of the historical books. Neither the historians were wont to name themselves as authors, nor the readers to be curious about their names. This custom is universal at first, and only gradually relaxes in the last centuries, as may be inferred from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and from the fact that the Books of Chronicles are the first to make exact enquiry as to the names of the authors of ancient historical works. Even such names as 'Books of Moses,' 'Books of Samuel,' first came into vogue in these later ages of the ancient people; as will be explained further on. We must believe that the anonymousness of the historical works was the established rule from the beginning, and was preserved unaltered even in the most flourishing times of their historical literature, and returns even in the last genuine descendants of this primitive style. For whilst the Second Book of Maccabees by naming an author betrays itself to have sprung from a completely Hellenistic mind, the First Book remains nameless, as do all the Gospels; and the fact that not even the Gospel of John bears its author's name on its front is explained by this old and consecrated custom. This very thing forms a constant distinction between Hebrew historical composition and that of the Greeks as well as the Arabs (or Mohammedans generally), and is a defect from which it never entirely freed itself even in later times. It is here almost as it is among the Hindus, where from ancient times no great enquiry was ever made about the author of a *Purâna*, and where the author was never wont to name himself.

It is a matter of very little importance indeed, when looked at from the simplest point of view, who is the first to write down a well-known story or tradition. The minute diversities, too, which the written picture produces, are easily kept in check by the great events themselves, so long as these exercise a lively influence on the mind of the nation; and the stories which the narrator essays to embody in writing appear to him so grand and so permanent that his own personality becomes subordinate and vanishes before them. On this account all historical composition, so long as it remains in this perfectly

simple stage of development in a nation, will long continue to be anonymous. If the ancient Arabian history forms an exception to this, that is to be attributed to special causes (see p. 33). The case is quite different with the Prophets: their name, nay, their life, must at once guarantee their word. Hence there is no portion of the Bible in which the names of the authors have, on the whole, been so faithfully preserved. The fame of poetry also, as soon as it has attained any elevation, is easily reflected on the poets. Hence the names of the authors are frequently mentioned in the poetical parts of the Old Testament, whenever it was possible to do so. But no single name of the author of a narrative work has been preserved, so inviolate was the ancient custom, even in the most flourishing periods of their historical literature, and so much more highly did the people esteem the history itself in its grandeur and truth than the person who related it. When one reflects, moreover, that the higher a narrator soared (p. 53 sqq.) the more was he compelled to let his own personality disappear behind the grand divine story he had to tell, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the names even of the greatest historians of the Old Testament are lost to us. Their contemporaries could doubtless always have learnt their names, if they had troubled themselves about it; but it was not the custom to inscribe them in the books themselves, so that we should never have known the authors' names even of our five New Testament histories, had not special causes operated in the case of the Gospels to prevent their names being lost.

But, in fact, this also shows that the zealous search after that truth was not then understood to be the hard but necessary toil of individuals. As soon as ever it becomes very difficult to search out the whole historical truth, and there is a deeper appreciation of that difficulty, then individuals must devote themselves specially to that investigation; and the historical view which thus proceeds from a person who has examined the whole subject, is necessarily referred to him, and to the authority of his name. Works of history will not then be often produced anonymously and circulated without a name. We may in this respect affirm that the non-namelessness of the historian is the beginning of historical science.

Now the ancient people Israel passed the most glorious time of its history in such a happy domestic seclusion that, on that very account, the truth of its own history could not be much obscured and perverted in its memory; and it had no cause to be very curious about foreign histories. The great sobriety of

its religion further preserved it from too gross corruption of the historical consciousness. In this simplicity of life and thought, and during the very time that its peculiar spirit was in its most fruitful development, it felt little necessity for critically investigating its ancient history ; and though a science of history might have commenced in the period after David and Solomon, yet it was choked by the troubles of the succeeding times. The impulses and germs of a stricter investigation of antiquity were indeed then busy ; this we must discern and admit :<sup>1</sup> but before they could gain strength to develop themselves fairly, they were suppressed. Thus the nation at length disappeared from the theatre of the world's history without having attained an exact knowledge of either its own ancient history or that of other nations. The old Hebrew historical works supply us with the most reliable and relatively speaking the most abundant materials for the investigation of the whole of that national history which is in itself at the same time the history of the development of the only eternally true religion. They are also filled and sustained, in their most essential spirit, by the inmost springs of that religion, and they could not be otherwise ; yet we must not demand from them what they do not possess and cannot give, and we should acknowledge a defect which we cannot gainsay. Here, as in every other case, it will be enough if we find the real merits of the cause.

Now, as the historians had not so much as the habit of designating their works by their names, later writers found it much easier to copy the works of their predecessors, more or less literally, and to digest and use their materials in the most various ways. So long as the simple style of historical composition prevails, historical works are very liable to this treatment, even when the authors name themselves—as so many Arabian histories show : how much more easily then when they are entirely anonymous. In fact, every strict examination of the historical works now contained in the Canon of the Old Testament, show uncontestedly that the late authors often copied the older works very literally, fused together the accounts and notices of the various and sometimes discordant authorities, and placed them in new combinations, and thus were rather collectors and digesters of older historical materials, than purely

<sup>1</sup> Let the reader only consider such passages as 1 Sam. xxvii. 8 ; Num. xxiv. 20 ; 1 Chr. vii. 21, where we may read three different independent opinions on the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, all of which rest on trustworthy recollection and investigation, and the general style of treatment to which the Deuteronomist subjects the ancient history.

original authors.<sup>1</sup> In the earlier times, so long as historical composition, with literature in general, was still flourishing, the amalgamation and fusion of the various written documents was effected more easily and gracefully than in the later. And it is in accordance with this that the reference to written authorities is very rare in earlier times, and only occurs in indispensable cases, but in later ages becomes more frequent and regular.

But we arrive here at one of the most memorable phenomena in the entire ancient Hebrew literature, which extends far beyond the range of the historical books, and hitherto has been but little regarded. In order to appreciate it in a manner proportioned to its importance, we must think ourselves back into the times when there was a great mass of scattered anonymous writings on the same subject in circulation, and when it was no easy task even to bring them together, and still less so to connect them properly. If several different writings on the same subject lay scattered in disorder, it was clearly in itself an advantage to select the best of them and combine them more intimately with one another; and if the writings were anonymous, it was so much the more easy to combine them agreeably to some special aim. But tolerably early the skilful compounding of many such works into one new one must have been raised into a special art; for in fact there needed not simply the will, but also considerable ability and dexterity, to effect such a compilation; skilfully to work over materials, to weigh the mutually contradictory, and by the aid of possibly numerous omissions and some connecting or explanatory additions, to blend the whole as far as possible, and to build up a new whole whose origination from previous documents only a practised eye can discover. But this special art of *book-compounding* must have been much practised in the Israelitish nation as early as the tenth century B.C. It extends down to very late times, flourishing more in prosperous periods than in others, and had manifestly the greatest influence on the whole outward form of a large portion of the literature. It might, besides, take many various forms. The book-compounder might add more or less of his own, might work over all his materials with more or less freedom. By nothing so much as by the activity of this art can one gauge the degree of perfection to which

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of all other points of disagreement, there is much resemblance to this in the origin of many of the Purānas. See the remarks in Burnouf's Preface to the 'Bhāgavata Purāna,' vol. iii.

p. ci. sq. There is also much resemblance in the manner in which Iamblichus' 'Vita Pythagoræ' has been made up from older Greek works.

the entire literature of Israel thus early raised itself. It trenches upon the entire literary field. The Book of Enoch as we now have it owes its origin to this art.<sup>1</sup> Both the Canonical and the Apocryphal Proverbs,<sup>2</sup> no less than the Psalter and the Book of Job, have passed through these finishing workshops, notwithstanding the authors' names which are here and there interwoven. Even the collection of the Sibylline Books has arisen in a similar manner.<sup>3</sup> Chief of all, however, did this art find its employment in the historical works; nor can anything be conceived more elegant and perfect than the compilation of almost the whole of the Old Testament books of narrative. For it is certain, on closer investigation, that not merely the Pentateuch or Genesis, but almost the whole of the historical books, are traceable to distinct and still recognisable sources, though in most the combination has been so cleverly executed that one frequently experiences a difficulty in recognising the rivetings. Moreover this art is exhibited in the three first Gospels and the Acts; and in the Ten Books of the *History of the Apostles* referred to Abdias, the various layers of earlier written narratives of which they are composed are clearly to be made out. Of such importance is it to understand rightly this particular art, and so surely do we encounter here the traces of a forgotten but once very eager literary activity.

There are few historical books, therefore, now in the Old Testament, which have been preserved perfectly as they were first composed. The latest of all, the Book of Esther, is the only one that we can claim as wholly such; in the little Book of Ruth we observe, at the end at least (iv. 18-22), a literal copy of older writings. It therefore must certainly cost no little trouble to discover and clearly discriminate the original works in the present ones. All that has been preserved of them is more or less fragmentary and confused, and it is often hard enough even to find these fragments correctly. The necessity of such researches, however, spontaneously forces itself on us at every attentive perusal of the books; and, on the other hand, we may be even glad that the late works have preserved so many portions of the original ones, and that we are still enabled, by the careful study of so many fragments of the most

<sup>1</sup> See my *Abh. über des Ath. B. Henökh Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*. Gött. 1854.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wiss.*, iii. and xi.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Abh. über Entstehung, Inhalt, und Werth der Sibyllischen Bücher*. Gött.

1858. That such works as the Talmud, the C. J., the Babylonian-Arabian and the Greek *Geoponica* must have arisen in this way, is self-evident; only in them the names of the reputed or actual authors of the original writings are often preserved.

different kinds and ages, to obtain a more complete survey of the whole ancient Hebrew historical composition.<sup>1</sup> We now proceed to particulars.

### C. HISTORY OF HEBREW HISTORICAL COMPOSITION.

The historical works contained in the Old Testament, which must be the chief sources of this history, are divided, both as to their character and their external order and arrangement, into three parts : I. The books which are devoted to the description of the Antiquity of the nation, or the period down to the time of the Judges : viz. the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua ; which, however, properly only form one work, and which (if we wished to give them a collective name) might be called the *Great Book of Origins*,<sup>2</sup> or of the *Primitive History*. II. The books which describe the time of the Judges and Kings, down to the first destruction of Jerusalem : viz. the Book of Judges and the four Books of Kings (*i. e.* the two of Samuel and the two of Kings), to which we must add the Book of Ruth, which accidentally has received a place in the Hebrew Bible among the Hagiographa ; all these likewise, on their last redaction, only formed one work, which might be appropriately called the *Great Book of Kings*. Each of these two great works, therefore, not only embraces a separate province, but, by a surprising coincidence, at the same time comprises one of the three great periods into which the entire history of the nation is divided by intrinsic character ; and all critical investigation brings us to the conclusion that neither of them, in the state in which we find them, is a single work in the strict sense, but is to be regarded as a book in which a number of kindred accounts and

<sup>1</sup> When these investigations began to be zealously pursued in Germany, more than seventy years ago, very much perversity of attempt and aim mingled in them. Scholars were too easily satisfied with hunting out mere contradictions in the books, detecting want of coherence in the stories, and resolving everything into 'fragments' ; whereas they had not yet found any large firm basis, and were therefore unable to distinguish a real incongruity from a merely apparent discrepancy. I do not now regret having cast my first youthful work of the year 1823 [*die Komposition der Genesis*] into that wild ferment : I still maintain large and important portions of it. I have, however, already spoken of it more than

once [namely, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the year 1831, p. 595 sqq., and in the March number of the *Berliner Jahrbücher* for the same year.] The necessity of strict investigation in this province is evident to everyone who is not wilfully blind ; and all we have to be concerned about is, that our knowledge and discernment should be thoroughly reliable and profound. No conscientious man ought any longer to pay the least attention to the stupidity of those scholars who even in our day condemn all investigations of this sort in the lump.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confounded with that which I usually call the *Book of Origins*. This latter is the older book, and one basis of the present one.

representations of the same period have gathered round a main central work, or rather, have attached themselves to it as closely as possible—just as, in the Psalter and the Proverbs, a quantity of kindred matter has gradually gathered round the nucleus furnished by David's songs and Solomon's proverbs. To these are to be added : III. Those much later works which are placed together in the *Hagiographa*, namely, the *Great Book of Universal History down to the Greek times* (the Chronicles, with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah), and the little Book of Esther. These are the three strata of historical books in the Old Testament, which, moreover, were completed and received into the Canon in the same order of time. And as each of the three great works sprang, both as to origin and present shape, from peculiar and independent tendencies of historical view and description, we find in them, when taken together and thoroughly appreciated in all their minutest parts, the exactest possible history of the fates and modifications of Hebrew historical composition, from its rudiments, down through its fullest and ripest development, to its complete decay.

## I. THE GREAT BOOK OF ORIGINS.

## PENTATEUCH AND BOOK OF JOSHUA.

This work on the history of the ancient period of the nation is, as to its origin and the greater part of its contents, considerably older than the second of the three books above mentioned, and has therefore experienced far greater transformations, before it emerged out of the flood of similar books, as the only one which posterity thought worth preservation. Before it received its last modifications, earlier historical works and documents of the most various kind were gathered into its bosom, as rivers into a sea; and the discovery and discrimination of these oldest component parts is the problem, the right solution of which is indispensable for the use of the various materials, and includes in itself the relics of a history of the oldest Hebrew historical composition.

Without doubt, the utmost foresight is the first condition of sound discernment in this field. For when we have to deal with books which are no longer in their original state, and which we only know at second or third hand, by isolated criteria, it necessarily follows that the oldest are the most difficult to discover, because repeated redactions may have so much shortened, or transformed and amalgamated them with later material, that it requires the utmost effort to collect the fragments of a work from their dispersion and confusion, and to form from them a correct notion of the whole work. As it is impossible, however, any longer to evade all researches of this kind—unless we are ready beforehand to renounce every sound view about the whole of the oldest history—everything depends on our research being profound enough to exhaust all the evidences that the present documents offer. It is surprising to see how the varied phenomena of this province, as soon as we only make a right beginning of comprehending them, contribute so much light to explain each other, as to make it possible to establish the most important certainties on what at first sight seemed such slippery ground.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After I had gained some insight into the leading necessities that govern this whole subject, I was curious to see whether K. D. Ilgen [*Die Urkunden des ersten* *Buchs von Mose*, Halle, 1798], the only scholar of older date, who, after the physician Astruc and Eichhorn, carefully examined the Book of Genesis with refer-

### I. *The oldest Historical Works—the Book of Covenants.*

There are writings which have every appearance of great antiquity, but which do not particularly claim our notice here, because they cannot be reckoned to belong to narrative literature. Thus, as we shall frequently remark further on, many short codes of laws were written down at a very early date, and on repeated occasions; nevertheless, in so far as these were written down by themselves, they do not belong here. It is not so easy to conceive that such a passage as the list of the stations (*Num. xxxiii. 1-49*), which must have been written early, and which is even ascribed to Moses himself (v. 2), can ever have been written down by itself, without belonging to a regular historical work. If, then, we look for traces of strictly historical works, such as we should expect to find in Israel, a close scrutiny certainly does discover comparatively many and distinct vestiges of this kind. In a general way, we include among them all the passages which, according to all appearances, must have already stood in some historical book or other before the date of the *Book of Origins*, which we shall soon describe, and other later works. We find such fragments of the oldest historical works scattered about from the *Book of Genesis* down to that of *Judges*; and, as far as it can be concisely done thus early, we will indicate them in the note below.<sup>1</sup>

ence to its sources—had discovered the true state of the case in this book, at any rate. But alas! I found that, though he occasionally takes a step on the right road, he always loses it again. As for later times, I may refer to what I have myself said in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the year 1831, p. 595-608; and to Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, 1838. On the more recent unsatisfactory and often perverse works of Hupfeld and Knobel I have written at length in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wiss.* v. p. 239-44, and *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, p. 17-31. The opinions of such as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, Kurtz, stand below and outside of all science. See also p. 61 above.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Book of Genesis*: some ancient elements in xi. 29 sq., xv. 2, xx., xxi. 6-32, xxvi. 13-33, xxix.-xxxiii. 15; more connectedly and very little changed, xxxv. 1-4, 6-8, 16-22; much in xxxvii., xl., sqq., may be derived from this source, especially as to what regards purely Egyptian topics; but we do not discover the unadulterated original again till xlviii.

7, 22, xlix. 1-28.—In the *Book of Exodus*: iv. 18, 24-27; xiii. 17-18; much in xiv.; then xv. almost entirely; xviii., xix. 3-xxiv. 11, a large main-piece, although the Fourth Narrator must have enlarged something in xix.—In the *Book of Numbers*: xi. 4-9, xii. 1, 3, xx. 14-21, xxi. 1-9, 12-35, xxxii. 33-42, very important passages.—In the *Book of Joshua*: v. 2-12, as to its basis; much in x.-xii., especially the list in xii. 9-24; in xiii. 2-6, 13, xv. 13-19, 45-47, xvi. 10, xvii. 11-18, xix. 47.—In the *Book of Judges*: the whole chapter i. to ii. 5, little altered; but also the passage in x. 8, and much in ix., have all the air of being derived from very old documents. Many portions of these works are, without doubt, scattered about in other places, freely treated by later writers, and thoroughly changed in the redaction. Where such materials are to be looked for, the consideration of the following works will teach. It was hardly possible to explain here, with all necessary detail, the grounds for ascribing the above-cited passages to one or more ancient historical works. We

If we compare these fragments with the subsequent works, which we shall soon describe, we at once discern a marked difference between their mode of treating the history itself. The subsequent works delineate, indeed, many incidents of the age of Moses and Joshua with great minuteness of detail; but in that case they pursue more definite aims, legislative and prophetical, and each of them, as we shall show, does so in its own peculiar style. But these fragments have no such limited scope in their account of these times; moreover, the matter which they record may be recognised as the most strictly historical, and the picture which they present as the most antique. However few the comparative number of the accounts may be which are now preserved in these fragments, they afford us the clearest insight into those times, and with all their conciseness contain an abundance of graphic and truly historical views, which afford us the readiest key to the understanding of all later works. We will show further on, by many examples, how much they surpass even their immediate successor, the highly important *Book of Origins*, in simplicity and exactness, as well as in fulness and variety of record, and to what extent it is true that we possess no more reliable accounts of the events and peculiarities of early times than they contain. There is hardly anything which the historian has more to regret than the fact that only so few of these fragments have been preserved.

These fragments also display many both rare and archaic peculiarities in the usage of words;<sup>1</sup> and much that is very

shall speak more intelligibly, and at the same time more concisely, on these points further on, in the special portions of the history itself, and in part in the following explanation of the separate historical works.

Confining ourselves to the passages which have been little changed, and which are at the same time not poetical, we find here, in proportion to the trifling bulk of the passages, a great number of words which are either entirely unknown elsewhere, or are not usual in prose. Thus, בְּאָרֶץ, Ex. xxiv. 6; לִילְאָנָה, v. 11; עַבְּדָאָרָה, Jos. v. 11; קְרִיָּת, xv. 18, Judges i. 14; לְקָלָה, Num. xxi. 5; מְפֻנְדָּחָה, xi. 4; in the whole Pentateuch, and throughout the entire Old Testament, except the passages that adopt the word from the Pentateuch (Lam. iii. 5; Mal. i. 13; Neh. ix. 32), לְקָלָה is only found in Ex. xviii. 8 and Num. xx. 14; and מְלָחָה, only in Ex. xiii. 26, xxiii. 25; the word סְגָלָה, in the remarkable passage Ex. xix. 5, which was constantly

being read, only recurs thrice in Deuteronomy with the same idea, and in a different connection in Chronicles and Ecclesiastes. Among the remarkable formations are the strange infinitive עַלְלָה, Ex. xviii. 18, and the suffix נִמְ—, not in verse (though certainly lofty prophetic diction), xxiii. 31. We might enumerate many peculiar expressions, as, *King's road* (still found in Amharic, *jangus mangud*, accord. to Isenberg's Dictionary, p. 33, 102; מַלְךָ מַלְךָ, Mischnas Sanhedrin, ii. 4; دَرْبُ السُّلْطَانِ, Dr. Seetzen's Reisen, i. p. 61, 132; and *Sultana*, in Robinson's Palestine, iii. 141, Amn. Marc. 23, 3, 1), for broad *high-road*, Num. xx. 17, xxi. 22; הַמְּמֹתָה, said of the divine, i.e. irresistible discomfiture of an enemy, Ex. xiv. 24, xxiii. 27, Jos. x. 10: אֲזַיְן צְבָרָה, 'without trouble,' Num. xx. 19; לְמַטֵּה, 'according to the edge of the sword,' חַרְבָּה, 'according to the edge of the sword,' i.e. without mercy, Num. xxi. 24; Jos. viii. 24, x. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, xi. 11 sq.

isolated and obscure in later works has certainly been borrowed from these remains of early history, or from similar sources.<sup>1</sup>

If we are asked, however, whether these fragments belong to a single historical work which originally embraced them all, we must answer in the negative. Although all the difficulties of such researches are centered here, we are nevertheless able, by gathering together into as lifelike a combination as possible all that bears signs of having once been full of life, to discern in these fragments several historical works from which they must be derived. As far as we can distinguish these, as to the dates of their origin, they succeeded each other in this order:

1) The account of an important speech of Joshua's (Jos. xvii. 14-18) is evidently one of the most remarkable relics of the oldest historical composition; and none among all the above-mentioned fragments is so strange as this, in purely linguistic and artistic respects. The narration here almost stammers, as if it had yet to learn an easy flow. This prose is as rough and hard as a stone; and if there is any passage in the Old Testament which proves that common—that is, not poetical—diction (although, of course, it always existed along with poetical diction, just as night beside day) is at first but little fit to be written down, and only gradually and laboriously attains the roundness which suits writing (which verse originally possesses of itself), this passage is the one.<sup>2</sup> Besides, we are to take into

14 sq., xix. 47; Jdg. i. 8, 15, an expression which indeed often recurs in other later books after this model, but which is foreign to the *Book of Origins* (concerning Gen. xxxiv. 28, see further on). The case is the same with the expression לֹא הַשְׁאִיר לו שָׁרֵךְ, 'he left not one that escaped,' Num. xxi. 35, Jos. x. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39 sq., xi. 8 (cf. viii. 22); בָּתָה, maid, for בָּתָךְ, is likewise foreign to the *Book of Origins*, compare Gen. xx. 17; xxi. 10-12; xxx. 3; xxxi. 33; Ex. xxi. 7, 20, 26 sq., 30; xxxii. 12 (xx. 10), with Gen. xvi. 1-8; xxv. 12; xxxv. 25 sq.; אֲנָזֵת בָּתָה, 'on account of,' is at least nowhere so frequent a characteristic as in these fragments, Gen. xxi. 11, 25, xxvi. 32; Ex. xviii. 8; Num. xii. 1. It accords well with all these criteria that these fragments do not, as the *Book of Origins* does, introduce the name Jahve at Ex. vi. 2, but besides that name, constantly use the common one Elohim, even in the sublimest moments of revelation, in a manner which we should neither expect to find, nor actually do find, in the *Book of Origins*, Ex. xiii. 17 sq., xviii. 1 sqq.

xix. 3, 17, 19, xx. 1, 19 sq. Peculiar expressions and views, when they are at the same time important for the history, will be explained below in their places.

<sup>1</sup> It has hitherto been little noticed that obscure words and sentences which, according to all appearance, must be based on ancient tradition, and which yet occur in the midst of easy and flowing descriptions, are derived from such primitive sources, and are evidently only repeated by subsequent writers for the sake of the ancient tradition. A convincing example may be found in the obscure passage Gen. xx. 16, which, from the mere resemblance of verse 17 with Ex. xv. 26, Num. xxi. 7, must be taken from one of these ancient works. There is a similar case in the name 'the dread of Isaac,' for Isaac's God, Gen. xxxi. 42, 53, which must have an historical foundation.

<sup>2</sup> The repetition of the explanatory יְהֹוָה, which is nowhere else so great as in Jos. xvii. 18, appears in somewhat the same way in Ex. xxiii. 33, which is likewise an ancient passage; nevertheless, it does not recur there so frequently as in the former; and the passages of this *Third Narrator*

account the thoroughly antique and almost unexampled historical contents of this passage: so that there can be no doubt that it was written down soon after Joshua's death.

From the nature of its contents, however, this account would originally have only formed a small section of a larger work. What then was perhaps the very oldest historical work in Israel, after Moses and Joshua, to which it belonged? We once find a *Book of the Wars of Jahve* specially cited as a written document, by a later but comparatively very ancient historian;<sup>1</sup> and if we regard both what he cites from this source, and the name he assigns to it, it will lead us to important conclusions. Verse 14 cites from the ancient book a thoroughly unconnected sentence, which begins and ends with accusatives, and cites it merely as a further testimony to the position of Israel's encampment:

[We took]

Waheb in Sufa, and the valleys of Arnon,  
and the slope of the valleys that reaches to the site of Ar,  
and leans upon the border of Moab.

Verse 20 cites another passage for the description of a station:<sup>2</sup>

[the dale]

that is in the field of Moab, at the head of Pisgah, and looks out over the wilderness.

The structure of the members, and the very rare diction,<sup>3</sup> as well as the style of local description, which is by no means that usual in prose, show that these are fragments of songs, of songs of victory beyond doubt, which celebrated the conquests of the nation—the possible compass of which we may estimate by the similar song in Judges v. The name *Book of the Wars of Jahve*,<sup>4</sup> indicates a book which, to judge by its title, certainly

already possess a much more flowing style generally. Besides, almost everything in the language of the passage in Jos. xvii. is strange.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxi. 14. To be sure, the LXX. translate here διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ἐν βιβλίῳ Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου τὴν Ζωδία ἐράθησε, but manifestly from a variety of misunderstandings; and it is almost incomprehensible how in the Zitsch. d. Deut. Morgenl. Ges. 1880, p. 316 sq. this utterly perverse interpretation of the words can be approved, and the existence of a *Book of the Wars of Jahve* denied.

<sup>2</sup> The formula of citation is indeed absent here, but it occurs just before, and the style of the diction indicates the same source.

<sup>3</sup> Let the reader only consider the very peculiar usage of ἔρηξ, for *deciuity*, of ἔρηξ, for *place*, of ὅπλα, before the name of a place, and even serving to define the situation of the place. The expression in Deut. xxxiv. 1 is probably only derived from the last phrase. How old the whole v. 20 is, appears also from the fact, that a writer many centuries later applied it quite differently, Num. xxxiii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> That is, sacred war, war against oppressive heathens, said with the same emphasis as in 1 Sam. xviii. 17; xxv. 28; cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 11.

did not contain only such songs, but a collection of all such reminiscences of the victorious campaigns of Moses and Joshua. We must therefore consider this to be one of the earliest historical works, which also contained simple narratives. We may assume, then, that the above-mentioned passage of Joshua originally belonged to it. Another very important passage that probably belonged to it, is the great Passover-song in Ex. xv. 1-18; for this has in v. 19 a brief explanatory appendix, which the next early historian (the author of the Book of Covenants), of whom we shall soon speak, must have found already annexed to it. The work might also have contained a list of the sites of Israel's encampment in the desert, which this same author of the Book of Covenants used. And if the author of the Book of Origins found Israel's stations in the desert already recorded in this oldest historical work, we can readily understand how he came to ascribe such a list to Moses himself, since it may at least at bottom be actually traceable to him.<sup>1</sup>

2) According to all indications, we may refer to a second historical work some passages which—in direct contrast to the preceding unpractised attempts—display a hand more skilled in narrative composition, so that we may on that account consider this work somewhat later than the preceding; but which, as to contents, ascend back to very early times, and may very well have been written in the first century after Moses. We find no indication that this work contained more than the life of Moses himself, and, in the absence of the original designation, we may reasonably call it the *Biography of Moses*. But even the fact of its proposing to itself so limited a subject, is (as will appear further on) an evidence for its early date. Moses himself and his time are here presented to us on all sides in the clearest light. No other work known to us describes that great time more minutely and familiarly, and at the same time in such delicate and transparent language, as we discern in these fragments. They also manifest most unmistakable similarity in the external properties of the diction. But alas! they are only a very few fragments.<sup>2</sup>

3) Of a third work, many more fragments have been preserved. And when we compare the contents of the most important

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 2; on this two-fold list of the encamping-places of Moses, see what is said further on, of the march through the desert.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, Ex. iv. 18, and the whole chapter xviii. are all that we can confi-

dently reckon here; but without doubt many other records were ultimately derived from this work, especially that list of the camp-stations of Israel under Moses, which disagrees with the one above referred to.

among them, they at once display a striking common character in one particular: they are mainly intent on showing how the ancient compacts and covenants arose, and describe with especial minuteness all that concerns these. It is as if people were then in an unquiet time, in which every one tried to secure himself by oral or written agreements with friends, and by binding compacts;<sup>1</sup> such importance is here attached to covenants in all relations of life. As a covenant is made between Israel and Elohim in the sublimest passage of the history,<sup>2</sup> so, according to this work, there is one between Jacob and Laban, Isaac and Abimelech, Abraham and Abimelech;<sup>3</sup> and there is the greatest resemblance in the descriptions of the ratifications of all these covenants.<sup>4</sup> This work is so peculiar in this respect, and all equally important accounts about the patriarchal world contained in later works are so evidently a mere development of the principle here laid down,<sup>5</sup> that I do not see how, if we will give this work a name (its ancient name being lost), any better designation can be found for it than that of *Book of Covenants*.

If we seek the date of this work, all discoverable traces show that, though it cannot be earlier than the second half of the period of the Judges, or, more definitely, the beginning of Samson's jurisdiction, it certainly cannot be later. If the passage in Judges x. 8 is from this work, as I believe it is, that would bring us to the times after Gideon; and it is evident from Num. xxxii. 34–42, and from the above-mentioned passages from the present books of Joshua and Judges, that the first times after Moses and Joshua had long become a matter of history. Jacob's blessing (Gen. xl ix.), which has every sign of having been borrowed from this book, leads us still nearer to the determination of its date. For it is entirely based on an actual view of the scattered manner in which the twelve tribes dwelt in Canaan in the period of the Judges. The very different conditions of the various tribes, such as must be the case when there is no strict national unity, and was the case just then among them, cannot be more faithfully described than

<sup>1</sup> See the clear account given in another very ancient document, Gen. xiv. 13, and the manner in which our work speaks of its own time, Ex. xxiii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxi. 22–32, xxvi. 28–31, xxxi. 44–54.

<sup>4</sup> To see this more distinctly, we must take into account that this work, although it describes the ratification of covenants

with such minuteness, yet never mentions the 'salt of the covenant,' as the *Book of Origins* does, Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19; cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> What the *Book of Origins* says about the Divine Covenant with Abraham, Gen. xvii., and even with Noah, Gen. ix., lies so far removed from all historical experience, that the prototype of it can only be sought in Ex. xxiv.

they are in this song; and it is as certain that Jacob's blessing was composed in the period of the Judges as it is that the Song of Deborah belongs to the same date. How certain it is that it was not produced in the time of the Kings, is further evident from the fact that the imitation of it, Moses's blessing in Deut. xxxiii., was really composed for the purpose of supplying its deficiencies, which were subsequently very sensibly felt. For when Israel felt itself united and happy under kingly rule, then—to say nothing of other changes which time had wrought—it could no longer be contented with a benediction which nowhere regarded the nation as a whole, and which, with respect to some tribes, rather turned off into curses, or at any rate into bitter reproaches; and we comprehend how a poet might conceive the idea of remodelling it in such a way as we see in Deut. xxxiii. Another indication that Jacob's blessing belongs to the later half of the period of the Judges is found in the remarkable fact that Deborah's song was present to his mind as a model; and though it possesses much poetical beauty, yet it is very far from having the original poetic vigour that Deborah's song has. But the clearest indication for us is its declaration about Dan, v. 16–18 :

Dan [judge] shall judge his people,  
as any tribe of Israel.  
Let Dan be a serpent in the way,  
a basilisk in the path,  
That bites the horses' heels,  
so that his rider fall backwards.<sup>1</sup>  
— I hope for thy help, oh Jahve !

This distinctly refers to Samson's time and judicial office, when even the small tribe of Dan was as fortunate as any other great one in seeing, in the person of Samson, a successful judge and hero arise in its midst of whom it could be proud, and under whom, although small and oppressed, it rose boldly against the Philistine supremacy, like a serpent which, though trodden to the earth, attacks the valiant rider behind.<sup>2</sup> And it being certain that this position of the tribe under Samson soon passed away without abiding consequences, such declaration must surely have been written down during Samson's brief and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the way in which among the ancient Arabs also the image of a warrior as a serpent is worked out. *Hamasa*, p. 784 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Even the ejaculation in v. 18 is characteristic, inasmuch as it distinctly shows

how immediately and how fervently those then living hoped for Dan's, that is Samson's, victory. The interjection here belongs to the original text just as much as that in Is. xlviij. 4.

successful resistance; from which we may form a correct inference as to the date of the whole historical work of which we speak, inasmuch as all the other indications point to the same period.

This work, therefore, had its origin in a time which (as we shall show in its place) rose with new zeal against the great dangers and corruptions which multiplied in the first careless centuries after Moses; a zeal which, after repeated kindlings, at last produced a really great deliverance under Samuel and the first king. In this new popular fervour it might have been considered advisable to survey the past history of the nation, to describe its ancient victories and its destiny, its laws and its covenants, and to remark by way of contrast how low it had fallen in recent times, and how much of the Holy Land it had still left in the hands of the heathen (*Judges i.*). Thus the plan and nature of the work, as far as we can discover them from its fragments, may be clearly inferred from the period of its origin. The state of things in the time of the author, as to the intermixture of the people with the heathen, and the position of many unconquered heathen towns in the midst of Israel, was evidently similar to that described in the memorable passage in *Judges i.*; a state of things that had so entirely changed even under the first kings that the *Book of Origins* presents quite a different picture. It is evident that the traditions about the days of Moses and Joshua were then very abundant and pure, as is to be expected, seeing that no new and more important period could have obscured their memory. Traditions of the Patriarchal time were also incorporated, manifestly with great fulness and detail, and with reminiscences whose completeness gradually diminishes afterwards;<sup>1</sup> we have no evidence, at least, that the work ventured on the primitive times before Abraham. The time of the author was, however, already so remote from the Patriarchal age, that it was possible to use a poetic license, and venture on one bold imaginative picture of that age. Sorrowfully surveying the condition of the scattered tribes, and compelled to pronounce praise on some of them, and poignant blame on others, he fled in spirit to the memory of the Patriarch Jacob, in whom the idea of the unity of the nation always centered, and from whom every member of the community might expect an en-

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, Phichol as general, and Ahuzzath as friend (minister) of Abimelech, who stand now very isolated (*Gen. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26*), and look as if they were merely casually preserved out of a cycle of much more circumstantial traditions.

during fatherly interest in the fortunes of his posterity.<sup>1</sup> All antiquity entertained the notion that dying persons have moments of illumination, and especially that a dying Patriarch could foresee the destinies of his posterity.<sup>2</sup> Thus he ventured to make the dying Jacob the mouthpiece of all the pure truths to be pronounced about all the tribes.<sup>3</sup> This is the earliest attempt of the kind known to us; later writers have evidently only copied the example here set.<sup>4</sup>

Even the tribe in which the author composed his work may in some degree be determined. He certainly did not belong to the tribe of Levi; he makes no allusions to its privileges and honours, nay hardly mentions it, as this tribe had fallen very low in the time of the Judges before Eli; and in the only place in which he is obliged to mention it in the series of the tribes,<sup>5</sup> he coldly degrades it to a level on which it could be placed only by a stranger, and only at that period. In like manner, he rises with noble pride against the northern tribes, which were more intermixed with heathen.<sup>6</sup> He praises the tribe of Joseph indeed, as he could not then help doing;<sup>7</sup> but there is no indication that he belonged to it. On the other hand, he everywhere exalts the tribe of Judah so markedly,<sup>8</sup> that we cannot shut our eyes to the special interest which draws him towards it. And that he dwelt in the south, and regarded the relative positions of the inhabitants from that point of view, is deducible from his special notice of the Amorites,<sup>9</sup> and from the custom thence arising of using the name of Amorites in a general sense, instead of that of Canaanites<sup>10</sup>—a pecu-

<sup>1</sup> That in early times a reciprocal relation was always assumed to exist between the Patriarchs and their descendants, is clearly seen in the language of the Prophets: as Hosea xii. 4 sqq. [3 sqq.]

<sup>2</sup> Homer, Il. xxii. 355–360, and the commentators *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> That the author does not so much mean the sons of Jacob as the tribes, in Gen. xl ix. 1–27, he himself explains at the end, v. 28; and this gives us a clear hint how the whole is meant to be taken, and that the speaker himself may be understood to be identical with the poet. The special blessing on Joseph (verses 22–26), however, is ancient, preserved from times long before Moses; on this matter see below, on Joseph.

<sup>4</sup> Not only Moses' blessing, Deut. xxxiii., but also such declarations as Gen. xviii. 15–19, xxvii. 27–29, 39 sq.; Num. xxiii. sq., are entirely formed upon that model.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xl ix. 5–7 cf. xxxiv. 25. In

contrast to this, Moses' blessing gives exclusive prominence to the opposite side of Levi. Deut. xxxiii. 8–11.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xl ix. 14; Judges i.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xl ix. 22–26.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xl ix. 8–12, where he is almost declared the first-born, and, at any rate, made equal to the princely tribe of Joseph (Judges i. 2 sqq.); compare, moreover, the very minute remarks about events belonging to Judah's territory, Judges i. 12–15 (Jos. xv. 16–19); v. 16; Num. xxi. 1–3.

<sup>9</sup> Judges i. 36, where there is a very precise definition of the southern border of the Amorites, which is nowhere else referred to.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. xl viii. 22 (see on the contrary xxxiv. 2); Num. xxi. 13, 21 sqq., xxxii. 39; Judges i. 34 sq., x. 8. Other writers belonging to Judah speak in the same manner, Amos ii. 9, 10, the author of the ancient Book of Kings, 1 Sam. vii. 7, 14; 2 Sam. xxi. 2 (see on the contrary Jos. ix. 3 sqq.), and the Fifth Narrator, Gen. xv.

liarity which markedly distinguishes these fragments from others.

If we look more into the intrinsic character of this narrator, however, we almost always find him animated, in the midst of his representations of antiquity, by a strong *afflatus* of the prophetic spirit—a point that also distinguishes him from the preceding narrators. Even that Blessing of Jacob could only have been imagined by a genuine prophetic spirit; in the description of the covenant between God and Israel the same spirit displays itself in a glorious Divine declaration;<sup>1</sup> and in other places also, and throughout, we discern its traces as a fire constantly glowing under the ashes. Nevertheless, the narrator adheres very closely to the simplicity of the ancient tradition, and thereby differs sensibly enough from the later regular prophetic narrators.

For this very reason we discern in him the rudiments of a higher art of historical description. This shows itself also in the fact that he is the first (as far as we know) who united the remote period of the three Patriarchs with the Mosaic history into one great work; by which it became possible (as will soon appear from the *Book of Origins*) for this history to be gradually enlarged into a universal history of the world. We have the less reason to be surprised that this historian used older written documents. He inserted the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 1-17);<sup>2</sup> he incorporated songs which have all the signs of great antiquity, and which must have been written down previously.<sup>3</sup> For such and other historical purposes, he made use of the above-mentioned *Book of the Wars of Jahve*, and probably other written sources also. He appealed to popular songs of the Mosaic time, of which the same may be said;<sup>4</sup> he even inserted a rather minute summary of the Mosaic laws, or ‘ordinances,’ which he must have received from an earlier time, as he repre-

16, to say nothing of such late writers as Jos. xxiv. 8-15; Judges vi. 10; x. 11; 1 Kings xxi. 26; 2 Kings xxi. 11. The author does indeed also use the name Canaanites; but in Ex. xxiii. 23 at least places the Amorites first in the series of nations.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxiii. 20-33.

<sup>2</sup> But without the addition about the seventh day of rest after the creation, in the fourth commandment, verses 9-11, which is as certainly an interpolation by the *Book of Origins*, as it is certain that the Decalogue in Deuteronomy shows signs of the Deuteronomist's hand.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xv. 1-19, and Num. xxi. 17 sq.

Both are introduced with exactly the same formula, and the only easy way of accounting for the historical remark appended to the first (Ex. xv. 19), the purport of which is already expressed in chapter xiv., is by assuming that the author of this work found it already written in an ancient work, in which the songs were accompanied by short historical illustrations. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that such verses as those in Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlvi.) could be produced in any other way than by purely literary art.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 27-30, about which we speak further on.

sents God to have communicated it to Moses after the promulgation of the Decalogue, in order that he might lay it before the people; and we cannot imagine it to have come down to him in any other way than by writing.<sup>1</sup> This work, therefore, presupposes a tolerably wide literature, and wears even a somewhat learned air, by its formula of citation, ‘wherefore it is said, &c.’<sup>2</sup>

According to all indications the *Book of the Upright* was written hardly perhaps in the time of David, but certainly soon after, under Solomon. This, as its name and its extant fragments<sup>3</sup> show, was chiefly composed to show, by historical songs, how an upright man in Israel, a Joshua or a Jonathan, should live, what glorious victories he could achieve, and what glory he would gain. Thus it was an historical manual of instruction, without connected narrative. But its collection of genuine historical songs of ancient and recent times supplied most excellent materials to subsequent historians.

## 2. *The Book of Origins and its Sources.*

We come next to the important work whose appellation as the *Book of Origins* we have revived, for reasons to be presently explained. Of this work there are fortunately longer and more numerous fragments preserved than of that described above, which it certainly exceeded also in its original extent. The present work (on the discovery of whose age and author all correct views of its entire nature must depend), belongs to the period of the early monarchy, and is therefore considerably later than the other.

1) That it belongs to this period rather than to an earlier one, is most immediately evident in general from the glances

<sup>1</sup> This is the notable passage, Ex. xxi. 2-xxiii. 19 cf. xxiv. 3. The special name of this section, ‘ordinances,’ is fixed by xxi. 1, and xxiv. 3; but that, according to the historian’s meaning, Moses did not write down these ‘ordinances,’ but merely ‘the words of Jahve,’ i.e. the Decalogue, follows from a comparison of xxiv. 4 with verse 3, and xx. i. We might therefore even fancy that the historian had himself composed this summary of laws, were it not that the style of its composition and the plan of its present arrangement indicate a different conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxi. 14, 27. It might surprise us that the *Book of Origins*, although a later work, has nothing of this learned

air. But the *Book of Origins*, to say nothing of its utterly different authorship, is intended to be rather a book of laws than a strictly historical work, as will be shown below. The resemblance to Gen. ii. 24, x. 9, xxii. 14, might tempt us to think that the quotations in Num. xxi. 14, 27 had been introduced by the Fourth or Fifth Narrator; yet their hand cannot be distinctly recognised in Num. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Jos. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18. This explanation of the name and object of this book is the most probable one that can be given. It was preeminently David that rendered the name and notion of the ‘upright’ glorious in Israel. See *Die Psalmen*, 2nd ed., p. 4.

that it casts upon its own times in the midst of an exhibition of the Patriarchal world. For it is bolder in such attempts at exalted general views of times and things than the historical work characterised above (see above, p. 34 sqq.). Whereas the latter, so far as we see in its fragments, only once makes the dying Jacob cast his gaze upon the extreme future, and thereby deliver exalted truths about the overclouded present of the writer; in the *Book of Origins* on the contrary, the voice of God appearing to the Patriarchs often abounds with cheering addresses and joyous promises even for the 'seed' or later posterity; as though the writer's present (to which such declarations are properly to be referred), were one of those rare ages that feel themselves exalted by a flood of prosperity, and anticipate yet greater for the future. And here it is said among other things that Abraham, and likewise that Sarah and Jacob, shall 'become a multitude of nations, and that kings shall come out of' them.<sup>1</sup> Now why should the blessing be so defined, and limited to something so special and seemingly casual, as that kings should descend from the Patriarchs? and how is it that such a conception of the Divine blessing is found only in the demonstrable fragments of this book and in no other? This question can never be answered but by maintaining that the work belongs to the first period of the rising monarchy, which advanced the true prosperity of Israel, when in the full sense of the words a 'multitude of nations' assembled round the throne of the far-ruling King of Israel, and Israel, after the dismal days of dissolution and weakness, could boast with a new pride that it too possessed kings. And as this generally acknowledged dignity of the monarchy of Israel begins with David, we are thus precluded from thinking of the times of Saul. But it is no less self-evident, on the other hand, that such declarations cannot apply to the times of the decay of the monarchy, which commenced after Solomon; and this receives distinct confirmation from the very different tone of the later works. These declarations could originate only at a time when the monarchy was Israel's latest and as yet unmixed blessing. And, moreover, there is not heard throughout the whole work a sound of uneasiness occasioned by troubles of the times; but we rather seem to be breathing the quiet untroubled serenity of a happy Sabbath-tide of the national life.

We are brought nearer to a result by a passage on the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi., closely connected with the above-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 5 sq. 16, xxxv. 11. The declaration about Isaac, which is now work appears to have contained a similar lost.

mentioned declarations. When about to enumerate the series of kings of Edom, the author finds occasion to add, that they ‘reigned before there reigned any king over the children of Israel’ (v. 31). There was then already a king in Israel at the time that he wrote thus; and the words excite in us the feeling that he half envied Edom for having enjoyed far sooner than Israel the blessings of a united and well-regulated kingdom. But further, not only is the last-enumerated king in this series, Hadad, described as if the narrator had known him as exactly as one of the kings of Israel,<sup>1</sup> but the enumeration of the kings is followed (verses 40–43) by that of the chieftains of Edom, as if after the monarchy the country had returned to the rule of chiefs; this sounds quite as if David had already vanquished the last king of Edom and put the country again under mere chieftains. The Hadad, descended from the blood of the kings of Edom, who at David’s conquest fled, very young, to Egypt,<sup>2</sup> may have been a grandson of Hadad the last king, as the grandson frequently bears the grandfather’s name.

But the exactest indication of the period of composition of this work is to be sought in the account of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 1–11. This account, as we now have it, has indeed indubitably passed through the hands of a subsequent reviser, who must have altered or added much of it;<sup>3</sup> but yet it preserves the clearest traces of having been originally composed by the historian whose work we are here considering;<sup>4</sup> so that we cannot but allow that the author must have finished his work after the great event of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon. But on the other hand, the work cannot

<sup>1</sup> That this king was still alive at the time when the work was composed (although such a thing is possible), cannot be positively inferred from the fact that his death is not mentioned in v. 39, since the only reason why יְהוָה is constantly added to the notice of all the preceding kings, is in order to form a transition to the next king of Edom.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xi. 14–22. An accurate comparison of the two accounts proves the Hadad here mentioned to be a different person from the one spoken of in Gen. xxxvi. 39. The Hadad that fled to Egypt had evidently never been king at all, and had quite a different consort.

<sup>3</sup> Even the transition with יְהוָה in v. 1 and 12 is entirely opposed to the usage of the *Book of Origins*; the word יְהוָה, v. 1, 3, is as foreign to the *Book of Ori-*

*gins* as the name of the month, v. 2, as we shall show further on. There are also occasional differences of style, and the whole v. 9. must be an addition by a later writer, on account of the usage of רַק and of הַלְכָה, as well as the general tone of the language.

<sup>4</sup> The main proofs of this assertion are: the use of the word נֶצֶח, v. 1, and of the expression כָּל עֲרֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַגּוֹעֲדִים עַלְיוֹן, v. 5, which have all the peculiar air of the *Book of Origins*; the perfect harmony of v. 7 sqq. with Ex. xxv. 13 sqq. 20; xxxvii. 9; Num. iv. 6 sqq., and, on the contrary, the discrepancy between these descriptions and 1 Kings vi. 23–27; lastly, the remarkable agreement of v. 10 sqq. with Ex. xl. 34 sqq., the weight of which cannot be made apparent till we treat of the Mosaic time. Of the passages that describe the building

have been composed much later than the time of this dedication, which falls in the eleventh year of the long reign of Solomon;<sup>1</sup> for it must belong, as we have said, to the first glorious period of the monarchy. And the great fact of the building and dedication of this temple might serve the historian as a fitting conclusion to his work, which might even close with the noble words, ‘The glory of Jahve filled the house of Jahve’ (1 Kings viii. 10). At least we may assume that it was completed in the first third of Solomon’s forty years’ reign.

In fact no time could be more favourable than this to the undertaking of an extensive historical work; when the nation, lately victorious over all the neighbouring tribes, delighted in the memory of its own antiquity, and had latterly gained during years of peace sufficient leisure for a survey of the history and relations of all nations of the earth. It was a grand time, such as never returned again, with its quiet dignity and its manifold artistic productivity. An historical work possessing a scope, an arrangement, and an art fully worthy of the age, is the *Book of Origins*, which has not its equal for artistic beauty and lofty historical feeling in the whole domain of Hebrew history, and in almost every respect deserves to be called the finest historical work of that ancient nation. As among the Greeks, the times immediately succeeding the victories over the Persians produced an Herodotus and a Thucydides, so among the Hebrews the first days of quiet after David’s great victories are observed to occasion a higher craving for historical survey and enlightenment, which puts forth its fairest blossoms in this finest of all Hebrew histories.

If we seek a more exact knowledge of the writer’s descent and position, we do indeed find that he takes pleasure in giving precedence to the tribe of Judah in the narration of national affairs,<sup>2</sup> not without intending, in this as in all such descriptions of ancient institutions, to present at the same time a pattern of correct conduct for his own times. Yet it need not be inferred from this that he belonged to that tribe, but at most only that it was the leading one in his day (which we already

and dedication of Solomon’s temple, the following also were derived from the *Book of Origins*: 1 Kings vii. 13–47, viii. 62–66.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings vi. 37 sq. It is probable that the last reviser borrowed this date, together with the other more important one, v. 1, from the *Book of Origins*, with his accustomed modifications, especially as the important date in v. 1 stands alone in all

the later books, and on the other hand accords perfectly with the exact chronology of the *Book of Origins*.

<sup>2</sup> In Num. ii. 3 sqq., vii. 12 sqq. ‘This is indeed contrary to i. 5 sqq., xiii. 4 sqq., xxvi. 5 sqq., but is to be ascribed to a special cause, to be explained below. But Jos. xiv. and xv. are decisive, as also Gen. xlvi. 28 sqq.’

know from independent sources). On the other hand, he so evidently assiduously gives prominence to everything concerning the tribe of Levi, and everywhere takes such especial notice of its privileges, duties, and functions, that we must at least attribute to him the exactest knowledge of all the concerns of the sacerdotal tribe. But who could even possess such knowledge in those times, and who, moreover, portray with such warmth even the minutest feature of the sacerdotal system, but an actual member of the priesthood? Particular passages of the work are written expressly and exclusively for the priests, to serve them as a rule in their sacerdotal functions; the book itself expressly making this distinction.<sup>1</sup> As surely as the author of the former work was no Levite (p. 72), we must allow the author of the present to be one; and only by supposing him to have been a Levite of the brilliant age of Solomon, shall we correctly apprehend the peculiar aims as well as the true disposition and arrangement of a large portion of this work.

2) For, as touching the aims of the work,

a) The chief aim was unmistakably to survey from the resting-place which that epoch had reached, the entire mass of historical matter in its greatest extent, and to trace it back up to the ultimate commencement of all creation. As the Greeks after the Persian war embraced with fresh delight the history of all nations and ages, and in a short time immensely extended their historical survey, so this work endeavours to conceive of history in its widest extent, as certainly no earlier work had conceived of it. The work does, to be sure, take the nation of Israel at once as the grand centre of all nations, and as the great final purpose of all history; but from that centre it overlooks the wide circle of all nations, and from this final purpose it boldly rises to the earliest conceivable beginning of all history. Both elements unite in the idea of portraying the *Origins*—the origins of all historical things that admit of it, of the nation of Israel as of its individual tribes and families, of the heroes of Israel as well as of all its institutions and laws, of all nations of the earth as well as of the earth and heaven themselves. And whatever the writer has to treat at ever so great length, he must always start with the description of these origins, and fit everything in succession into the frame thereby given. Such a childlike conception of all history, under the influence of the first attempts to span fully its wide domain, and to con-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. vi. sq., xxi. sq.

struct it according to a fixed principle, is undoubtedly very natural at a certain stage of every nation's culture. The Indian *Puráñas* have most faithfully preserved this stage of historical instruction and easy survey;<sup>1</sup> and I have no hesitation in saying that this Hebrew work in its fundamental arrangement may be compared to such a *Purána*.<sup>2</sup> With this conception are connected all the writer's views as to the correct division of the wide subject-matter. For, with the attempt to survey the history of the human race from the actual state of nations back to the farthest antiquity, was easily combined the theory of four great ages of mankind, in which the human race outwardly expanded and advanced higher and higher in the arts, but inwardly wore itself out in a constantly accelerating ratio; and in the last of which—the then present—the life of humanity was felt to be dying out. This idea pervades the antiquity of many cultivated nations,<sup>3</sup> and may have come to the Hebrews from older tribes; but the form it then took among them caused the entire period since the Patriarchs to be conceived as the latest age, that of the Patriarchs as the last but one, and all the remaining immeasurable primitive times up to the beginning of the human race as divided by the Deluge into two halves, the first and the second age, and human life as gradually and constantly degenerating in these various periods. Now as these four ages must be conceived of as gradually progressing in the variety and development of life, so that the latest was the most varied, we have lesser periods comprised in the last age but one and the beginning of the last, formed by the life of each of the three Patriarchs, by the abode in Egypt, the life of Moses, of Joshua, and of each of his successors. But along with this idea the nation had yet, through its earlier fortunes, retained a clear consciousness that it was comparatively recent and outwardly inconsiderable among the nations of the earth. Accordingly the task of a Hebrew historian being to show from the store of ancient tradition how Israel, although so recent a community, had yet been separated from all other nations, and

<sup>1</sup> To which the *Mahā-Bhārata* also belongs, according to its own statements in the preface; it is only one of the oldest and best *Puráñas*, which opens its arms very widely for the reception of all possible legends.

<sup>2</sup> Of course this is said without taking into account the dissimilarities, such as principally the less deve'oped genius for history in the Hindu works, and their custom of connecting the whole story with some definite occasion in antiquity, a

practice which, in itself, indeed, is very proper (for a narrative only possesses its complete meaning and scope, in a certain place, and on a certain occasion), but which easily becomes very seductive on account of the facilities it affords for wrapping up one story within another. See above, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vishnu-Purāna*, p. 13 sqq., and more on this subject further on in this history.

become dominant over many in fulfilment of its high destiny, his principle of arrangement of the details of every period of the primeval history was, always first to dispose of those nations or families that do not lead down direct to Israel, that Israel may then at length come out as a special people, and the narrative there gain its highest attraction and greatest breadth. This fundamental arrangement, consistently carried out in the smallest details, pervades the entire structure of the great work. Thus, (1), after the Noachic deluge (where our author fixes the origins of existing nations), he separates off all the numerous nations not belonging to the race that leads down to Israel, Gen. x., and even arranges these in such a manner as to come in order from the most distant (Japhet) to the nearer (Ham), and the nearest (Shem). Not till then follows the series of generations leading down to Terah and Abraham (Gen. xi. 10-26), to which is attached the detailed history of Abraham. In like manner (2), he first separates off all Terah's and Abraham's descendants who do not lead down to Isaac's family, especially Ishmael (xxv. 12-18); and not till then does the history of Isaac and his sons appear on its own account (xxv. 10 sqq.). (3) Thirdly, and lastly, he separates off Esau (xxxvi.), so that at last Israel is left quite alone as father of the race, with his sons representing the people,—the single great subject of the narrative (xxxvii. 2 sqq.). Now, wherever a section of this or any other kind begins with the explanation of the origin of an important tribe or family, the author always puts as a kind of title the words, ‘*These are the Origins of . . . ;*’<sup>1</sup> and where the family of the first man, and consequently the proper commencement of this whole work on the history of mankind begins, it is said, *This is the Book of the Origins of Man* (v. 1). And in fact it can hardly be doubted that, in accordance with this superscription, the work bore the short title *Book of Origins*. It is true, indeed, that the narrative boldly rises yet higher, and seeks to explain in a history of creation the origins of all visible things (i. 1—ii. 3); but this is to be regarded only as a kind of introduction to the actual work beginning at chap. v. 1; for which reason the introduction is also distinguished in a peculiar manner by a concluding inscription (ii. 4). Counting up the

<sup>1</sup> The word ‘Origins’ is adopted here for conciseness merely, and because it is suitable for the name of a book (the elder Cato also wrote his Roman history under the title *Origines*); although הַנּוֹתָר corresponds to our word only before the

name of a thing (as in Gen. ii. 4); before the name of a person it properly denotes the *births*, that is, the posterity, of that man, and the history of him and his descendants.

sections resulting from all these considerations, we find that the phrase, ‘these are the origins of . . .,’ is employed exactly ten times to indicate a real section or essential division of the book,<sup>1</sup> like the similar practice in Arabic books; the same title may however have been repeated in the accounts of the individual tribes of Israel;<sup>2</sup> but most of these parts of the work are now lost.<sup>3</sup>

But precisely because the work thus treated history from the Israelite point of view, perhaps for the first time in its widest extent, it sought to combine all the closer, and to discriminate all the finer, everything in detail. Accordingly, treating as it does of the great unwieldy mass of historical families, nations, or single persons, with reference to their rise and progress, it ventures to unite them all in a single great infinitely ramified pedigree, which has its root in the first man, a second progenitor after the Deluge in Noah, and its youngest branches in the great contemporaries of the author and their families. But the straight trunk, starting from Adam and again from Noah, must lead to the three Patriarchs, and through them to the twelve tribes, in such a manner that all besides is treated as collateral; and then among the twelve tribes themselves, Levi probably served as a direct continuation of the pedigree.<sup>4</sup> This is the first work known to us that seeks to arrange infinitesimal details of origin in one comprehensive genealogy, although such an arrangement is a very obvious one to nations like the Hebrews and Arabs, who lay great stress upon purity of blood and family; but this became later with the Semites the most popular form of historical arrangement. But the work attempts also very accurate chronological distinctions, and testifies thereby especially its genuine historical spirit as opposed to the Indian Purānas. At least the members of the main direct line of the tribe, and occasionally important collateral members also,

<sup>1</sup> [i.e. Gen. ii. 4; v. 1; vi. 9; x. 1; xi. 10, 27; xxv. 12, 19; xxxvi. 1 (in xxxvi. 9 it appears to be repeated by way of resuming the subject after the interruption at verse 2); xxxvii. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> As Num. iii. 1, compared with Ruth iv. 18, shows.

<sup>3</sup> For the passage in Ex. vi. 14–27 is merely intended to attract attention to the descent of Moses and Aaron at the outset, and is, therefore, designedly incomplete. The enumeration of the series of all the families of Israel, which is here begun but not finished, must have been subsequently completed somewhere or other in the work, and undoubtedly much of it

may be preserved in the Chronicles, as in the passages 1 Chron. ii. 42–49, 50–55, and especially xxiii. 24–xxiv. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Because the chronology is carried on with this tribe uninterruptedly, at least according to the sure indications in Ex. vi. 16–20; and further, because in the time of the Judges the High-Priests alone exhibit a kind of unbroken succession, and not strictly speaking the Judges, as we might be disposed to believe from Judges iii.–xvi.; lastly, because, as we shall show further on, the sacerdotal tribe is the one that the author renders most prominent in all other historical matters also.

are all described by the number of years of their life;<sup>1</sup> and as moreover it is invariably mentioned at what age of each respective member the son who propagated the tribe further was born to him, and as larger chronological limits also are not wanting for greater divisions of time (*Exod. xii. 40*; *1 Kings vi. 1*), the work gives at the same time a single concatenated chronology, and exhibits the most ancient attempt to reduce the infinitely scattered events of history to precise dates.<sup>2</sup> This evident careful consideration everywhere bestowed upon the connection of families, and upon chronology, affords one of the main criteria for the recognition of the fragments of this work, which indeed has not its equal on this subject, on the entire field of ancient history until Moses and Joshua, or indeed until David, and appears to be only copied by the later works on these times.

In consideration of the great internal diversity of the ages comprised in this work, we shall do better to investigate below, under the special divisions of the history itself, the questions, how our author established this close connection of families and times, what traditions he had received on the subject, and on what principles he acted. It suffices here to establish the point, that he was the first who essayed to carry out this bold scheme.

b.) If we are led by the order and the chronology observed so exactly throughout so wide a range, to an author whose mind takes a pleasure, uncommon among the historians of those old times, in method and precision, still more must we admire this spirit when we perceive what end he has in view in now expanding and now confining within narrow limits his narration of real events. For we then discover the remarkable fact, that the author's most heartfelt sympathy and greatest fulness of narration are called forth only when he is treating a question of legislation, and can fill the frame of his narrative with elucidations of such judicial or moral sanctions as have their origin in antiquity. Wherever, in his reminiscences of antiquity, he can explain legal institutions in all their relations and applications, or where, in the course of historical exposition, he can indicate the great truths of the right government and conduct of the

<sup>1</sup> As Ishmael, *Gen. xxv. 17*; Joshua, *Jos. xxiv. 29*.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect the work became the basis of all general chronology, from the chronicles of Julius Africanus and Eusebius down to the middle ages, and even almost to the beginning of the present century;

and if we now give up all of it that is not derived from history in a strict sense, yet we never should forget that the mere attempt to give such a survey of all historical chronology was in itself an advance entirely unknown to some other cultivated nations, as for example the Hindus.

nation, his language is poured forth with especial freedom, and under the inspiration of the lofty subject becomes perfected in sharpness as well as in concinnity and beauty. There is a peculiar charm in many of these pictures; every reader of feeling imbibes from them the purifying and invigorating spirit of an eminently lofty mind, which lived through its own times in warmest sympathy with them and with a treasure of truly royal ideas, and by this light could understand the very highest elements of antiquity, and with masterhand bring out prominently, and portray gracefully, whatever in it was improving to posterity. Even what in itself might readily have proved very dry—such as the lengthy account of the furniture of the sanctuary, and that of many laws on things of common life—in his hand becomes invested with the utmost possible grace. We should more readily feel the attractive beauty of this work, and how far it surpasses in intrinsic force and simple art the ordinary Indian Purânas and Manu's Book of Laws, if it had been preserved entire and well-arranged, and could be read connectedly, like Herodotus or the best extant parts of Livy.

So limited an aim for an historical composition, which moreover here becomes the real principal aim, is to be explained only from the necessities of a particular period; but the above indicated age of the work may serve for the elucidation of this peculiarity also. For in that brilliant time of peace, which produced the wisdom and the art of Solomon so well known to tradition, the nation, victorious abroad and conscious of its powers, could turn its energies inwards, and contemplate its own constitutional history, as it had been gradually unfolded since the obscurest antiquity and then existed, but had surely never till then been fully treated in writing. Now, even independently of the Decalogue, attempts had indeed been made in earlier time to group shortly together the most important popular laws, and many of these may have been long written down; for example, the former work contained the earliest attempt known to us of a tolerably comprehensive *codex legum* (Ex. xxi. 2, or rather<sup>1</sup> xx. 23–xxiii. 19), and this very Book of Origins works up into itself small series of long-existing laws. But we have no indication, and it is in itself improbable, that the entire mass of imaginable legal ordinances and sacred institutions had at any earlier period been committed to writing.

However, it was not only the prosperous peace of that age which exhorted the people to turn their attention to their

<sup>1</sup> The words in Ex. xx. 23–26 form, namely, the true beginning of this very mutilated legal work.

ancient condition and laws : they were impelled thereto also by causes nearer at hand. Ages in which the entire hereditary constitution of the nation undergoes a fundamental transformation, and social life receives a new organisation, may introduce into the literature of the nation, as well as into its legislative art and activity, the most violent shocks. With the Greeks and Romans it was the ages of transition from the antiquated monarchical constitutions to the republican, that most strongly excited legislative activity in real life as well as in literature ; and it was in these that the controversy as to what was to be retained from the past, and what relinquished, found its way also frequently into the Greek world of letters. Our Hebrew epoch was, similarly, one of sensible transition from institutions existing for centuries into a new life for the whole nation ; and we can understand how its literature, the foundations of which had long been laid, could not be uninfluenced by the movement taking place in its life. But beyond this its position was precisely the reverse ; for here an ancient religion had to defend itself against the possible encroachments of the new monarchical power. And we have the clear testimony of Hosea viii. 12<sup>1</sup> for the assertion that from this time onwards a branch of literature was formed in the nation which flourished for several centuries, and aimed at collecting and elucidating the old hallowed laws, often in direct opposition to modern deteriorations. This assertion of Hosea shows at the same time that such writings originally enjoyed no public acknowledgment at all, but were current in the nation for centuries as free creations of literature, until this or that part of them chanced to gain a higher authority and become sacred. And this is evidently the origin that we must conceive for the Book of Origins.<sup>2</sup> If we remember, moreover, that in the time of David, and up to the completion of the Temple of Solomon, the affairs of the sacerdotal tribe and the institutions of religion had experienced extensive changes, but yet were steadily flourishing, and that the old religion and sacerdotal constitution just then enjoyed an extraordinary magnificence from the building of a new and splendid Temple, we can understand well enough why, among all the origins of things described by this work, those of

<sup>1</sup> This passage presupposes that a number of books of the same kind as the Book of Origins, some of which were highly esteemed, were in circulation in the northern kingdom in the time of Hosea, though entirely disregarded by the authorities. Such a flood of *myriads* of written laws cannot refer to a very ancient

literature, which time itself was constantly reducing ; it was evidently a flood of not very ancient writings.

<sup>2</sup> Like the origin of the Indian Purānas, which also contain a great deal of religious or legal matter ; and even of Manu's Code of Laws, which was subsequently so venerated.

the Mosaic sacraments and institutions, as well as of the functions and privileges of the sacerdotal tribe, are preeminently explained. And we may see also how such legal forms and such rights as are said to have originated in the primitive ages are presented with the greatest diligence and copiousness, mainly to the end that they may serve as a model and norm for the writer's age also. This resembles the way in which in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* even those laws which are to be observed in the writer's age are explained to Manu in the primitive ages. The main part of the Book of Origins explains the origin of whatever arose in Israel on the field of law, but pre-eminently in relation to religion and the priesthood.

But it is curious to see how the author's spirit, mainly directed to the divinely right and lawful, has penetrated the whole work, even where he cannot yet speak of Israel at all. As the time of Moses and Joshua was known as the great epoch of the birth of legal institutions, and as the earlier historian had started from the idea of the covenant concluded with God on Sinai, so the Book of Origins undertakes to show what divine laws and covenants had arisen even in the beginning of the three previous ages of the world, under Abraham, Noah, and Adam, and how the laws and precepts, starting like the human race itself from the simplest beginnings, had been constantly expanding and more fully developing themselves.<sup>1</sup> And so there is only a single ground-thought which determines the inner structure of the work (its intellectual tone and bearing), in addition to those which, according to p. 78, sustain its external fabric. This ground-thought, in conformity with the supreme aim of the work, deals solely with the two-fold question : What is Law and Right to man in general? and, What is Law and Right for Israel in particular? Right and law are not the same at all times ; they change especially with all the great vicissitudes and revolutions of history. And yet every valid law is to preside over man and bind him as a Divine command ; as if it existed through a covenant between God and humanity, in which the former maintains His law and the latter expects protection and blessing from Him if it is faithful to it. Thus all laws and constitutions, or *covenants*, which humanity concludes with God, are barriers imposed by the latter for it, within which it is to move. But every restraint thus imposed on man is directed against his freedom, which soon chafes against it, and finally perhaps wholly breaks through its barriers,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. ; ix. 1-17. ; i. 27-30.

partly through the power of mere self-will and sinfulness, partly because man has a presentiment that there is a higher freedom than that imposed by this present limit. But every transgression of the law must be punished. And thus when humanity continues its efforts to break through the existing divine law, the greatest ruin, and finally the most complete dissolution of the age, is sure to follow, until perchance, under a new great Man of God, a new disclosure of the eternal Divine Right is established for humanity with fresh freedom, and at the same time with fresh limitations and new laws. Thus applying the above fundamental thought to the succession of the Four Ages of the world (p. 79), and explaining by its light how the Mosaic law, that of the last age, arose, and what significance it possesses, the author of the Book of Origins spun the fine strong thread which holds the entire work most closely together, and gives at the same time to it its eagerest and loftiest interest.<sup>1</sup>

The book attempts, indeed, an explanation of the laws existing in the Mosaic community on every occasion which the narrative offers for its insertion; and accordingly, as the author's historical feeling taught him that many laws which were in force in the community had their origin in the ancient times before Moses, he attaches his account of the rights and usages of circumcision to suitable occasions in the Patriarchal age;<sup>2</sup> and again refers to the time of Joshua his explanation of many laws and precedents of the community, and with justice regards the entire age of Joshua as that of the continual creation of important social institutions. Within the limits of the personal history of Moses also, he seizes every opportunity to insert matters of law, and on occasion of the flight out of Egypt explains at great length the laws of the Passover and of the First-born; and on occasion of the war against Midian, belonging to the end of Moses' life, those of booty and war.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the Mosaic institutions and laws, however, especially those concerning the sanctuary and the sacerdotal tribe, which in accordance with the special tendency of the work are treated most fully, are referred to the brief period of the people's halt at mount Sinai, and the true establishment of their congregation; partly because, according to definite ancient tradition, the congregation was really consecrated there anew, partly from the suitability of that resting-place for the explanation of a series of institutions and laws.

<sup>1</sup> See further on this subject what is observed in my *Alterthümer*, p. 117 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. and xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxi. Altogether different from the law of war laid down in Deut. xx.

For as the privileges, laws, and ordinances of the sanctuary, in the widest sense of the word, appear to our author as the highest of all laws, so in his work this hallowed period of the people's rest at Sinai, where their permanent sanctuary was formally instituted, becomes a resting-place also for the narrative, and occasions him to make his longest pause here, to elucidate the most important laws relating to the sanctuary, and, in so doing, the majority of all the laws of Israel. Now the sacred Tabernacle of Moses had long been recognised as the great central point of the religion and constitution of the people, and the Ark of the Covenant had just received an accession of glory by its reception in Solomon's Temple, built after the model of the Tabernacle ; and therefore

(i) The author starts from that visible sanctuary, and describes how it was executed, with all its contents and appurtenances, after the divine model shown to Moses by Jahve (Ex. xxv.-xxx.), and was so built by human hands upon earth that it might be entered by the priests in their robes of office, or by Moses, and the sacred rites be performed in it (Ex. xxxv.-xl.).<sup>1</sup> When the locality and external forms of the sacred rites have been thus laid down,

(ii) The narrative advances another stage towards its main object, and regards exclusively the sacrifices and the manner of

<sup>1</sup> This twofold description of these complicated matters, notwithstanding some diversity (in part intentional) in the order of the account of the execution, is nevertheless correct on the whole, and planned with great judgment. I can only hint at this result of my researches here, as an explicit statement would become too digressive. But so much the more imperatively must the fragment in Lev. xxiv. 1-9, which has no connection whatever there, be transferred to its original site, namely after Ex. xxvii. 20 sq., since v. 20 sq. actually contain the commencement of the very same fragment. See Ex. xxv. 6, xxxv. 14, and especially xl. 4, 22 sq.; for the short preliminary notice about show-bread in xxv. 30 could not suffice. In like manner the disconnected verse in Num. vii. 89 must be reinstated in its original place after Ex. xl. 38, and the rather because Ex. xxv. 22 refers to its contents; and the injunction that follows it, about the right position of the seven lamps on the candlestick, Num. viii. 1-2, most surely belongs after Ex. xxxix. 31.

I shall soon cite other and stronger cases of the displacement of the original component parts of the Book of Origins, and

do not hesitate about assigning them, as far as is possible, to their right positions again. It is of no use to argue with one who maintains, without even examining the question, that such total disruptions of coherence are original and sacred. But the Book of Origins, above all other books, displays so grand a fixed arrangement, and so masterly a disposition of the immense subject, that it is in truth only due to the spirit of the author that we should restore the few dislocated portions of his beautiful work to their right places. Moreover, it is by no means so difficult to conceive how such a displacement of some portions of the ancient work might arise in later times, even when we only consider the demonstrable great alterations which this work (as we shall soon explain) has undergone from its later revisers. And even though the LXX. and all the other ancient versions received the text with these violent dislocations, and, fortunately, did not again arbitrarily alter it, yet how recent is this text when compared with the true age of the work! I will adduce other arguments below in the section on the reviser. See however, on some points treated of above, what is observed in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, p. 368-75.

offering them at the sanctuary, and elucidates fully the various kinds of sacrifices, their purposes, and the observances attached to them. The passage that does this in an easily apprehensible order, extends properly only from Lev. i. to Lev. v. and from Num. v. 5 to Num. vi.;<sup>1</sup> then the main subject is repeated, condensed for the special use of the priests into the briefer and more technical language of regular legislation (Lev. vi. sqq.). Whereas the priests are now enabled to offer the right sacrifices, and do actually offer them in the presence of the whole people after their consecration, the story of Nadab and Abihu teaches how rigorously and with what severe chastisement the sanctuary visits those who fail to treat it in a becoming manner (Lev. viii.-x.). But now that Jahve's sanctuary and sacrifices are established in presence of the whole people,

(iii) The narrative attains its full dignity, and undertakes regularly to teach what rules must guide the conduct of men in this congregation, or (to speak more in the spirit of the work) what is holy or unholy, clean or unclean, to the God indwelling in it. The passage that teaches this properly extends from Lev. xi. to xx., but with the insertion of Num. xix. after Lev. xvi. The arrangement is the simple one, that the description ascends from the lower to the higher, and consequently first shows what is clean or unclean, and how the unclean is to be removed, and then, beginning from chapter xviii., rises to the idea of the holy, and explains in loftier language<sup>2</sup> and frequently incorporating short series of ancient laws, the stern exactions of the holy upon man. The expressions of Lev. xvii. stand in the middle between these two halves; and the conclusion of the whole plainly does not come till Lev. xx. 24-27. Then comes a short supplement intended specially for the Priests on clean and unclean animals (Lev. xxi. sq.).

(iv) But as the Sabbath is the first and the last among the duties of the Mosaic congregation, and had enjoyed a corresponding preeminence also in the description of the Mosaic laws contained

<sup>1</sup> That the passages in Numb. v. 5-vi. belong to this place is evident, first, from the contents of the first three, Numb. v. 5-vi. 21, which really only describe new kinds of sacrifice, all of which, according to their very similar beginning, are perfectly suitable continuations<sup>3</sup> of Lev. v.; secondly, from the blessing which follows them in Numb. vi. 22-27, which is presupposed in Lev. ix. 22, and which we must, from the general character and plan of the Book of Origins, imagine

to have preceded the short narrative in Lev. ix. 22, in the same way as the narratives in Ex. xxxv.-xl. constantly presuppose the divine commands in Ex. xxv.-xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the expression, 'I am Jahve,' which first begins to recur frequently from this place on, and which, like so much else in Lev. xviii.-xx., indicates that the author makes a greater use of old sources here than in any other place.

in this work,<sup>1</sup> so the author ultimately restricts himself to it and all connected with it. The voice of living law declares the series of annual festivals as well as the year of Sabbath and Jubilee (Lev. xxiii. xxv. 1–xxvi. 2, 46); and describes yet more fully the duration and period of recurrence of the sacrifices of the whole community to Jahve (Num. xxviii. 1–xxx. 1). And as vows also are to be redeemed at the sanctuary at definite times, the laws on this subject now follow (Num. xxx. 2–17; Lev. xxvii.). Last of all come some sacrificial laws adapted not for the wilderness but only for the Holy Land, and which could not on that account well be placed in Lev. i.–vii.; with general conclusion (Num. xv.).<sup>2</sup>

(v) Nothing then remains to be done but that the congregation be described on its popular side, with reference to the arrangement and division of its tribes, and the order of its journeys and campaigns. This gives at the same time the best transition to the removal from Sinai and the conclusion of this long period of consecrated rest, and forms also the winding-up of this longest and most important portion of the Book of Origins (Num. i.–v. 4; vii. 1–88; viii. 5–10, 36).

This is the simple and historical arrangement of the section of this work devoted to the explanation of the main contents of the Mosaic law; and although we cannot vouch for the complete preservation of all its original chapters, yet the main part has evidently been preserved remarkably free from obscuration and alteration; so that we gain a certain insight into the plan and execution of this most important section, as soon as we decide to remove to their right position again the few passages that have been displaced and put too far on towards the end.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ex. xxxi. 13–17, concluding the commandments delivered to Moses, and inversely Ex. xxxv. 1–3 commencing his publication of them to the people, with Lev. xxiii. 2 sq. xxvi. 2, Numb. xv. 32–36.

<sup>2</sup> The reader must consider that according to the whole character of the Book of Origins, the omitted promulgation of laws may indeed be repaired in any place, but then the occasion of their enactment must be recounted (as in Numb. xvii. sq. xxxi. xxxvi.); but that, on the other hand, it is impossible to repair the omission with such an utterly bald inscription as Numb. xv., xix., xxviii., xxx. 2 [1].

<sup>3</sup> Lastly, in all probability, the placing of the historical piece, Lev. xxiv. 10–23, after xxii. is required, for then each of the

three middle portions closes with the always apt narration of an example of needless punishment on account of the violation of the previously expounded laws, Lev. viii.–x., Lev. xxiv. 10–23, Numb. xv. 32–36, and all five parts then terminate in narration. In like manner a special supplement of peculiar directions for the priests is always placed before this narrative conclusion, Lev. vi. sq., xxi. sq., Numb. xv. Moreover, whatever laws or legal devices are transferred to the succeeding portion of the life of Moses, Numb. xxvi., xxvii., xxxi. sqq., belong, according to their dress and contents, to the post-Sinaitic time; which furnishes a new and important reason for the correctness of the above-required transpositions.

If we consider now the author's system of inserting accounts of Mosaic laws into an historical narrative, there cannot be the least doubt that his only reason for representing them as communicated by Jahve to Moses, and through the latter to the people or (when strictly sacerdotal in their contents) to Aaron<sup>1</sup> and the priests, is, that in his days they had long been regarded as sacred, and an historian, therefore, could not but give them an antiquity equal to that of the congregation itself. The sacred Tabernacle, which the author describes as if all its smallest parts were the direct result of Divine precept, and which had just recently been magnified and glorified by its transformation into the Temple of Solomon, had evidently gained its sacredness in the course of centuries. The sacrifices, the sacred rites, and the sacerdotal functions, which our author represents with all their minutiae as Divine commands, had undoubtedly been long practised, and they also owed their high authority to their antiquity. Of established usages the author could manifestly only select the best and give them a more definite form. As, however, the established usages of any given time are naturally treated as an indissoluble whole, although they may have developed themselves gradually from a certain original groundwork, it was at this early period peculiarly hard, in all cases of the kind, to distinguish the time of origin as exactly as we now do, or at least desire. In so far, the numerous legal sanctions here delivered certainly have direct historical significance only for the age of the author. And as the author cannot have lived later—e.g. at a time when the Mosaic Tabernacle had long disappeared—our task is that of investigating which of these are referable to the time and legislation of Moses, and what has been added by degrees from other causes; an investigation, the results of which cannot be stated here. But (and this may be at once carefully noted in this place) the author never makes any pretence of being taken for Moses himself;<sup>2</sup> indeed we should do great wrong to the simple narrator were we to suppose this; for he even describes equally innocently and on the same plan, the rise of legal institutions under Joshua, and closes his work with the erection of the Temple of Solomon; and where a precept is inserted for the

<sup>1</sup> It is only an abbreviated expression, whenever the word of Jahve is said to pass directly to Aaron, Lev. x. 8, Numb. xviii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Rather does he forget now and then his assumed garb, when he speaks of Moses and Sinai as of matters of history

long past (Numb. xv. 22 sq., xxviii. 6), or when the address suddenly becomes like that of a priest to the assembled congregation, Numb. xv. 15, 29; in historical narrations he speaks, moreover, like one dwelling in the Holy land, Jos. v. 6.

connection's sake, which is to be applied only in the Holy Land, not in the wilderness, the author sometimes makes Moses himself announce it only by way of prophecy, with the addition 'when ye come into the Holy Land.'<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Origins, in thus pursuing in the above-described main section and elsewhere its own special aim of explaining legal matters, is indeed further removed than the previous historical work from the mere repetition of tradition, and is already engaged in that transition to a freer treatment of the history of antiquity, the further consequences of which will appear below. From a very rich body of separate ancient traditionary histories our author manifestly selects those only, in themselves it may be not remarkably important ones, on which could be hung an exhibition of laws or of principles of wise government and sacerdotal administration. The appended subject itself is always treated with great freedom and at great length, as if the narrative itself were really subordinate to the lesson it conveyed; and the most beautiful and elevating parts of the work are produced by this art of shaking off a bondage to the unmixed influence of tradition. Nevertheless the work still cleaves faithfully and scrupulously to the fundamental matter of the traditions; it starts with a clear discrimination of times, and does not intermingle later ideas with its pictures of antiquity so carelessly as the books presently to be described. And if it imparts a new life to the representation of antiquity mainly by means of legislative matter, and sees in Moses and Joshua ideals of popular leaders, this was just the side upon which those ancient times were great and productive. This revival of the ancient stories, proceeding from a writer who in every part of his work shows himself inspired by the genuine wisdom of a leader of the people, was that most in harmony with the epoch of the composition of the work; and from the happy concurrence of the spirit of this revival with the nature and greatness of the times portrayed, resulted the admirable truth and the irresistible charm of this work.

c.) If we enquire, lastly, into the conclusion of the whole work, a slight difficulty here opposes our speculation. For with the description of the times of Moses and Joshua, the explanation of all legal matters ought manifestly to cease. This is most distinctly proved by the way in which the legal distribution of the land among the twelve tribes is unreservedly referred to Joshua's words and commands, although historically

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xii. 25; Lev. xiv. 34, xix. 23, xxiii. 10, xxv. 2; Num. xv. 2; cf. Lev. xviii. 3.

many of these claims may have originated after Joshua's death, and at bottom the narrator does not deny this.<sup>1</sup> The assumption that all the legal forms in Israel which could claim any antiquity had been concluded in Moses' and Joshua's time, and that these two heroes had been the last great instruments of the word and deeds of Jahve, forms the entire foundation of the work in so far as it describes legal matters ; and one cannot form even the most distant idea of what the author would be able or willing to describe on this field in the times after Joshua. Nevertheless, the work further contains, as we saw on pages 76 sq., the description of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, with which it certainly concluded ; the rise of monarchy in Israel, for which the author had early prepared the reader, as we saw page 75 sq., required to be narrated at the end at least in brief ; and one sees no reason why, after his explanation of the laws, he should not have pursued the mere history still further than the death of Joshua. We may therefore with justice conjecture that in a now lost passage he brought the history down from the death of Joshua and of the high priest Eleazar to the building of the Temple of Solomon, though with great brevity, so that this section did not satisfy his successors, and might easily be lost. The lawless times of the Judges must have been diametrically opposed to all the ideas of the author, who would certainly content himself with continuing the list of high-priests after Eleazar.

But on the other hand there are unmistakable signs that the work became very full again just about its close, when it describes the sunny days of David. There was indeed here no exhaustive narrative, but full accounts there were of some single events that seemed to the writer especially important. With these we class the fragments to be described below (see below, on the official Journals of the Kings), besides that noticed on page 76 *note*. And we may say that this work, beginning with the Creation and treating by preference the most beautiful portions of antiquity, nevertheless stood quite upon the footing of its age, and, like a true time-book (or chronicle), terminated with the description of the most recent great deeds and acquisitions of its nation.

3) As in its aims, so also in its language, this work manifests as much peculiarity as perfection and beauty. The style possesses a luxurious fulness overflowing with the warmth of sympathy, a lucidity and quiet transparency which is not afraid

<sup>1</sup> Jos. xviii. sq.

of slight repetitions conduced to represent the thought perfectly in all its bearings, nor shrinks from an almost poetic symmetry of clauses, removed alike from the old-fashioned stiffness and hardness of such narrations as Josh. xvii. 14-18, and from the cold tranquillity and studied description that became usual in later times. The matter as well as the language and picturesque representation of this work breathes a peculiar fresh poetic air; more rounded and graceful, more instinct with a light poetic charm, no prose can well be than that of this work, which also from its florid style of description belongs to the finest period of Hebrew literature and national life. Its language at least shows itself such wherever its fragments are preserved unaltered; and the very first passage, Gen. i.-ii. 4, may serve as a clear specimen of all subsequent ones. In details the author may be distinguished by a great multitude of expressions either quite peculiar to him, or on the other hand quite foreign to him.<sup>1</sup> And as he displays in all things a highly exact spirit of order, this accuracy extends in a remarkable way even to proper names. For he is fond of explaining in the history the rise of new personal names beside the old ones; and he then discriminates the two with constant accuracy

<sup>1</sup> It would carry us here too far to explain in full the linguistic peculiarities of the Book of Origins; so only a few points which can be briefly stated. Peculiar to the work are: the name **לְשׁוֹנִים** for the Considerable, Noble among the people, by the side of **קָנִים** very rare, and in some places perhaps only through later revision, Ex. xii. 21, Lev. iv. 15, ix. 1, Num. xvi. 25, Jos. vii. 6, xx. 4; but **לְשׁוֹנִים** nowhere occurs; the name **אַרְנוֹן** for the ark; (**הַעֲרֵת**) for the ark; (**אֶת הַכְּבִירִית**) for the ark; (**אֶת יְמִינָה**) or (**אֶת כְּבִירִית**) is found only after Deut. x. 8, cf. xxxi. 9, 25 sq., 1 Kings viii. 1, 4, 6, perhaps through remodelling by later writers who called it so; (**אֶת נְגָדֶל**) is found only in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3); the expression **אַחֲרָה** for possession, not **יְמִין**; (**אַגְּדָה**) for garment, never **שְׁמַלְתָּה**; (**רַעַח** **שְׁמַלְתָּה**) for kill, always discriminated from **הַרְגֵּנָה**, murder; (**רַגְמָה** often with the addition **אֶבְנִים**) for to stone, not **סְקָלָה**; the very favourite expressions **לְגַנְגִירִים** for vagrant life, **עַמִּית** for neighbour (elsewhere only in Zech. xiii. 7, and even there in an entirely different connection); (**עַבְרָה**) for service,

which in this sense only the latest writings imitate; the sole use of **לְךָ** for *only*, whilst the pieces of other authors have rather **לְךָ** &c.; on the other hand, the entire absence of such words as **לְפָנֶיךָ** in all significations, **בְּחָרָא**, *youth, warrior, treasure*, which is found frequently in Joel, Amos, and Hosea, as well as in Jos. vi. 19, 24, and Deut., **מִצְרָא**, *fast*, likewise in Joel. Many other peculiarities are elsewhere illustrated in their proper places in this work. The use or avoidance of many words in this work has also a great significance for the history of the people itself. Thus the author chooses or avoids certain words with manifest intention, that he may depict antiquity with correcter colours, and not intermingle more modern ideas in opposition to his own historical feeling. For example, he is certainly acquainted with the metal iron, and once names it in a law, Num. xxxv. 16, because it was there unavoidable, but elsewhere he always speaks of *brass* as being usually employed in the Mosaic period; just as brass is said by the Greek and Roman writers to have been more abundant in earlier antiquity.

according to the principle once assumed. As he explains the origin of the name Joshua subsisting along with Hoshea, and would certainly never employ this appellation before the proper time,<sup>1</sup> so he only begins at Gen. xvii. 5, 15, to call Abraham and Sarah by these names instead of *Abram* and *Sarai*; and as he explains at Ex. vi. 2 sqq., that Jahve had not yet revealed himself to the Patriarchs under this name, he avoids before this passage the use of the name *Jahve*, which thenceforward is constantly recurring in the history of Moses, and previously always calls the true God *El-Shaddái* on the few solemn occasions of his manifestation, and elsewhere by the common name *Elohim*.<sup>2</sup> The name Jacob is indeed not always avoided in passages subsequent to Gen. xxxv. 10, despite the declaration there given; but inasmuch as this name was always maintained along with the other, *Israel* in the real life of the people, its employment stands on a different footing from that of those just mentioned.

If we combine all the distinctive marks of the Book of Origins, it will appear that no document whose original form has been destroyed could well be so easily and certainly recognised in its smallest fragments as this, because certainly no other document of an historical character has been composed with so high an individuality and intellectual peculiarity. And this is just what is important for the question as to the literary sources that may have been used by our author. For though the author never refers in express words to any authorities, whether written or oral, yet he incorporates the old catalogue of the stations in Num. xxxiii.<sup>3</sup> in his work, with the preliminary remark that Moses wrote it (see above, p. 68). And many of his historical remarks must, to judge by their contents, be referable to very ancient records (the proof of which, however, belongs more suitably to the history itself further on); and the change in the use of language, too, shows that he here and there is dependent upon written authorities. In the passage of Leviticus (xviii.-xx.) alluded to above (page 88), we remark as much on the one hand peculiar to our author, as on the other quite foreign to him; and it appears from the peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 8, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Origins always uses this name without the article (on the few exceptions see my Hebr. Gr. p. 680, 7th ed.); whilst others, as the later writers to be mentioned below, often use **הָאֱלֹהִים** also, as if the true God ought to be distinguished by the article. This freedom

of language with the fine distinction between *אֱלֹהִים* and *אֱלֹהֶם*, which Greek and Hebrew can alike express, we are unfortunately unable to reproduce in our *God*.

<sup>3</sup> That the hand of the author of the Book of Origins is here discernible, follows from בְּמִצְרַיִם v. 1, as well as from the reasons to be adduced further on.

colour of the language,<sup>1</sup> as well as from other indications,<sup>2</sup> that he here incorporates in his work short series of laws that had long been in existence. And he doubtless incorporated much from the earlier historical work, or recast it in his own fashion. The revelation on Mount Sinai, already described incomparably in that work, as well as the Decalogue (where the words in Ex. xx. 9–11 are an addition by himself), he incorporated the rather, as the Decalogue was indispensable. How he recasts historical accounts, is seen from Gen. xxxiii. 18–xxxiv. ; Josh. v. 2–12. On the contrary, every trace is wanting that he adopted from the Book of Covenants or elsewhere the older legal work contained in Ex. xx. 23–xxiii. 19. Certainly one might regard it as probable, because this legal work touches upon many relations, especially of civil life, which, as being foreign to his main subject, our author little regarded. But that he intended to embody all legal determinations of the kind cannot be proved.

The name of the author will probably be veiled from us in eternal obscurity. We read, indeed, of men highly renowned for wisdom, who flourished just about the period required,<sup>3</sup> and we may readily imagine one of these to be the author of this glorious work. No time, too, was probably so productive as that of great men of the kind that we must imagine our author. But further we are unable to prosecute the enquiry. If, however, we regard, as we ought, mainly the mysterious internal spirit and the general meaning of the author, as laid down unmistakably to attentive readers (and no moderately independent historian can always entirely conceal, even in the mere narrative style, the nature and working of his own mind)—then we must confess that rarely has so great a mind devoted itself to the composition of history. It is true

<sup>1</sup> בְּנֵי Lev. xviii. 17, xix. 29, xx. 14, occurs elsewhere (besides the poets) only in Judges xx. 6; and how the Book of Origins, *per se*, would speak in such a case is shown by Gen. xxxiv. 7; the image of the Canaanites being vomited from their own land, Lev. xviii. 24–28, xx. 22, is not elsewhere current with the author, and the language of the original gives even the notion of their being already expelled; בְּנֵי in Lev. xix. 4 and xxvi. 1, old echoes of the Decalogue; יְהִי in Lev. xix. 15, cf. v. 32, elsewhere unusual to the author; the whole sentence strongly reminds us of older passages, as Ex. xxii. 3; the beautiful thought, xix. 34, harmonizes only with Ex. xxii. 20 [21], xxiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> From the special form of these laws; from the circumstance that the author, from xix. 33 on, himself adds a kind of paraphrase, &c. On the older little *Codex Sacrificiorum*, simply inserted in the Book of Origins, Lev. i.–vii., see my *Alterthümer*, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31]: Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom, must accordingly be regarded as somewhat prior to Solomon, and elsewhere the first two are placed in David's time. One might, moreover, mention Nathan the prophet; but the question arises in the case of all these whether they were Levites or not (cf. 1 Chr. ii. 6, 36), a question which can only be answered further on.

he does not belie his character as a priest, an hereditary and influential one too : the visible sanctuary in Israel had at that time been for centuries gaining a high consideration of a peculiar kind, and the hierarchy was in the ascendant in consequence of the rule of David and the building of the Temple. The author of this work appears, according to the true meaning of several passages,<sup>1</sup> very anxious to secure that no improper, i.e. heathen sacrifices, nor improper priests—that is aliens to the house of Aaron—shall approach the Mosaic sanctuary ; and this also he attempts to pronounce and to establish in the form of laws. But far higher than the priest stands in his estimation the wise legislator and true leader of the people ; full of that truly kingly spirit which always forms salutary decisions and issues irresistible commands with ease, and which even in the greatest perplexities and revolutions never loses for long its coolness and intrepidity. Such a one, too, if he ever is forced to administer a severe correction, does it not without the most considerate sympathy,<sup>2</sup> and his quiet strength silences all contradiction, and smooths all waves to peace.<sup>3</sup> And as the age of David and Solomon was the fairest reflex of the Mosaic, though far below it in creative power, the gloriousness of the Mosaic age could be recalled and portrayed by no other historian so adequately as by one who had felt the influence of David's kingly spirit, and who was himself an actor in the best part of this most hopeful age of Israelitish dominion.

Lofty spirit ! thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live, and what thou didst achieve : but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wert !

### *3. The Prophetic Narrators of the Primitive Histories.*

The Book of Origins was surpassed on the domain of ancient history by no subsequent work. Yet later writers did not

<sup>1</sup> Let any one read with attention passages like Num. xvii. 1-5 [xvi. 36-40], xviii. 3 sq., 7-32, Lev. x. 2 sqq., Ex. xxx. 9, which mutually explain themselves, and compare therewith such tales from Eli's and David's time as 1 Sam. v. 19, 2 Sam. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Let any one read attentively the in-

comparably beautiful and yet simple turn of the sentiment wherewith three quotations close, Lev. x., Num. xii. and xvii.

<sup>3</sup> This is the impression made upon the sympathising reader, especially by the glorious pictures of Moses' life in the Book of Numbers, to which I shall return in the course of the history.

want for occasions for new essays upon this same field of narrative. The fund of ancient legends was certainly not exhausted by the Book of Origins and its precursors; much might be told differently in different districts of the country; other things could be more fully and clearly described. Moreover, time itself as it advances develops new ideas and stories on the domain of ancient popular tradition; and with the brisker intercourse with foreign and distant nations, which after Solomon was never quite broken off again, new subjects of story and legend might easily enter from foreign parts, and seek a combination with the older series. But more powerful than anything else was the prophetic conception and treatment of history through the entire course of those ages; and as this prophetic conception has greater freedom to mould the subject-matter to its will, the further the field of the narrative is removed from the present time, and the more it has thereby become already the subject of a higher kind of contemplation, it found in the primitive history the most impressible soil on which it could combine with historical composition. This is the main cause of the great freedom of repeated narration, which so remarkably distinguishes the works of this age from the Book of Origins and the still older book; for all legendary literature will endeavour the more to break through old restraints, and will move with the greater freedom, the oftener it treats the same subject-matter; but here it was especially the grandeur of prophetic truths, that declared itself by means of the freer exposition that thus found its way in.

The passages belonging to this place are to be recognised partly by the criteria resulting from their nature just explained, partly by a tone of language and narration sensibly different from that of the earlier works on the primitive history. The correct discrimination of individuals among the narrators is indeed more difficult, as a more uniform and properly prose style for narrative is now being gradually formed; still on accurate inspection one may always perceive tolerably distinct shades in the various authors' mode of narration, which, when they concur with other and more internal distinctions, present sufficient reliable data to the judgment.

### 1) *The Third Narrator of the Primitive History.*

As proceeding from a narrator who in the absence of any other name is here denominated *the third*,<sup>1</sup> we must discriminate a series

<sup>1</sup> One might, according to the entire number of historical works enumerated above, also call him the *fifth* narrator: but since it cannot be proved (and is, indeed,

of pieces which, though in number rather smaller, and in so far more difficult of recognition, yet from their entire manner and colouring can belong neither to an older work nor to the following fourth or still later narrators, and discover a certain similarity among themselves. They are the stories of the Patriarchal times in Gen. x. 25, xx., xxix.-xxx., and especially much of the story of Joseph, although older matter is frequently worked up into these passages, and much has crept in from the hand of the subsequent narrators. Of the Mosaic history the following pieces belong to this work: the story of the youth of Moses, in Ex. i. 15-ii. 22; that of the shining of Moses' face, and the way in which he showed himself subsequently to the people in Ex. xxxiv. 30-35, a peculiar idea of the splendour of the great prophet, as is to be further shown below; that of the seventy elders, and of Eldad and Medad (Num. xi.), with its extraordinarily noble expressions about prophecy and the working of the Divine spirit; furthermore the fine description of the internal worth and nobleness of Moses as a prophet (Num. xii. 6-8), for all its brevity the most beautiful and excellent representation of Moses in the whole Pentateuch. From the history of the Flood, the fragment Gen. viii. 6-12 probably belongs to this narrator.<sup>1</sup> To the same narrator we are perhaps indebted<sup>2</sup> also for the preservation of the 14th chapter of Genesis, that curious relic of a work of the highest antiquity, which (according to p. 52), may have even been written among a non-Hebrew and probably Canaanitish people, before the age of Moses. Our narrator, perhaps an inhabitant of the North of Palestine adjacent to Phœnicia, certainly introduced the passage within the pale of Hebrew history, because Abraham is casually mentioned in it. There are many indications that he made especial use of the writings of the first narrator of the primitive history.

The narrative style of this author moves in very uniform language and description, and keeps still more simply to the old tradition. On such exalted topics as Num. xii. 6-8 he may be carried away by the lofty flight of his language, and sometimes pass into an easy verse,<sup>3</sup> but he is far removed from the more

altogether improbable from certain indications previously adduced) that the authors of the first two works included in them the primitive histories properly so called, we prefer the name in the text.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 18, vii. p. 16, ix. p. 7. *Gött. Gcl. Anz.* 1863, p. 759.

<sup>2</sup> The rare use of קַדְעֵנִי without me! i.e. be it far from me! God forbid! v. 24, recurs only Gen. xli. 16. The name יְהוָה v. 22, would be surprising for this narrator: but the Samarit. and the LXX. read הָלֶלֶל הָלֶלֶל for it, according to some editions and manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xiv. 19 sq., xlvi. 19.

artistic portraiture and bolder painting of the Fourth Narrator, next to be mentioned. But this narrator's peculiar preeminence consists in his uncommonly high and distinct conception of the working of the prophetic and the Divine spirit, which enters more or less prominently into most of his descriptions, and causes many of his expressions to class with the finest passages of the Old Testament. This conception of the ancient history comes out strongest in the life of Moses (Num. xi. sq.), but the scheme of the life of Joseph also leads curiously to such a prophetic truth (Gen. l. 19, sq.); and the frequent introduction of the Dream, and its prophetic significance, by which he is perceptibly distinguished from the other narrators,<sup>1</sup> harmonises well with this prophetic theory of his that pervades his whole history. As narrator of the primitive history, he is the best prophet, as the author of the Book of Origins was the best legislator and national leader. Now as this narrator must from all indications have written considerably earlier than the Fourth, we may assume him to have lived in the tenth or ninth century, while such great prophets as Elijah and Joel were still active; for his history is like a reflex of the high prophetic activity of their times. Although passages like Num. xi. sq. quite remind us of Joel, we prefer to assign to the northern kingdom a narrator who makes the life of Joseph the most brilliant period of the Patriarchal history, so that his work would have been to the kingdom of Israel much the same as the Book of Origins to that of Judah. We shall say more on this subject in the history of Joseph.

The diction of these fragments, notwithstanding a not inconsiderable number of peculiarities,<sup>2</sup> exhibits far more analogy with those of the Book of Origins than the Fourth Narrator does:<sup>3</sup> another proof that this work was written tolerably soon

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xx. xxxi. xxxvii. xl. sq. A narrative style which loves to bring into prominence this intellectual domain is by no means common. It is quite foreign to the Book of Origins. The story in Gen. xxviii. 10-22, to the very groundwork of which the dream belongs, forms no parallel. The Fifth Narrator in imitating such pictures expresses himself quite differently, Gen. xv. 1, xlvi. 2. And wherever beyond the primitive history anything of the kind occurs it can hardly be uninfluenced by the descriptions in this work: Judges vii. 13 sqq. (where נָבְלַת interpretation of dreams) 1 Kings

iii. 4-15. It is quite in harmony with this view that in the Third Narrator Moses alone is regarded as standing far above dreams and the like (Num. xii. 6-8).

<sup>2</sup> As נִנְחַת grow, Gen. xlvi. 16, in a thought which the Book of Origins and the Fourth Narrator express each very differently; נִמְלֹת, cover, Ex. xxxiv. 33 sq.; נִמְלֹת suffice, Num. xi. 22, elsewhere only Judges xxi. 14, Ps. xxxii. 6, and in imperf. Niph. Jos. xvii. 16, Zech. x. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The author calls God in the pre-Mosaic time Elohim, like the Book of Origins, and uses, like the latter, the word נָהָר for the

after the Book of Origins, from which it is mainly distinguished by its prophetic treatment and glorification of the ancient history.

## 2) *The Fourth Narrator of the Primitive History.*

To another entirely independent work must be referred especially several moderately long pieces which on close inspection betray some strongly marked peculiarities; whereas many shorter fragments and remains of it are preserved closely interwoven with the words of the succeeding author.

a.) The fragments of this narrator exhibit a culmination and mature development of all the intellectual powers and capacities of the ancient nation, which can hardly be surpassed. It may be with justice maintained that this work exhibits the progress in the treatment of primitive history to the extreme of freedom in conception and delineation, beyond which nothing more is possible but the artistic conformation and poetical employment of its legends. And we may perceive clearly enough, in the picture of the national life of the time that meets our eye, the commencing relaxation of the old bonds of the Mosaic religion, and the irresistible rise of a multitude of new thoughts and aims.<sup>1</sup> We can here only show this by a few of the more important phenomena.

The prophetic theory, which entered deep even into the former work, expands itself in this with full force, and becomes the supporter of the entire historical narrative. This work, especially when taken together with the succeeding one, gives a full reflection of the great prophetic power and activity that was developed in the centuries after David. This prophetic power, that had long become great in life and in literature, and was constantly overflowing its immediate bounds, now quite occupies the primitive history too, and remodels it with the greatest freedom into new and fairer forms. If the few relics of the previous work permit us to institute a comparison, that still kept pretty close to tradition with its prophetic truths,

*Congregation*, Ex. xxxiv. 31; also נְשִׁיאָנִים for the heads or elders of the congregation recurs Ex. xxxiv. 31, although in Num. xi. in our present text בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל stands constantly for it.

<sup>1</sup> As a somewhat analogous case in a kindred people, may be cited the semi-poetical transformation of the old Arabic historical literature which followed the times of the Crusades, when modern

writers freshened up the memory of the first glorious days of Islam under the sheltering name of the ancient narrator *Waqidi*, and produced the many Histories of *Waqidi*, which have never been estimated at their true value till our day. It is however hardly necessary to observe, that the spirit which revived the primitive histories of Islam was very different from that which remodelled those of the Hebrews.

and was the same from a prophetic point of view as the Book of Origins from a legislative ; whereas in this work the prophetic idea rather sways history as its domain, and treats it from the first with all possible freedom. Now every prophetic truth seeks and easily finds in some part of the primitive history a fitting support, whence it expands itself freely and exhibits itself in its full extent. The support for the furthest existing prophetic outlook, namely the Messianic expectations which must in the time of the writer have long been developed nearly as we see them in the greater Prophets, was most naturally found at the historical commencement of all higher life in the Patriarchs, according to the law that in moral and divine things the extreme end must correspond to the extreme beginning, and all intermediate matter contains only the process of development.<sup>1</sup> And were it not that these insertions of a higher kind of history into the primitive times must, from their very position, be told in the shortest form, few finer presentiments would be found to be declared even by the real great prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries. The truth that every unrighteous rule, be it never so powerful, must necessarily fall before a higher disposing power, and that the Divine deliverance comes surely, finds its right place in the Egyptian-Hebrew history : the opposite truth, how the delivered and exalted people sinks down again through its own guilt from the height attained, and is only rescued from total ruin by the untiring self-devotion of such great minds as Moses, easily attaches itself to certain reminiscences from the desert (Ex. xxxii. - xxxiv.). And wherever the prophetic treatment finds such an opportunity, it distinctly unfolds all the art of unfettered description and brings forward its innermost thoughts. Hence these passages have a high degree of importance as regards prophetic truth ; and it were difficult to decide between this and the former prophetic historian, which yields to the other in depth and originality of thought, did not the subject of these thoughts concern a distinct side of prophetic truth in each.

If we then regard closer the truths which are here forced upon us, we shall have to confess that they flow from a height of prophetic activity and advanced national culture totally foreign to the Book of Origins. The developed Messianic expectations, the truth of the infinite all-surpassing grace of Jahve beside the deep sinfulness and corruption of the earthly

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 1-3, xviii. 18 sq., xxii. 16-18, xxvi. 4 sq., xxviii. 14.

(or natural) man,<sup>1</sup> the similar truths of the non-casual origin of the wicked principle in man,<sup>2</sup>—these are such illustrious thoughts, which the sun of these ages was the first to elicit from the sacred soil.

The language is essentially the fully developed prose style; but from the author's intellectual peculiarity in the treatment of history it always inclines towards a prophetic loftiness of description, wherever the subject will at all allow of a more soaring flight, as at the calling of Abraham and the other periods of this great hero's life, at the calling of Moses and his deeds in Egypt. But from this prevailingly prophetic tenor of the discourse it is, on every favourable occasion, only one step to the poetic; and this natural transition into purely poetic matter, or to an actual verse, of which we had the bare rudiments in the Third Narrator (p. 98), proves to be an important criterion of this and still more of the following narrator.<sup>3</sup> For though the passage Gen. xl ix., spoken of on page 69, might, and obviously did, form a precedent here, yet so constant an intermingling of the poetic as this work displays, is a new phenomenon only to be explained from the species of historical composition that was now gaining ground.<sup>4</sup> Even where the author is not exactly revealing the highest prophetic truths, he likes to intermingle poetic colours of language, and follows a more artistic plan. But how a true poetic air may be spread over the narration when at the same time the former strictness of the Mosaic account of God (Mythology) was being relaxed, and greater freedom on this subject also was making way, is clearly shown by such glorious examples as Gen. xviii.-xix. 28, and xxiv., which have a truly epic plan, and the last of which is quite comparable to an idyl. The mere narration with old-fashioned brevity or with the terseness demanded by the nature of the sources, never distinguishes this narrator, who deliberately prefers a beautiful and bold revivification of antiquity.

One consequence of this great freedom of description is, finally, that the historical distinctions of the various ages are more and more dropped in narration, and the ideas and colours

<sup>1</sup> Gen. iii., xviii. 1-xix. 28, xxxii. 11 sq., Ex. xxxii.-xxxiv. cf. Gen. viii. 21 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. iii. cf. viii. 21 of same narrator.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. ii. 23, xxiv. 60; in the Fifth Narrator, Gen. ix. 25-27, xxv. 23, xxvii. 27-29, 39 sq.; Num. xxiiii. 7-xxiv. Gen. iv. 23 sq. is of a different kind, as one may see from the historical references therein contained, which could not possibly have sprung from the author himself; cf.

p. 49, note.

<sup>4</sup> In a similar way in the Arabic histories mentioned on p. 100, the language passes easily into verse, wherever a fitting opportunity occurs to insert it: cf. *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. i. p. 95 sq., 101 sq. In still later times this freedom penetrated into the prophetic style, see *Die Propheten des A.B.* vol. ii. p. 332, 392.

of language current in the author's age are without much ceremony transferred to the primitive times. We saw (p. 91) how the Book of Origins preserves a strong consciousness of these distinctions, and prefers to portray the ante-Mosaic antiquity after its own fashion; but this narrator, and the next even more, feel no scruple about transferring purely Mosaic ideas and phrases to that age. This certainly at the same time proves how firmly Mosaic notions had now long been rooted in the nation, and in how great a degree, precisely from this cause, the clear consciousness of previous totally different circumstances was fading away. Thus not only in the history of Noah (Gen. viii. 20-22), but even in that of Abel and Cain (Gen. iv.), regular Mosaic sacrifices are described, without any cautious enquiry whether they have any place at the gate of Paradise. In the same way we must understand the fact that our narrator, overleaping the limit observed by the Book of Origins (p. 84), and also by the previous narrator (according to p. 89, note), calls God from the first *Jahve*, and is always glad to employ this peculiarly prophetic name wherever possible.<sup>1</sup> Some little reserve and avoidance of too modern phrases, however, might well consist with the tendency alluded to, and is indeed clearly discernible; as for example it is not accident that the expression, so frequent in later times, *Neim-Jahve* (i.e. '—is Jahve's saying'), with which the Prophets of the times after David introduced or concluded their words, though first transferred to the primitive age by our narrator, yet even by him is used only once, and therefore seems to have crept in by an oversight.<sup>2</sup>

That the author wrote as late as the age of the greater Prophets, may be equally clearly inferred from other considerations also. The tranquillity and polish of the narrative manner of these passages fully answers our expectations of the poetry of the eighth century. But besides, the narrative of the great

<sup>1</sup> He intentionally avoids it from reverence, e.g. in speeches addressed to heathens or among heathens, Gen. xxxix. 9; and of this kind is the instance in Gen. iii. 3-5. With this view, that the name *Jahve* is identical with God, another view is certainly closely connected, viz. that being in itself conditioned by the opposite idea of frail humanity, it must have arisen in the primeval age, together with the name of the patriarch Enos (Enosh), i.e. man. This beautiful conception, mentioned only too shortly by the Third Narrator in Gen. iv. 26, apparently emanates from that narrator himself, the earliest who would make so bold a use of the name *Jahve*, whereas

the following narrator acts quite differently in this matter: see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vi. p. 18. This variety of divine names, therefore, in the primeval history, is not without weight for the discrimination of its elements; but it presents only a single token, which must everywhere be judiciously interpreted and brought into harmony with all other indications; for when adopted and insisted on without such careful judgment, it leads into great errors. Moreover, it is obvious that different histories require the application of different laws.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 16. In the whole primeval history it is only used on one other occasion, Num. xiv. 28.

abomination at Gibeah in Judges xix. is by all indications the prototype of that about Sodom (Gen. xix.); for the one cannot have originated independently of the other, and it is more natural to suppose that to a narrator like ours the historical story served the purpose of dressing up short legends of antiquity, than the reverse. Moreover Hosea<sup>1</sup> quotes the abomination at Gibeah certainly from that source, and yet does not, like our narrator,<sup>2</sup> limit the moral degradation of the early times to the two cities of Sodom and Gomorrah only. But since Amos<sup>3</sup> had begun to employ these two cities alone by way of example for purposes of instruction, our narrator confines himself to them, even when speaking at length. But, on the other hand, this narrator must have written at a tolerably long interval before the succeeding one. We shall probably err but little, therefore, in fixing him at the end of the ninth or commencement of the eighth century.

b.) If we enquire about the ends that the narrator in this age kept before his eyes, we shall perhaps find the truth nowhere so evidently confirmed as here, that throughout the whole life of an ancient nation like Israel the writing of history always follows other efforts and tendencies that have already gained strength, and hence changes with them; and that it is not, like poetry, prophecy, and religion, something original and anterior. Prophetic activity attained at that time its culminating point in Judah, and had already produced a multitude of lofty and eternally true thoughts. Now as these forced their way even into the contemplation of history, and sought admission into the yielding domain of the primitive history, the old conceptions of it were evidently no longer universally sufficient, and new ones arose imperceptibly. The Divine blessing awarded to the Patriarchs was now no longer confined as in the Book of Origins (p. 75) to the single nation of Israel, but extended, according to the true Messianic view, over all nations of the earth:<sup>4</sup> and that everything ultimately depends upon faith and the proof of faith, was now the great prophetic dogma, which was soon to transform the primitive history into accordance with itself.<sup>5</sup> The poetical and prophetical literature had at this time attained a similar height; they now exerted a sensible influence on historical writing also, especially on the history of the earliest times, so that the artistic arrangement and glowing descriptions

<sup>1</sup> Hos. ix. 9, x. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 2, 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18,

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiii. 13, xix., xx.; see however x. 19; Hos. xi. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Still more is this the case with the

<sup>3</sup> Amos iv. 11; and likewise Isaiah i. 9, following narrator: Gen. xv. xxii.; Ex. iv. 5.

that we missed in the older works, made rapid way in the more recent. Here we discover the two objects that this work, by its peculiar treatment of the subject was chiefly intended to secure. It almost seems not to be the matter, as such, of the primitive history, which is the main thing, but the mode of conception and delineation—that is, the clothing of a frequently-treated subject-matter in a beautiful or at least a new dress. Many an old reminiscence of antiquity that would else easily pass away is refreshed by this spirit of the new age into more pleasing and attractive forms. And if it be true that the history of a nation's antiquity only after such a regeneration becomes its inalienable possession (page 36), we shall be forced to admit that, whilst much matter has been destroyed or rendered difficult of recognition by modification, and much quite thrown away as insignificant, at least as much has been by this means preserved which would perhaps also have been entirely lost.

But though the majority of the fragments of this narrator thus present nothing but old matter newly worked up after the literary fashion demanded by the best prophecy and religion then in vogue, nevertheless the creative power of the nation, as applied to their old legends, was by no means exhausted; and many legends which had assumed an entirely new form may now have found their way into the history. Let us here only call attention to the story in Gen. xxxviii. of the circle of the ancestors of David's house, which, without naming David, can hardly have originated without a tacit reference to the royal line of Judah. But especially, a flood of foreign legends of a mythological character had poured in upon Judah through the nation's freer and wider commerce since the time of Solomon; these our narrator received into the circle of the early history, modified as far as possible through the spirit of the Jehovistic religion. These are the important fragments briefly indicated above (page 39), and to be further discussed in their historical context; which are peculiar in being perhaps all referable to this narrator.

c.) At all events, however, this work was quite an independent one, as much so as any of the foregoing. Indeed, in a literary point of view, there could hardly be another work so new and independent as this, because beautiful and copious delineation is a main point with it.<sup>1</sup> So far as we are able to observe, the

<sup>1</sup> This furnishes also a weighty ground for completely separating this narrator from the following one. Passages, for instance, such as Gen. xviii. 1-xix. 28, from a literary point of view, exhibit so clear, pure, and powerful a flow of speech, as to render it impossible, even on this account, to refer them to the same author as Gen. xv.

narratives of this new work did not even rest upon fragments of older ones; its peculiar genius being for actual creation.

### 3) *The Fifth Narrator of the Primitive History.*

It is quite otherwise with the work of the Fifth Narrator. As such we are to understand the author from whose hand proceeded the first great collection and working up of all previous sources of the primitive history, to whom therefore is to be referred the whole existing Pentateuch together with the Book of Joshua, with the exception of three kinds of additions which (as is soon to be elucidated) were intercalated still later.<sup>1</sup>

a.) At the time of this author the literature of the primitive history had long swelled out to an extraordinary bulk. Most various works of various ages and from various districts were then by all indications extant in considerable numbers; the age had been growing constantly more learned, and the very multitude of works in this, as also simultaneously in other branches of literature,<sup>2</sup> excited the demand for finer sifting and new combinations. Accordingly we have here a narrator who, though he delineates some points anew with his own hand and after his own taste according to the demands of his age, yet generally only either repeats word for word from older books or slightly modifies the accounts of others, and who was on the whole rather a collector and worker-up than an independent author and original narrator of history.

But if we enquire in what is this narrator still independent, we find it first of all in the partiality for a prophetic bearing and loftiness of thought. Here indeed he only carries further what had already appeared in the previous narrators, especially in the last; but it is characteristic of him that he brings out Messianic ideas less prominently,<sup>3</sup> and with great

<sup>1</sup> It might indeed be supposed that the Fifth Narrator was as independent a writer as his predecessors, and that we owed to him only long passages such as Gen. xv., Num. xxii.-xxiv.; while a subsequent author used all these works, and thus became, in the sense already explained, the *latest* author. This view, moreover, might be recommended by the consideration that the task of a compiler of books or history may be quite distinct from that of an historian, and is in itself enough for one man. But I could not adopt this opinion here, because it is obvious that the last narrator, whose hand is seen in passages like Gen. xi. 25,

26, x. 21, must be the same who wrote such narratives as Gen. ix. 18-27, xv.; see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vi. p. 9 sqq., 16, 17, vii. p. 25 sqq., ix. p. 19 sqq. With this may be compared the way in which the latest prophets, though acting as collectors and compilers of prophetic works, always made independent additions of their own. See my *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, i. p. 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. i. p. 31-44.

<sup>3</sup> Especially, he dwells only upon the eternal possession of the land as promised to the Patriarchs, Gen. xv., xlvi. 4, Num. xxii.-xxiv. How far Messianic hopes

emphasis inculcates the truth that that faith which stands the test of trial is the true crown of life.<sup>1</sup> But whereas the boldness of employing the histories of the earliest times for instruction and for a mirror of the existing times increases, and whereas the descriptions are often more splendid and buoyant than those of the previous narrator, still this writer's style has already lost much of the former tranquil beauty and perfection.

Whilst prophetic thoughts and descriptions were raised to so high a pitch in those ages, the popular element (as will be further elucidated below) felt itself increasingly restricted, repelled, and depressed; which was followed in the literature by a gradual decline from the beautiful perfection of style and description, and in the disposition towards other nations by a certain sourness of tone and embittered enmity. Both these characteristics are unmistakably present in this historian. The sharper-impressed nationality and sorcer tone towards other nations, especially kindred or neighbouring ones, are testified by passages such as Gen. ix. 20-27, xix. 31-38, xxvii. 1 sqq.; Num. xxii.-xxiv., all of which sharply distinguish this historian from the older writers on the primitive history, and breathe almost the same spirit that declares itself in the expressions of Joel and later prophets about foreign nations. And as in general the separation of opinions and tendencies may become more and more trenchant in the progress of time (until some happy fate brings about a higher reconciliation of opposite views), and as just in that age a sharper partition was growing up between the friends and foes of spiritual religion, this historian remarkably completes the ideas of the Book of Origins by establishing a contrast of salvation and destruction, of good and bad, even in the earliest stage before the Flood (Gen. iv.; compare above, p. 80, 102), whereas the former author had already pursued the origin of evil further, to the first man, and there discussed it likewise in a prophetic spirit (Gen. iii.).

The true age of the work can be most certainly discovered by considering more closely those relations in which, according to evident indications in this work itself, Israel then stood to foreign nations. It was especially Edom, Moab, and Ammon who were again powerful and active at that time, and on whom accordingly the narrator, who treats the history in general with great freedom, bestows so much attention even in the earliest times. Now of Edom it is indicated (Gen. xxvii. 39 sq.) that

are contained even in this narrative, is *schaft*, viii. p. 22 sqq.  
shown in *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissen-*

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xv. 6, xxii.; Ex. iv. 5.

this wild warlike tribe, though subservient to its brother Jacob, should deliver itself from his yoke, if it would only earnestly strive for that end.<sup>1</sup> Thus the happy deliverance after earnest resolution is put as the latest in time; and the narrative of Gen. xxvii. is planned so as to lead to the result, that Edom does after all finally gain a blessing from his father, a very restricted one though it be: his land shall be less fruitful than Jacob's, but his earnest wrestling to throw off Jacob's yoke shall not be without result. So the whole kingdom of Judah, to which our author may belong, was then manifestly excited by the contest with Edom and the successful revolt of the latter. And this consideration of itself leads to a time not far distant from the prophecies of Joel; that we may regard as the extreme limit, before which the narrator cannot have written.<sup>2</sup> A similar indication, but when closer examined, far more distinct, is given by the conclusion of the extensive prophetic passages in Num. xxii.-xxiv., although for several reasons this is difficult for us to understand with perfect security. The prophecy put in Balaam's mouth comes, towards the conclusion, to speak of a star that should rise out of Israel, not in the age immediately succeeding Balaam, but rather at a distant future time, to chastise and crush Moab, Edom, and all similar proud tribes (Num. xxiv. 17-19):—

I see him, but not now,  
 I behold him, but not near :  
 A star appears out of Jacob,  
 And a sceptre arises out of Israel ;  
 Smites both the temples of Moab  
 And the crown of the head of all the sons of pride,  
 So that Edom becomes a possession,  
 And Seir becomes a possession—his enemies,  
 While Israel doeth valiantly.\*

It is not possible to see in the illustrious king from whom this picture is borrowed any later one than David. Moab, in-

<sup>1</sup> תְּרִיר in Hiphil, has undoubtedly the meaning of wrestling, striving, desiring, like the common Arabic word, أَرَانِ in which, however, the meaning is still further weakened.

<sup>2</sup> My *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. i. p. 68.

\* The structure of the passage v. 17-19 is somewhat confused. In v. 19 the first member is evidently too short and seems mutilated. In v. 18 נַבְּבוֹן appears to

afford no sense unless נַבְּבֵן be prefixed to it; but this only appears so. [It is here taken as an apposition to Edom and Seir: Edom and Seir, Israel's enemies; like צָרֵן in v. 8]. In v. 17, however, נַבְּבֵן, i.e. נַבְּבֵן, is undoubtedly the proper reading; so also קְרִקְרָה according to Jer. xlvi. 45: for the image of the two temples, right and left, is just completed by that of the crown of the head; and, conversely, the haughtily raised vertex harmonises very well with the sons of pride.

deed, again fell off from the northern monarchy under Ahab's son, and Jeroboam II. subjugated it anew after a long interval (2 Kings i. 1, xiv. 25, compare Is. xv. sq.) ; but neither this Jeroboam nor any other king after David conquered both Moab and Edom so completely at the same time. But this shining star is not the latest thing that Balaam knows of. Of the further destinies of Moab, indeed, he says no more ; and an inhabitant of Judah like the author could have no reason for particularly desiring its reconquest by Samaria. But whilst Balaam's eye wanders at last with single, disjointed, ghostlike glances, over his remotest future (which however is the actual present of the author, and filled with all his living experiences and desires), he declares concerning Amalek (verse 20) :—

Amalek is an old primitive people ;  
Nevertheless, his end hastens to the nether world ;

and concerning Ken (the Kenites) (verse 21 sq.) —

Thy dwelling is a rock,  
Thy nest is fixed on a cliff :  
Yet Ken will have to burn ;  
How long—ere Asshur carries thee away captive.

Now at the first glance, indeed, it is obscure how these tribes come to stand in this connection; for both the 'primitive people' Amalek and the Kenites evidently disappear gradually from history in the times after Solomon; and yet here, in a connection where we expect allusions to events or aspirations of these ages, they appear sufficiently important to be specially noticed. As to the Kenites, however, we are fully entitled (from 1 Sam. xiv. 6) to bring them into so close a connection with the Amalekites that, if we succeeded in discovering the latter in any suitable historical position, there can be no further doubt about the former. Now as the previous declaration concludes strongly and significantly enough with the relation of Edom to Israel, the conjecture forces itself upon us that Amalek, a part of which was at that time fused with Edom, according to Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, is here mentioned because of its intimate connection with Edom,—perhaps because in some war between the Idumeans and the Israelites it had indulged anew its old national hatred against the latter. And, fortunately, this more definite account has been preserved by Josephus:<sup>1</sup> that in the war waged by Amaziah<sup>2</sup> against Edom, the Amalekites and Gebalites fought on the side of the Idumeans. Now we may confidently assume that they did

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, Ant., ix. 9. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 7.

not remain inactive under Uzziah when the same contest was renewed.<sup>1</sup> For even by Uzziah Edom was not completely and permanently subjugated. The declaration about Dumah (Is. xxi. 11 sq.) is easily reconcilable with the sense of our passage. And if the Amalekites and Kenites, so often subjugated before, still maintained themselves erect in Edom as though in defiance of Israel, then it is explained how a prophetic voice of the first half of the eighth century could announce to them a chastisement by the Assyrians. For the Assyrians were then evidently already menacing the more southern tribes, but under Uzziah or Jotham they must have been regarded in the kingdom of Judah rather as friends and welcome deliverers from the oppressions of the neighbouring tribes. Upon this foundation the declaration about Japhet which our author puts into the mouth of Noah,<sup>2</sup> receives a remarkable interpretation. But finally the seer concealed beneath the name of Balaam lifts the veil yet higher: Balaam's concluding words, in which he appears once more to wake up like a spirit, and then to become mute for ever (v. 23 sq.):—

Alas ! who shall live after God's ordaining this !  
And ships from the coast of the Chittites,  
They shall then afflict Asshur and afflict Eber :  
Nevertheless, they too hasten to the nether world.

undoubtedly allude, from their position, to an event which must then have been the most recent historical fact, the mention of which was obviously intended to give the distinctest intimation of the actual present. A pirate fleet coming from the Chittim, i.e. the Phœnician Cyprians, must, a short time before, have harassed the Hebrew, i.e. Canaanitish and Phœnician coasts, as well as the Assyrian, i.e. Syrian, farther north. We have no other distinct account of this event, the consequences of which cannot have been very lasting. But as, according to the Tyrian Annals of Menander,<sup>3</sup> the Tyrian king Elulæus vanquished the revolted Chittim, and Salmanassar, then in his war against Tyre, desired to use this discord for his own ends, evidently implying that this revolt had been a considerable one, we are justified in assuming that the revolt of the Chittim had lasted a long time before it was quelled by Elulæus. We should,

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ix. 27; a sentence which derives its significance only from the peculiar circumstances of the time. How completely Assyria and its history at that time filled every mouth, is seen from the immediately following interpolation of the whole passage about Nimrod, Gen. x. 8-12; a very

palpable addition, which could only originate with one of these two narrators: see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ix. p. 7, x. p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See Josephus, *Antiquities*, ix. 14, 2; Isaiah xxiii. 12 (comp. 10) obviously alludes to the possibility of such rebellion among the Chittites.

therefore, by no means necessarily come down to the times of Salmanassar, when Judah's relation and disposition towards Assyria was totally altered.

The supposition that the author wrote in the kingdom of Judah is most strongly favoured by the arrangement of the words of Balaam, which concern especially the relation of Edom to Israel; for not Moab or Ammon, but Edom, always remained in the closest connection with Judah in the times after Solomon. To the temple-hill Moriah, moreover, we are directed by the form that the ancient legend of the sacrifice of Isaac here assumes (Gen. xxii. 1-14).<sup>1</sup> The story inserted as an episode in Gen. xxxviii. does not, indeed, originate in a very favourable disposition towards the house of David and its progenitors; but at times sentiments might be formed which diverged, to some extent, from the ordinary opinions—sentiments which could expand themselves nowhere more readily and innocently than in the domain of the primitive history by a semi-facetious treatment of an ancient legend.

b.) The author certainly used for his great elaboration of the primitive history all the sources that passed in his time for authorities. These were in the main the above-described works, and perhaps a few others besides, that we can trace with less distinctness.<sup>2</sup> He especially bases his history upon the Book of Origins, beginning with its noble introduction (Gen. i. 1-ii. 4), and confining himself throughout the whole history to the frame supplied by that work to chronology. He mostly only works up the older sources into one another, without adding much new matter of his own. But in the first place, the flow of his own exposition naturally expands more freely where he finds a fitting occasion to pursue the ideas which were characterised above as peculiar to him. And secondly, having thus brought together such various matter from the most manifold literary sources, he endeavours at the same time to give it a more living connection and more comprehensive arrangement by throwing in a dash of stronger light on certain passages. An accurate observation of the manner in which he conducts this introduces us to the actual workshop of his labours. It may be remarked that at the commencement of a new section he likes to exhaust in a single great picture all the great things that can be said or thought about a hero or any considerable phenomenon in history, thus

<sup>1</sup> See the recent remarks on this point in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1863, p. 637 sqq. That in Num. xxiv. 19, the *תְּבִיר* (city) must be Jerusalem, I have already shown elsewhere; see *Jahrbücher*

*der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, xi. p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> As for instance, what is said in Gen. iii. 20, iv. 1, about Eve, may have been taken from some work unknown to us see *Jahrbücher der Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 165.

leading, by a brilliant introduction in a prophetic spirit, into further details. In this, according to some indications, the previous narrator had prepared the way for him; but he carries this mode of description further and with superior art. So in Abraham's life he exhibits a striking prophetic picture at the head of each of its three sections (*Gen. xii. 1-8, xv., and xxii. 1-19*); similarly Isaac's life is reached by a descent from an elevation (*Gen. xxvi. 1, 5*); the same thing is done for Jacob's life by the prophetic hue of the story of his dream (*Gen. xxviii. 10-22*); and in the case of Moses similarly an exceedingly brilliant introduction leads on to his prophetic appearance (*Exod. iii. sq.*). Now many things that this narrator puts in this prominent position had been mentioned in the earlier chronicles at a later occasion, as for example the covenant with Abraham, which is described in chap. *xv.* in the most brilliant colours, but which, according to the ancient arrangement, did not occur till chap. *xvii.*, where it is fortunately retained by the last narrator. Accordingly this peculiarity in the narrator is intimately connected with another: filled as he is by the contents of the history of a given period, he generally likes to bring in all the most important circumstances as near to the beginning as possible, and sometimes at the commencement of a new section knits a regular epic or, to speak more correctly, prophetic knot; but afterwards lets the older sources of history speak for themselves, in so far as he accepts them. This peculiarity may be traced into the utmost details; it is repeated on the small as on the large scale. As he first describes the corruptness of the earth (*Gen. vi. 1-8*), intending to return thence by a fitting transition to his ancient historical authority, and as after the Flood he gives a short preliminary description after his own fashion (*Gen. viii. 20-22*) of the renewed blessedness of Noah (*Gen. ix.*), so he inserts some notices of Ishmael's history, which occurs in chap. *xxi.* and *xxv. 18*, at the earliest possible occasion in chap. *xvi. 7-14*; and by an epic artifice indicates the main point of the dispute between Esau and Jacob as early as *xxv. 22-34*, and gives the explanation of the name Jahve (*Ex. vi. 2 sq.*), according to his fashion, preliminarily in *Ex. iii. 13-16*. Such transpositions, rendered possible by the fluctuating nature of legend, occurred occasionally even in the earlier writers. The later narrators generally transposed an event from a later to an earlier position: but details will be better discussed in their place in the history. Similarly in Joshua's life the narrator only gives a few lengthy descriptions at the outset, especially in *Josh. ii., iii. sq., v. 13, vi., and viii.*

If we consider this our narrator's peculiar method of treating his subject, we shall find it to be probable that the transpositions in the Book of Origins, mentioned on page 87 sq., are due to him. Whilst elaborating that ancient work in the manner described into a new one, and leaving out or transposing much of it (which will be shown more fully below), he may at first have determined on leaving out various passages of the Book of Origins, but subsequently have fortunately supplied the omission at a later place. And the circumstance that these transposed passages are always transposed to a later, not to an earlier position, leads necessarily to the assumption that we have here not the effect of chance or a multitude of hands, but the habit of a single reviser. On a smaller scale we see the same thing in the old Book of Kings or the present Books of Samuel.

The author has evidently entirely omitted much from the authorities that lay before him. This is self-evident upon a closer understanding of the relics of ancient works received by him; occasionally a great abridgment of the fuller narrations of earlier works is very perceptible in such fragmentary recapitulating sentences as those about the Titans of the original world in Gen. vi., 1-4; other omissions and contractions can be with certainty discovered only by a sharper insight into the subject and the origin of the extant narratives.<sup>1</sup> For the very reason that the author wished to condense so many and such various sources into a single readable work, he had to leave out much in order to avoid having too many repetitions and too evident contrasts.

Although this compiler unmistakably worked up and blended together the very various matter which he held worthy of insertion, yet it is equally certain that he did not deem perfect uniformity necessary in the matter he inserted. He was evidently determined mainly by the importance of a passage from the earlier books whether to insert or to omit it, or to abridge it more or less. Of slight repetitions and unprominent contradictions in the contents of the narrative he was but little afraid; still less of variety in the mere use of language. He preserves accordingly in the passages which he repeats from older books the diversity of the names of God, Elohim and Jahve, in the main quite as from the above remarks he must have received it, though, agreeably to the progress of his time, he himself calls God Jahve by preference. Only here and there, especially on occasion of transitions, as in Gen. ii. 4, xvii. 1, he

<sup>1</sup> As I have lately shown in *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 163, 164, by an instructive example.

puts the name Jahve in the midst of the words of an old work. But it seems as if, through the constant compilation of passages in which the names for God varied, the employment of these names themselves had imperceptibly grown more familiar to the author. He does not call God Jahve so exclusively as the Fourth Narrator; and in the history of Moses he prepares the way for the explanation of the name Jahve by a sort of emulation of the Book of Origins. He therefore calls God Elohim for a time, until the decisive moment (Ex. iii. 4-15, 18); and, as if he would bring prominently forward at the outset of the whole work that the two names in their ultimate significance are intrinsically but one, and that Jahve is only more definite than Elohim, he of himself adds to the one name Jahve the other Elohim, in the first passage which he borrows from the Fourth Narrator, Gen. ii. 5, iii.,<sup>1</sup> but abolishes this cumbrous reduplication of appellations from the commencement of the new fragment Gen. iv., and thenceforward calls God always by a single name. He especially likes to call God by the lower name when speaking of mere manifestation by dreams,<sup>2</sup> as if any divine agency were adequate to produce the effect; but in other connections also, as in Gen. iv. 25, &c.

c.) As regards the extent of the works of this narrator (not including the third and fourth narrators), he cannot be proved to have brought down the history beyond the death of Joshua;<sup>3</sup> on the contrary, everything goes to prove that that event formed his conclusion.<sup>4</sup> For though the oldest book of history, described on p. 68 sqq., had embraced also the times of the Judges, and the Book of Origins, according to p. 76 sqq., had narrated some facts down to the first age of the monarchy, yet the last chapters of these books might easily have been severed from

<sup>1</sup> A special proof of this is given just before, in Gen. ii. 4, where he similarly appends Jahve to Elohim; see *Jahrbücher*, ii. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 1-3, xlvi. 2; Num. xxii. 9 sqq., compared with 8.

<sup>3</sup> At the utmost it might be objected that in Josh. vi. 26 there was a direct allusion to an event which took place under king Ahab, the fulfilment of which is given in 1 Kings xvi. 34; and therefore that the author intended here at once to write down its fulfilment also, and consequently to carry down the history to Ahab's time. But rather, it only follows from this that the Third or Fourth Narrator found a narrative existing similar to that in 1 Kings xvi. 34, and could therefore allude to it in the life of Joshua: in fact, the short notice in Josh. vi. 26 is an in-

dependent and nowise necessary addition. In 1 Kings xvi. 34, also, the mention of the event is equally brief and isolated; but from this only follows that these two last narrators, the historian of the primeval history and that of the monarchy, took this event out of an earlier writing, where it was undoubtedly presented in its entire freshness and completeness. The event itself, however, is too incidental and insignificant to serve in any way as a connecting link between the primeval history and that of the monarchy.

<sup>4</sup> The last author, according to Deut. xxxi. 16-22, only mentioned at the close that after the age of Joshua Israel fell away from Jahve; but this may have been briefly observed; and we now actually find in Josh. xxiv. 31 some words which may have suggested the remark.

the rest and elaborated into later books treating only of the history after Moses and Joshua. For, as Moses and Joshua had concluded the greatest epoch of the early history, their death was certainly more and more regarded during the progress of the monarchical period as the great boundary-line of the ancient and the modern age. Agreeably to this, as will soon appear more clearly, a very different style of historical composition was developed for each of these two all-comprehending periods.

**4. The Deuteronomist : last modification of the Book of Primitive History.**

However freely the above-described Fourth Narrator treats the primitive history, he nowhere betrays a legislative aim ; for, on the one occasion when he delivers laws (Ex. xxxiv. 10-26), he does so only in his habitual emulation of older works, to expound the Decalogue and its origin after his own fashion. Equally far removed is the last of the just-described prophetic narrators from any peculiar legislative aim : but later ages are the rather indebted to him for having preserved the important legislative portion of the Book of Origins almost uncurtailed, and thus, by admission into his work, having perhaps saved them from total oblivion. He is, indeed, very fond of introducing prophetic words, but in a purely poetic garb and always in the midst of circumstantial narration.

But this literary employment upon the primitive history, which had been kept up so long, and yet had never led to real historical investigation, at length bursts its last bounds and advances a step further. It begins to regard the consecrated ground of this history as merely matter for prophetic and legislative purposes ; and herein it was evidently confirmed by the other tendencies of the age. For not only did the power of prophecy approach its slow but irrepressible fall at the end of the eighth century, but the later ages, weighed down by the aggravated burden of circumstances, felt themselves more and more impotent to carry out any serious improvement of the national life. But as literary activity was still constantly progressing, and taking a hold upon the prophetic and legislative subject-matter, which was constant in proportion as the outward national life was estranged from such subjects, this literary activity attached itself most readily to the consecrated domain of the primitive history ; Moses and his age being regarded as the great originators of both tendencies, so that every passage

about him in the old books might excite in the writer literary fancies and the desire of speaking on prophetic and legislative topics, and might be expected to be received by the reader in the most favourable frame of mind.

1) The earliest discoverable commencement of this method of treating, or rather of only using, the Mosaic history, is displayed by the inserted passage, Lev. xxvi. 3-45. This gives a prophetic promise and a menace which, though formed upon the type of Ex. xxiii. 22 sq., is not only much more copious and rhetorical, but holds out far more extended threatenings; so that it may be remarked that the early and better times of the nation were gone and the full flood of national ills been poured forth over the land. This passage has been purposely tacked on to this part of the Book of Origins, because the conclusion of the description of so many laws, especially the concluding ones about the festivals and the year of Jubilee (Lev. xxiii. 25-xxvi. 2), goes off into generalities, opening the way most naturally for a prophetic modification of general promises or menaces; and the recurring allusion to the sabbaths and years of jubilee in verse 34 sq., and verse 43 (compare v. 5) shows that it was originally intended to be annexed at this place. Now, although in such passages as verse 9, 12 sq., 45, it distinctly imitates the language of the Book of Origins, yet it shows prevailingly so peculiar a shade of words and phrases<sup>1</sup> that we must necessarily ascribe it to a writer of whom there is nothing else extant. If we observe accurately how it not only takes for granted at least a complete disruption of the one kingdom, but also (in verses 36-40) describes in the liveliest colours the sorrowful feelings of the descendants of persons thus scattered among foreign lands, we cannot doubt but that a descendant of the exiles of the northern kingdom indited these strong prophetic terms, with the intention of showing emphatically in the domain of the primitive history, what were the general consequences of disobedience towards Jahve, and of thereby calling men to repentance. Accordingly this insertion cannot have been written before the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh; but to this period

<sup>1</sup> To instance only a few examples: the words and phrases נָגֵר vv. 21, 23, 24, 27, 40, 41, תְּהִלָּת קָדְשָׁה v. 13, מַזְנֶה v. 36, קָרְבָּן or קָרְבָּן vv. 18, 21, 24, 28, were not imitated by later writers from our author. On the other hand later writers have often imitated some words which appeared in no widely-read book before this; such are נַזְזֵן to spurn, vv. 11, 15, 30, 43, 44, the strong

expression נַזְזֵן to denote an *idol*, v. 30 (properly a *horror*, from a verb נַזְזֵן to reject with scorn, connected with נַזְזֵן, first repeated in Deut. xxix. 16 [17]) and the expression of the *increase of the land*, vv. 4, 20 (compare Deut. xi. 17; Ez. xxxiv. 27; Ps. lxvii. 7 [6], lxxxv. 13 [12], with which compare lxxviii. 46 [45]).

points the relation in which it stands to the other books of the Old Testament. Whilst the resemblance to sayings of the prophets of the eighth or earlier centuries<sup>1</sup> rather testifies a dependence of this author upon them, we find this passage quoted at no earlier date than Deuteronomy,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others of the same character, but very distinctly and considerably used by them.

2) The last expounded tendency of literary activity broke forth most thoroughly in those passages of the present fifth book of the Pentateuch and of the Book of Joshua which are inserted from the work of an author whom we may briefly call 'the Deuteronomist.'<sup>3</sup> At a time when, after the downfall of the northern kingdom and the death of the good king Hezekiah, the southern kingdom also was in the greatest danger of succumbing to lawlessness and other internal maladies, a member of this kingdom living in foreign parts attempted most rigorously and emphatically to recommend the old law, altered and renovated in such a manner as to suit his times, and to employ all the force of prophetic discourse in representing it as the sole salvation of the kingdom. This he does, it is true, on the domain of the primitive history, and therefore in the Mosaic manner and style, but yet treating the subject-matter with the greatest freedom. As to the external form he keeps quite close to the ancient history, by the loftiness of which he feels himself exalted in his unhappy times, and from whose pure strength alone any hope was to be drawn for his times: but the narrative quite recedes with him into the background, and serves only either to introduce discourses and exhortations or for some special literary purpose; and therefore is generally limited to a few words or sentences thrown shortly off.

a.) It is not my present business to expound the entire significance of the work of the Deuteronomist, or prophetic renovator and perfecter of the old law—a book which is in many respects to the Old Testament what the Gospel of John is to the New, and which, though wearing an historical dress, still is widely removed from the circle of historical books. The sole

<sup>1</sup> The model to verse 5 is rather to be found in Amos ix. 13 sqq., that to verse 8 in Isaiah xxx. 17 (compare Deut. xxxii. 30); and that to the often-recurring phrase תְּמִימָנָה v. 6 in Micah iv. 4 (that is Joel) or even Isaiah xvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Besides this, compare verse 18 with Deut. xxviii. 22; the whole long chapter xxviii. of Deuteronomy is only a heightening of this passage.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Deuteronomy* may be retained as perfectly appropriate, although in those passages where it is first found in the LXX., Deut. xvii. 18; Josh. viii. 32, it rests primarily upon an incorrect translation; for הַגְּזֻבָּה here is obviously intended to denote only a *copy*. It is only the general feeling which guided the LXX. that we can recognise as correct.

eminent significance possessed by this work when its true contents and aim are regarded, as well as the great historical results soon produced by it, will be more suitably described in the history itself. But we must here consider more closely, how the author carried out this historical investment of his subject, how he interwove his own words into the primitive history, and in how far he possibly even modified the latter. And we must observe at the outset that the historical dress freely chosen by the author, and in those times undoubtedly the best for his purpose, is kept up very consistently and in accordance with its intention. For he desired most emphatically to recommend the essential and eternal contents of the old law, renovated and transformed by the new prophetic truths now gained, and to do this as the conditions of that advanced age and the desire of thereby working for the improvement of the existing kingdom of David demanded. And so he introduced the only hero of antiquity, who could serve as the right instrument for this end, namely Moses himself, as speaking and acting a short time before his death in this spirit. But he not only desired to prescribe and recommend the right, he also wrestled with all the powers of his mind to see it realised, and destined his work to contribute towards this end likewise. He therefore needed a second hero, who, as soon as ever Moses had published this last bequest of his love to the people and died, should enter into it as a popular leader and realise it all as the dying Moses had wished and ardently striven for. Here Joshua naturally occurred to him, the faithful follower of Moses and realiser of his plans, according to the definite recollections of antiquity. As the author hides himself with his words of prophetic improvement under the high shield of Moses the great Prophet, so under the portraiture of Joshua he conceals the ideal King of his own times such as he would have him, a realiser of what is essentially better. And as the prophetic author endeavours to bring about a complete renovation of the people and kingdom on the basis of the laws here expounded, or, in other words, a new covenant between the people and Jahve, so far as this was possible in writing, he causes Moses to declare to the people before his death a new and better covenant (*Deut. xxvii.-xxx.*), and Joshua to act quite in accordance with it. Thus then all that he had to represent fell into two halves, divided according to the lives of Moses and of Joshua. But as the exposition of the contents of the new covenant that he desired for his times necessarily took up the most room, and as moreover the most powerful effect of the work would proceed from the living words of Moses himself,

these two halves could not but be very unequally divided. Where the author introduces Moses speaking and acting, the bounds of the work are expanded to their utmost extent, and there he puts down the varied and important matter he is about to say, according to a large plan and tolerably strictly carried out arrangement.

The author desired, then, to introduce Moses as a popular orator, speaking pretty much as the prophets of that age used to speak before the assembled thousands. Though, however, even the later prophets are here and there carried away by the old prophetic style of speech, in which the Divine Ego issued directly from the oracle and the human Ego of the prophet vanishes before it, yet here the discourse freely breaks through this conventional barrier of the prophetic style. As if he who desires to preach spiritual love as the highest good ought to speak in a new way, more as a friend than as a prophet in the old sense of the word, the author most successfully ventures on this innovation, thereby infusing a hitherto unknown charm into these purely human discourses of the great hero. Thus indeed is produced a great difference between these speeches and the manner in which the Book of Origins, for instance, constantly makes Jahve first speak to Moses and then Moses declare in the same form to the people all that he has heard from Jahve. Here are for the first time speeches direct to the people on the highest topics according to a consistent plan, the orator always speaking out from himself to the multitude—the prevailing plan in the New Testament as opposed to the Old. And this innovation is the happiest that the later writer could have hit upon, if he really wished to bring the full life of antiquity before the eyes of the after-world, and not to resuscitate the great prophet and popular leader in vain. And, desiring to introduce Moses renovating the old law by new truths and repeatedly urging its acceptance with hearty zeal, nay, even with threatening warnings, he selected the last two months of his life as the most fitting occasion for this. For then under the feeling of approaching death the man of God, looking back upon the experiences of the last forty years, could still urge his loving heart to make a last exertion, but would be forced to leave to his successors the execution of all that under the influence of the glorified vision and aspiration of departing life he had desired.<sup>1</sup> These are the preliminary calculations of the inventive mind of the author.

<sup>1</sup> A similar case occurs two or three 'Ecclesiastes' introduces Solomon as hundred years later, when the poet of pouring forth his serious and instructive

(i) After a short introductory narrative, or rather a longish heading (Deut. v. 1-5), Moses is made to hold an introductory speech consistent with such a purpose, looking backwards upon the time since the ratification of the first covenant on Sinai and forwards upon the uncertain future impending. And hence appears how qualified the speaker is to inculcate the whole law anew, and to desire a second covenant that the people shall not transgress as they had the first (Deut. i. 6-iv. 40). As, however, it was scarcely conceivable that Moses should have held all the speeches of this book without any intermission, the author fills up the pause after the first speech (chap. iv. 41-43) by an act of Moses, the essence of which he certainly took from the Book of Origins,—an act which he may very well have performed just before his death, but which that old book did not ascribe so definitely to him.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) After another long heading (ch. iv. 44-v. 1), follows the second and principal speech of this book, as if the speaker had spoken the entire compass of the words from v. 1. to xxvi. in one strain. This is the place at which the law in the form which it is to assume for the future, is really solemnly laid before the assembled people, and at the end a declaration given whether they will accept it or not. And as its contents, so difficult to be embraced at a glance, were to be exhausted here, the whole is classified according to its main divisions, the author starting from the Decalogue and its renewed inculcation in v. 1-vi. 3, and then with a fresh beginning (vi. 4) undertaking to discuss the great subject in his own way, in all its bearings and in the greatest detail. The classification adopted descends constantly from the higher and more general to the lower and more special. The author (1) begins with Jalive as the single great object of love, and makes every effort to commend love of him alone and complete avoidance of all other gods (vi. 4-xiii.). He thence (2) turns to what is most closely connected with that subject, viz. to the special things and acts which are or ought to be esteemed holy, and then enters more into the details of a number of special commandments (xiv.-xvi. 17). Passing now from what intimately concerns religion in the narrower sense of the word to the outward realm and its arrangement, he (3) discusses public rights, both the Laws of Persons—the duties and functions of public persons, namely the supreme magistrates (judges and kings), priests and prophets—and the

thoughts in his old age; but the personation in this later work, notwithstanding its poetic form, is not maintained with anything like the ease and firmness which

we admire in Deuteronomy.

<sup>1</sup> As is clear from Num. xxxv. 14, compared with Josh. xx. 8.

public Laws of Things (xvi. 18-xxi. 14). To this is appended subsequently (4) what we should call Private Law, which from its infinite extent is all treated here mostly in very short clauses without any discoverable sure arrangement of details. However, the section begins with household matters at xxi. 15; and after a return, by way of example, to the sacred acts to be performed by the individual (xxv. 17-xxvi. 15), the entire long speech is wound up by a short and powerful recurrence to its commencement (xxvi. 16-19).

(iii) In the concluding speech would be expected the reciprocal obligation to the covenant whose contents have now been expounded, on the part of the people, and on that of the speaker as agent of Jahve. But here another consideration interferes. The covenant containing all this was surely not really concluded by the people at that time, for where were the pledges and documents of it from the country beyond the Jordan? Rather it was intended for the people only after they had settled in Canaan; indeed, strictly speaking, only for those who lived in Jerusalem at the time of the writer. On this account there follows a more intricate threefold concluding speech; (1) the command is given, only *in future* to erect on one of two holy mounts on the nearer side of the Jordan memorial-stones as records, and from this sanctuary to bind the people to the new law. This has its foundation, as will be explained, in a real reminiscence of the ancient holiness of the mountains round Shechem (chap. xxvii.). Then, as if perceiving that this better law will yet not be kept for centuries in the land on this side of the Jordan, the writer (2) exerts his prophetic powers to the utmost, to bring home to his readers the twofold possible consequences of their conduct towards it—what blessings it will bring, and what a curse the neglect of it will draw down. But the latter is chiefly depicted, and in the liveliest colours and utmost extent; and it seems as if the speaker here, overpassing the course of centuries, borrowed the hues of his delineation direct from the terrible calamities which had already come upon the people, which indeed were oppressing them even at the time of the author, and the removal of which he expected only through their acceptance of that amendment which is here enjoined; or as if the foreboding spirit of the noble speaker of antiquity exactly touched that putrefying sore, well known to the real contemporaries, from which, except through a total change and cure, utter destruction was inevitable (xxvii. 9 sq. and xxviii. 1-68).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The verses xxvii. 9, 10 are wrongly give the proper meaning, and indeed are placed here, but before ch. xxviii. they necessary there. In the work of the

Only after these premisses follows (3) the real conclusion—which alike in tenderness and impressive force, and in profound and eternal thoughts, constitutes the true crown of the whole (xxviii. 69—xxx.).

With this comes to its close that which, in the sense of the author, may be rightly called ‘the Second Law’ or ‘the New Covenant;’ and if he then, as desiring to complete that chain of special events with which this law is hedged round, describes Moses (xxxii. 47) as writing it down at a higher command, and depositing it beside the Ark of the Covenant, and therein accomplishing his last earthly work, with a few heartfelt parting-words, directed especially to Joshua, we can but say that in giving this turn to the narrative he is true to himself and to his artistic point of view. Assuredly this is a vast stride in the art of historical representation, and exhibits a freedom of treatment which we should seek in vain in earlier times. The Book of Origins represents Moses as receiving the stone tables of the Decalogue, written by the finger of God, and as seeing in the heavens the archetype of the sanctuaries which it describes (p. 87); but it nowhere gives the least intimation that it was itself written by him. Rather, by stating in exceptional cases that the names of the encampments were written down by Moses<sup>1</sup> it implies the contrary. The Fourth Narrator indeed shows somewhat more boldness in assuming the use of writings from the hand of Moses: he represents Moses as breaking the original tables of stone, and restoring them with his own hand;<sup>2</sup> and relates that at the command of God he wrote down a divine announcement that would reveal its full meaning only after a long interval.<sup>3</sup> This latter event is described just as it certainly often occurred in reality among the prophets of the 9th and 8th centuries,<sup>4</sup> and the narrator here also does but follow his own strictly prophetical method; but even in this latter case it is evident that he had before him an ancient document, and one which he had found in a book of very great age, so that he might have verily believed that it had been written by Moses. But the Deuteronomist ventures to ascribe to a record from the hand of Moses the entire Book of Deuteronomy, though he himself was the first to put it forth in this form, just as he states (ch. xxvii. Josh. viii. 32) that the memorial-stones on the hill of Ebal had contained, by Moses’ appointment, the more strictly legislative

Deuteronomist, also, there are misplacements, but of a different kind from those observed (p. 87) in the Book of Origins; and it would carry us too far to discuss them all here.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 1, 2; see above, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvii. 14–16.

<sup>4</sup> Isaiah viii. 16, xxx. 8.

part of it from ch. v. to xxvi. And this great boldness of historical assumption is emphatically one of the many signs of the later age of this author; an age which precisely because it felt itself so far removed from that of Moses allowed the utmost licence to the historical contemplation and treatment of it. For although in Deuteronomy the author derived many laws and other matter from old manuscripts which in his time might already be reckoned, in the most general sense of the word, Mosaic, and in so far might regard his new production as a Mosaic work, because written in the spirit and to a great extent with the words of Moses, yet the history itself shows that this extreme licence in authorship was very gradually developed.

But if the author in this way wrote the chief portion of his work (Deut. i.-xxx.) quite independently, the case becomes different from the moment at which the words of Moses come to an end, and the events themselves are further described. Here he visibly takes as a basis the original history, in the same manner as in the previously described work of the Fifth Narrator, and up to the death of Joshua adds only what his purpose requires. How from this point he manipulates that work we may at once see by the following example. It is very remarkable that in the midst of the portion, Deut. xxxi. 14-22, in which the Deuteronomist repeats words which are by unmistakable signs recognised as written by the Fifth Narrator,<sup>1</sup> a song is put forth which Moses and Joshua were said to write and teach to the community for an everlasting testimony to the mercy of Jahve, which even after their backslidings always sought them again; and, frequently as the expressions of this second document may run counter to those of the former, still the Deuteronomist makes distinct reference to this song as delivered by Moses before the assembled people (xxxii. 27-30, xxxii. 44). From this it would seem as if the grand song in ch. xxxii. had been first introduced, not by the Deuteronomist, but by the previous narrator in his history of Moses; which makes a great difference in respect to the question of its age and origin. The form and contents of this song, indeed, prove that it must have been composed in an age subsequent to the time of Solomon;<sup>2</sup> but it comes from a poet otherwise

<sup>1</sup> This appears from the conception of the pillar of cloud, which is peculiar to this narrator, v. 15; from the expressions נָתַן כְּרִירָה 'to break the Covenant,' מִשְׁׁמֶן, for 'despise,' מִשְׁׁמֶן, v. 27 (on both the word and the sense, see Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21), which are as foreign to the Deuteronomist

as they are habitual to the Fifth Narrator; and from other indications.

<sup>2</sup> The period depicted by the poet as Antiquity, is, according to vv. 7-18, no other than the age of Moses; and his Present, a generation which had already fallen far from the loyalty and happiness of the Mosaic age and the first period after

unknown,<sup>1</sup> who embodied in it some of the weightiest prophetic truths of his time, and can have originated neither from the Deuteronomist, who nowhere shows himself a poet, and from whose mode of expression it widely departs; nor from the previous narrator, who indeed (according to p. 102) freely introduces his own songs, but whose poetic manner and diction are different. The narrator, who inserted it here, must have met with it as an anonymous song, perhaps not more than fifty or a hundred years old, and have judged it in power and sentiment to be worthy of the dying Moses.<sup>2</sup> And since, according to all indications, it must have originated about the last quarter of the eighth century,<sup>3</sup> (but in this case cannot have been inserted by the previous narrator,) it must in all probability have been intro-

the conquest, and had become effeminate and presumptuous, and was then greatly afflicted by cruel foes and other evils, and inclined on that very account to murmur even against Jahve. Now the poet on his side ought strictly to speak words of the severest denunciation against this unthankful race; but he controls himself, and prefers to begin in gentle tones to sing the praise of Jahve's faithfulness: he is, however, carried away in the midst of his song by his wrath against the ungrateful people, and summons them to listen to the teaching of antiquity (vv. 1–7). Here Jahve appears as the kind Father and Benefactor of the people (vv. 8–14); but, through the very excess of their happiness in the beautiful lands of the conquest, they suffered themselves to be seduced into rebellion against Him, so that He in His turn is now compelled to turn against them (vv. 15–21). This is the central point and pause of the song, which, on a close inspection, is seen to consist of six equal strophes. Advancing from this point to the prophetical end, the thought is carried on in the following manner:—Great indeed are the present chastisements, and were it not that the enemy would grow too overweening, Jahve would inflict the merited final destruction (vv. 22–27). Would that Israel could understand that it is the heathen who must fall, not those who have a better foundation (vv. 28–35); and assuredly the true Messianic hope shall yet be fulfilled (vv. 36–43). Hence it is clear that this poem is one of those—and they were not few—which arose from the overflowing of prophetical thoughts and Messianic hopes into song; and that for this reason, if for no other, it cannot be believed to have existed before the beginning of the eighth century. The diction, although

here and there very strained and abrupt, is on the whole rather expanded and elaborate than terse and really antique. But it is equally clear from the contents that it does not in the least profess to have been composed in the name of Moses.

On this song see also my *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, viii. pp. 41–65; and *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1862, pp. 375–383.

<sup>1</sup> This might easily be shown from its very peculiar diction.

<sup>2</sup> Other phenomena of a like kind are met with. Confining ourselves to the historical books we may recall the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii.

<sup>3</sup> The 'people that is not a people' (v. 21) who so long plagued the Israelites, is unquestionably the Assyrians, at about that stage of their dominion which is described by Isaiah, ch. xxxiii., if not at a still later. Imitations of the words and ideas of this song are not met with till after the diffusion of Deuteronomy; thus, for instance, **מִשְׁׁנֶה** is appropriate as an expression of fondness, and certainly original in v. 15; but in Deut. xxxiii. 5, 26, and Isaiah xliv. 2, is merely copied from thence: further, the word **לָבֶן**, in v. 21, for *idol*; the great calamities in vv. 24, 25 (compare Ez. xiv. 21; 2 Kings xvii. 26, and elsewhere); v. 35, compare with Hab. ii. 2; and in v. 36, the proverbial expression **מֵעַז וּמֵעֲזֶב**, 'the close and the loose,' that is *everything* (as we say with a similar alliteration of initials, 'through thick and thin'), which phrase is frequently repeated by the last author of the Books of Kings. The same age is indicated by such words as **מִתְּנִסְתָּר** v. 2, **מִלְּאָמָר** v. 15, and others.

duced by the Deuteronomist in the place of another, as seeming to him more suitable.<sup>1</sup> Finally he concludes the life of Moses with the remark that no prophet so great had ever again arisen (Deut. xxxiv. 10-12),<sup>2</sup> which entirely agrees with the expression in ch. xviii. 15 18, and in connection with this proves that he designed the ‘new law’ to endure for the whole future, or according to another view, till the advent of the Messiah.<sup>3</sup>

But the views of the Deuteronomist are not fully satisfied until he can set forth in conclusion how Joshua, as the true leader and the successor of Moses, strengthened and encouraged by Jahve, zealously and with the happiest results entered into this higher law, and concluded with the people the new covenant desired by Moses. Thus many passages in the present Book of Joshua were first brought into their existing form by the Deuteronomist. The mention also of the memorials of the new covenant at Shechem, and the statement that Joshua himself wrote everything,<sup>4</sup> repeat in trivial things that which had been said respecting Moses in great ones, and must be judged in the same way. To suppose, however, that he introduced everything that the present Book of Joshua contains is incompatible with the whole character and object of the work. But certain as it is that this life of Joshua was made public by the author at the same time with the new-moulded life of Moses, it is also evident that his object as a writer was thereby fully attained; and it is neither capable of proof nor even credible that he treated in his peculiar manner the history of any later period.

b.) That the Deuteronomist had read and made use of the historical work to which the Fifth Narrator gave its latest form, is certain, not only from what has been adduced above, but also from other indications.<sup>5</sup> But a closer examination of his words shows that besides this, he also drew largely upon many documents, both of a narrative and of a legislative character, which are now entirely lost:<sup>6</sup> for the age had long been devoted to

<sup>1</sup> The words of ch. xxxi. 28, do really allude very manifestly to this song; but not so those of ch. xxxi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> From the complexion of the words and ideas, also, these three verses can only belong to the Deuteronomist. Compare v. 12 with iv. 34, xxvi. 8, &c.

<sup>3</sup> In itself and in the mind of the Deuteronomist, the passage Deut. xviii. 15-19 is by no means Messianic; but it readily obtained at a later period, especially through the allusion to ch. xxxiv. 10-12, a Messianic application. The Deuteronomist, on the contrary, considered the full treatment of the Messianic idea to lie beyond his pro-

vince and his object. To what extent, however, his words nevertheless stand in some relation with that idea, may be seen in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1861, p. 1414-16, and for 1862, p. 1194.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xxiv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Not only is the narrative of Ex. xxxii.-xxxiv. repeated step by step in Deut. x., but also that of Numb. xxii.-xxiv. is certainly presupposed both by Josh. xxiv. 9 and by Mic. vi. 5; and further proofs of the same might be given.

<sup>6</sup> When, for example, he says (xvii. 16 and xxviii. 68) that Jahve had before commanded the people never to return

learning, and the collection of ancient works on history had doubtless become an established custom, as we know on documentary evidence was the case with other branches of literature.<sup>1</sup> Much has been thus preserved by him from these sources, which would otherwise have been lost. Moreover, having amassed a comparatively rich store of authorities upon antiquity, he takes a manifest pleasure in pouring forth at suitable places an abundance of curious historical lore,<sup>2</sup> to give to his work a fitting breadth of historical clothing. Even in the middle of a speech of Moses appear some historical notes taken from old books, as though even then the learned author was involuntarily more prominent than Moses who was introduced as speaking.<sup>3</sup> All this expenditure of antiquarian learning, however, is incurred, assuredly not in order to help on the history or narrative itself, but simply to aid the legislative and prophetic aim of the writer, and accordingly the historical observations, lavishly poured forth in some places, are generally broken off suddenly so as not to encroach upon that which interests the author more than the history itself. The narrator last described deserves the name of narrator, since the representations of antiquity and the delineation of certain inherited traditions are the objects aimed at by him; but here we no longer find a narrator, but a speaker with the pen, who uses history only as a dress, and rarely narrates anything at length.

With this is also connected the peculiar nature of the diction of this author. This not only (as may be easily perceived) differs much in single words and phrases from that of all the other portions of the Pentateuch and of the Book of Joshua, and never approaches nearer to that of the Book of Origins

again to Egypt, we naturally expect to find some law respecting this in the older books; for it is the characteristic habit of the Deuteronomist, when referring to earlier works of this character, always to have his eye upon some one previous declaration by Jahve. But no such declaration is to be found in the older books extant, since the words in Ex. xiii. 17, being spoken only with reference to one special and temporary object, cannot be meant. Therefore the Deuteronomist must have had before him an ancient passage which is lost to us, in accordance with which these words are to be taken, somewhat like those noticed below, p. 130, note.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. iv. pp. 36-44.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown by the whole opening speech, with its historical introduction, Deut. i. 1-iv. 40. Examples of this occur at the very beginning, in i. 1, 2, since

these remarks, which contain much that is not found in other sources, merely serve the purpose of describing the position of Moses in the last month before his death.

<sup>3</sup> It may, indeed, be fairly doubted whether the passages here alluded to (Deut. ii. 10-12, 20-23, iii. 9, 11, 13 (last half) and 14, x. 6-9) actually belong to the speeches, from the tone of which they entirely and without any visible reason depart. I hold them rather to be marginal annotations, which have here crept into the text; and the position, barely capable of yielding any sense at all, which the passage x. 6-9 now occupies, affords strong confirmation of this view. We should thus have here in the Old Testament a MS. with marginal annotations from the hand of its author; and such a fact would sufficiently show how firmly established erudition in the strict sense had already become.

except where the author repeats old laws almost verbatim ; but exhibits in general a colouring and a method which cannot be conceived to have existed till about the seventh century. The differences extend even into the minutest points.<sup>1</sup> But broadly considered, the essence of the diction is pure rhetoric, and this in an advanced development which suggests approaching decay. By the great Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries the rhetorical capabilities of the language had been developed as far as was possible in the public life of those times, and the influence which this development gradually exerted upon the narrative style is shown by the two last-mentioned revisers of the primeval history. Prophetic orators, indeed, still existed even in the seventh century, as we know from the life of Jeremiah, but as the bloom of prophetic power and activity faded, oratory also lost its inward vigour and terseness, and fell into a laxity which repudiated those just restraints by which alone beauty and force can be united. And in the Deuteronomist we see rhetoric already succumbing to this relaxation ; only in certain places, as for instance in the impressive conclusion (ch. xxx.) does he attain terseness of style, and a vigorous and facile grasp of his materials. The fact that rhetoric absolutely predominates in the work would itself suffice to show that it certainly cannot have been written before the age of the great Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries ; the fact that the rhetoric itself exhibits certain signs of decay guides us to an even lower antiquity.

c.) It would lead us too far, here to show from the various other indications discoverable, that the author wrote about the latter half of the reign of King Manasseh, and in Egypt. As the proof cannot be given briefly, and this work is closely connected with a large portion of the history of the seventh century, this point can be better treated of hereafter. But its relations to the other books of the Old Testament also lead to the same result. Whereas even in single words and detached thoughts it presupposes the existence of the older books, and even of the Book of Job,<sup>2</sup> it was itself much read and imitated

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, the combination **בְּנֵי אֶפְרַיִם** in certain cases for the older **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**, before : Deut. vii. 24, xi. 25; Josh. x. 8, xxi. 42, xxiii. 9 ; these passages are imitated in Esth. ix. 2. The entire root **בָּנָה** or **בָּנָת**, otherwise foreign to the language of the Pentateuch, has, through the great Poem Deut. ch. xxxii. been rendered familiar to the Deuteronomist also.

<sup>2</sup> Even if we do not account for the passage Deut. iv. 32 by the influence of Job viii. 8, yet the words and thoughts of Deut. xxviii. 29, 30, 35, point necessarily to Job v. 14, 31, x. 2, 7 ; and thus we possess at once a very important testimony to the age of the older portions of the Book of Job. Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq. is derived from Isaiah v. 26 sqq. and xxxiii. 19, and in great part from the previous

as early as the age of Jeremiah; and, as might easily be proved, no book exerted a stronger influence both on the life of the people and on their literature than this, when in the seventh century peculiar circumstances rendered it the authoritative basis of the Reformation under king Josiah.<sup>1</sup>

3) During the last gleam of happiness which once more shone upon Judah after the national Reformation under Josiah effected through Deuteronomy, and consequently while Josiah was still reigning, the Blessing of Moses, which has been preserved as an interpolation in the book of history and law recast by the Deuteronomist (Deut. xxxiii.), was probably written. For this imitation of the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xl ix.) presupposes a very happy internal condition of the country, or at least a very satisfactory position of the ancient religion, such as we must believe to have existed exactly at that time, when, after the internal reformation, a bright hope for the future would naturally spring up and find poetical expression. Here, then, it might seem suitable to put the old blessing of Jacob as a new blessing into the mouth of the dying Moses. For the love of Moses embraced not the mere separate tribes but the whole community, and regarded the tribes only as the units of which that was compounded. He, therefore, could only desire unmitigated blessing for them all, and the separate tribes here appear subordinated to the higher unity of the Congregation of Jahve. From this conception the speaker sets out in verses 2-6, and in this he concludes in verses 26-29; and as for the whole, so for each single tribe according to its special position, a blessing is implored. We may thus regard this even as an improved recasting of the old blessing. The desire expressed in verse 7, that Judah should come to his people, that is, that the dynasty of David might again rule over the whole people of all the tribes, is one of the most significant points of detail, and moreover completely in accord with the history of this time. Equally characteristic is also the designation of Levi as the honourable Priest-tribe (verses 8-11) and of Jerusalem as the place of the Temple (verse 12), as also the fact that the Northern tribes are blessed for turning towards the Mount of the Temple in Jerusalem;<sup>2</sup> for Galilee appears early to have turned towards

Fourth Narrator. Besides Jeremiah, the passages Isaiah lvii. 6 (compare Deut. xii. 2) and Zeph. iii. 19, 20 (compare Jer. xiii. 11, and Deut. xxvi. 19) stand nearest to Deuteronomy.

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary here to speak farther of the views held upon Deuteronomy in this day by those who ignore history. I

have shown up the utter perversity of a recent and extremely prolix work of this kind in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, x. pp. 183-189: see also ibid. vii. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> For it cannot be doubted that by the mountain in v. 19, which those tribes invoke, and on which they offer sacrifices of

Jerusalem. Against this no argument can be founded on the fact that the old blessing pronounced upon Joseph, though no longer quite suitable in this age, is simply repeated, in verses 13-17, from an older work consisting likewise of blessings. To judge from the language, the song proceeds from an otherwise unknown poet of the age of Jeremiah; in respect to its position, it is merely interpolated loosely where it stands, and not (as the poem in Deut. xxxii.) adopted by the narrator as part of his own work. The greatest error of all would be to suppose that the Deuteronomist had inserted it; for with his spirit it has no affinity, and his language finds no echo in it. But, taken together with the case of the Deuteronomist, it serves to show how industriously the most different authors of the seventh century sought to give form and authority to their thoughts by transplanting them into the Mosaic world.

4) Now it is true, the work of the Deuteronomist originally appeared by itself: it represents itself everywhere as a work that stands and has meaning by itself; and as such, too, we are able to trace it in history at its first appearance; moreover, the beginning of the work, with its detailed description of the place and circumstances in which Moses began to speak (i. 1-5) sounds quite like the introduction of a new book. Nevertheless the real author, in whose times there already existed a great abundance of ancient historical and legislative works, some undoubtedly held in high honour and much used, had certainly no intention of supplanting these, since his manifest design is only to produce a sort of final completion of all the most valuable materials that then existed. It is for one special object, rather than with the view of gathering together everything that since the time of Moses had become law among the people, that he re-opens, as it were, the mouth of the great Lawgiver. But in fact we see that he sometimes makes Moses in his speech refer back to some historical fact which could only be understood if there were earlier narratives containing a fuller account of it;<sup>1</sup> and in the case of the laws respecting leprosy, which for his purpose he wished scarcely to touch and yet not entirely to pass by, the speaker refers with sufficient distinctness to the priestly directions concerning it contained in the Book of Origins.<sup>2</sup>

righteousness (i.e. those referred to in vv. 8-11), Zion is to be understood.

<sup>1</sup> As, in particular, the words of Deut. v. 25-28 [28-31], xviii. 16-19, which refer back to the narrative in Ex. xx. 18-21; but they certainly imply the existence of a much more detailed and vivid account of the events than is contained in the words of

Exodus, which are taken from the oldest and simplest narrative. But the Deuteronomist might have found such a narrative in some other early book; perhaps in a passage of the Fourth Narrator's. See p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxiv. 8. See my *Alterthümer*, p. 180.

Now, although under Josiah this Book of Deuteronomy was publicly recognised as the great and fundamental law-book of the kingdom of Judah, yet of course, along with this, the earlier works, which were already much used, especially for certain purposes, and by the priests, might still be largely read, and employed according to their contents. Such prophets and authors as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, therefore, had recourse to similar works of an older stock besides Deuteronomy, which either stand in the present Pentateuch, or were lost at a later period.<sup>1</sup> But it was inevitable that the same art of book-making, which was so active among the ancient people (see pp. 59 sqq.), and had been long practised, especially on this domain of primeval history, should again be tried. It was held good to work-in the book of the Deuteronomist into one of the earlier works, or (what might appear equally important) to enrich the latter with the former, so as to bring together all that was valuable respecting the ancient history. Any further additions from other sources could then be easily appended. And certainly, among all the greater works with which that of the Deuteronomist might have been conjoined, the choice fell most happily upon that of the Fifth Narrator. We can also clearly recognise the manner in which this last compiler, the true editor of the great historical book as it has reached us, proceeded. He left the work of the Fifth Narrator entirely as he found it, up to the section, shortly before the death of Moses, to which the chief portion of the Deuteronomist's work could suitably be attached. But since the latter (as before observed) had written the life of Joshua very briefly, the editor proceeded, after the death of Moses, on a freer plan, uniting the more detailed narrative given by the older work with the essential contents of the Deuteronomist's, and so blending the two works completely into one. It was certainly this last editor who inserted the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.); a passage which even yet stands quite disconnected. In this (v. 1) Moses is called for the first time 'the Man of God.' This name, in the two only passages of this great book where it occurs (here and in Josh. xiv. 6), indicates a different hand from that of the Deuteronomist. The very fact of the insertion of this passage enables us to recognise most distinctly a last editor, who, however, must have lived before the end of the seventh century, or at all events before the destruction of Jerusalem, and brought the work into its present and final form.<sup>2</sup> For there is no single indication to lead us to any lower antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> On this point see what I said in 1859 in vol. vii. (Germ. ed.) pp. 412 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> It might naturally be presumed that this last editor was also the last modifier

In conclusion, we can now understand what extraordinary fortunes this great work underwent, before it attained its present form—how from a small beginning it was enlarged and modified at every important epoch of Hebrew literature till the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century, and concentrated within its limits the most beautiful and lasting literary achievements of a long series of centuries; on a similar system to that which, in other fields of literature, may be observed in the collection of the Prophets, the Psalter, and the Book of Proverbs; with two exceptions—(1) that in the region of history it never became customary to give the names of the narrators as vouchers for their statements, nor to mention those of the compilers, and (2) that this work came to a comparatively early close, because it was commenced the soonest, and its subject, as being purely historical, was necessarily the soonest exhausted. In the course of the modifications and transformations which the work underwent, much of it gradually lost its original clearness and its peculiar character. The Deuteronomist gives to his work, which is included in the book as it now stands, the name (which indeed the whole volume might well bear) of *Book of the Law of God*,<sup>1</sup> or *Book of the Law of Moses*;<sup>2</sup> by which however is strictly meant only the chief portion of the book, excluding the present Book of Joshua. Sometimes he calls it more briefly the *Book of the Law*,<sup>3</sup> since the legislative portion seemed to him the most important; and thus the older names—*Book of Origins*, and the rest—were thrown into the background. Thus, too, the ancient divisions of the Book of Origins are very much obscured by later transformations and additions; and the whole work in its latest form is partitioned, we know not by whom, into six large sections,<sup>4</sup> which by the Hellenists in Egypt and elsewhere were

of the whole; and that thus the first four books of the Pentateuch were cast into their present form by him, and that, for instance, the abridgments which have evidently been made in Gen. iv. and vi. (see p. 113) proceeded from him. But on further consideration I find this view not tenable, if only because there is nowhere the least trace of the spirit of the Deuteronomist before the first verse of the Book of Deuteronomy. Such passages, on the other hand, as Deut. v. 25–28 [28–31] and xviii. 16–19 yield no sufficient proof that the Deuteronomist in a previous portion of his work had described the whole history of Moses, since what has been already said is a sufficient explanation of these.

<sup>1</sup> In Josh. xxiv. 26; likewise 2 Kings x. 31; in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

<sup>2</sup> In Josh. xxiii. 6; the same name appears elsewhere after that time, 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxvii. 25, and in Chronicles and similar writings. In Deuteronomy, as well as in Josh. viii. 31, 32, only Deuteronomy itself is to be understood by the term; but from its intimate connection with the older work, the wider use of the name must have been from the first possible.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxxii. 46; compare 2 Kings xxii. 8, 11, and elsewhere. With this name that of *Book of the Covenant*, 2 Kings xxviii. 21, is interchangeable.

<sup>4</sup> The only natural divisions which the subject-matter itself creates in the great

called the Pentateuch (of Moses) and the Book of Joshua. But from amid the wreck of the oldest writings and the multitude of later additions, there still shines forth very much that is original : nor have any of the later transformations been able entirely to obscure either the grand remains of the earliest times or the whole history of the gradual creation of the work itself ; at least in the presence of that exact research, which alone is both suited to the importance of the subject and fruitful of results.

work are the following :—1. Genesis ; 2. books—Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers—The history of Moses as far as Deuteronomy ; 3. Deuteronomy ; 4. The time of Joshua. But the second of these parts must, on account of its great extent, have been very early broken up into three portions, such that the whole work fell into six nearly equal parts : but this partition into three

agrees only remotely with the original divisions of the Book of Origins. The sixth of these parts might then the more readily be further separated and treated as a distinct book, and entitled the Book of Joshua.

## II. THE GREAT BOOK OF THE KINGS.

### BOOKS OF JUDGES, RUTH, SAMUEL, AND KINGS.

THE first phenomenon that strikes the observer here is the marked difference in the language of this great Book of Kings, in comparison with that of the preceding great book of the primitive history. Although both are equally made up of passages by the most diverse writers, yet on the whole each is distinguished by a peculiar cast of language. Many fresh words and expressions become favourites here, and supplant their equivalents in the primitive history;<sup>1</sup> others that are thoroughly in vogue here, are designedly avoided in the primitive history, and evidently from a historical consciousness that they were not in use in the earliest times;<sup>2</sup> but the most remarkable and pervading characteristic is, that words of common life, which never occur to the pen of any single relator of the primitive history, find an unquestioned reception here.<sup>3</sup> I have no hesitation in

<sup>1</sup> Such as **רַ�יִשׁ** *prince*, instead of **נְצָרָה** mentioned at p. 93 (it is also peculiar to the Chronicles in places which are wanting in the four books of Kings, 1 Chron. v. 2, ix. 11, 20, xiii. 1, xxvi. 24, xxvii. 4, 16, xxviii. 4, xxix. 22; 2 Chron. vi. 5, xi. 11, 22, xix. 11, xxviii. 7, xxxi. 12 sq., xxxii. 21, xxxv. 8); **רַעֲבָן**, in the signification to sweep away (not to burn; Deuteronomy is the first that obliterates the distinction); **מְנֻזָּבָת** in the sense of prevalent custom; **לְהַלֵּךְ** for to reveal, 1 Sam. ix. 15, xx. 2, xxii. 8, twice; 2 Sam. vii. 27; Ruth iv. 4. There are quite new words, such as **מְנֻזָּבָת** anything (which only occurs in the Fourth Narrator); **כְּנֻעַ** in derivatives, with the signification of to subdue, to humble; **רַמְגָד** troop, 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, 23; 2 Sam. iii. 22, iv. 2; 1 Kings xi. 24; 2 Kings v. 2, xiii. 20 sq.; also **מְנֻחָה** to be silent (which sense is expressed by many other words) first appears in prose in Judges xviii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 3; 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, vii. 9, and only in later times in poetry, except Ps. xxxix. 3 [2].

<sup>2</sup> This is especially shown by the name **תְּהִלָּה צָהָרָה**, 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, xv. 2, xvii. 45; 2 Sam. v. 10, vi. 2, 18, vii. 7, 26 sq.; 1 Kings xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14; 2 Kings iii. 14. On the other hand, the Books of Chronicles are again sparing in its use, and only use it in the life of David; it is entirely unknown to the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges.

<sup>3</sup> Such as **לְלִבָּב**, which was really first introduced into the written language by David (cf. *Psalmen*, sec. ed., p. 4); 1 Sam. i. 16, ii. 12, x. 27, xxv. 17, 25, xxx. 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, xx. 1; 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13; Judges xix. 22, xx. 13, which, in the other province, has only penetrated into Deut. xiii. 14 [13], xv. 9; the oath **בְּשָׁמֶן לִ** which is also put into the mouth of heathen, the verb in that case being made plural, 1 Sam. iii. 17, xiv. 44, xx. 13, xxv. 22; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35, xix. 14 [13]; 1 Kings ii. 23, xix. 2, xx. 10; 2 Kings vi. 31; Ruth i. 17; the similar oath of common life, which however can only be used by Hebrews, **בְּשָׁמֶן נִתְּנָהָה** 1 Sam. xx. 3, xxv. 26, 2 Sam. xi. 11 (with

saying that the established usage of centuries must have sanctioned for the primitive history a style of narrative and a cast of language utterly different from those customary in the history of the Kings ; just as the style of the regular historians of the Greeks differs from that of the so called logographers, and—to cite a nearer example—as the Arabian narrators of easy style, the authors of Wâkidi's books, of the Thousand and one Nights, and others, select a form of language different from that of the older historians.

This remarkable phenomenon—quite worthy of minute investigation, and sufficient to rouse us to profound meditation on the great changes Hebrew historical composition has undergone—necessarily leads us to assume that when historians began to treat of the period of the Kings, the mode of delineation of the stories of antiquity had long since adopted its established tone and style, seeing that the above-described Book of Origins (pp. 74 sqq.) does not indicate the commencement, but the highest perfection, and in a certain sense the consummation, of the development of the primitive history. When therefore a new branch of literature, describing the history of the Kings, was originated, doubtless by different writers at first, it naturally created for itself a new style of narrative and of language, and thus two species of historical composition, differing in many respects, were established : the long developed style of the primitive history, which occupied a province more or less sacred ; and the new style of the history of the Kings, whose province was that of common life and daily progressing events.

some variation), xv. 21; 2 Kings ii. 2, 4, 6, iv. 30; and in a shorter form 1 Sam. i. 26, xvii. 55; 2 Sam. xiv. 19. To this class belong also the common proverb of the dead dog, or dog's head, 2 Sam. iii. 8, ix. 8, xvi. 9; 1 Sam. xxiv. 16 [14], further shortened in xvii. 43; 2 Kings viii. 13; as also the two phrases יְהִי רָאשׁוֹן וְתַתֵּן, 1 Sam. xxv. 22, 34; 1 Kings xiv. 10, xvi. 11, xxi. 21; 2 Kings ix. 8, and יְהִי נֶגֶד, 1 Kings xiv. 10, xxi. 21; 2 Kings ix. 8, xiv. 26 (which occurs nowhere else but in the little song, Deut. xxxii. 36, where it is most likely to be original); with this distinction only, that we discern a certain difference between older and later writings of this province in the use of the latter.

Some words of the same species are at any rate very rare or doubtful in the Book of Origins ; as the term of execration לִילָה,

which only occurs in Jos. xxii. 29; and the exclamation to secure a favourable hearing from a superior בָּנָי אֱלֹהִים (1 Sam. i. 26; 1 Kings iii. 17, 26; Judges vi. 13, 15, xiii. 8), which, though used by the later narrators of the primitive history, Gen. xlili. 20, xlii. 18; Ex. iv. 10, 13, to whom Num. xii. 11 may also belong, in the Book of Origins appears only in Jos. vii. 8, if it is the original reading there. The meaning of the latter expression is hardly to be explained by such longer phrases as that in 1 Sam. xxv. 24; we might rather assume that בָּנָי was an abbreviation of בָּנָי compare בָּנָי, Jer. xlix. 23; but the most probable explanation is, that בָּנָי is shortened from בָּנָי (Job xxxiv. 36; 1 Sam. xxiv. 12 [11]) into a mere exclamation: see my Lehrbuch, 7th edition, p. 258.

The history of the Kings followed the events themselves much sooner and more immediately, before centuries had separated the sacred from the secular elements in them; nay, it began with the most documentary registrations and minutest descriptions of memorable events. Springing from the immediate life of the time, and presenting a more exact picture of the day, it was also more ready to take the colour of the language of the day, and less fastidious in the employment of phrases of common life. In conformity with this, it did not enter, while it retained this simple form, on those wide surveys and lofty generalisations which are inseparable from the primitive history, and which, on account of their sublime import, demand a higher language.

The difference between the two styles is most sensible when the late historical composition is new. How far, for example, is the Book of Origins removed as to character from the earliest book of the Kings, although as to date separated by scarcely a century! This diversity indeed gradually decreases; the late revisers of the primitive history occasionally introduce a word hitherto foreign to that sphere; and on the other hand the later writers of the history of the Kings attempt grander descriptions after the fashion of the primitive history. Nevertheless, the diversity never entirely disappeared down to the end of David's reign; and even the latest redactors of the primitive history retain certain characteristics of the ancient language with great consistency.<sup>1</sup> This is essentially the same feeling as that which prompts the author of the Book of Job to preserve the air of antiquity in his representation of the affairs and persons of the primitive time; for we are by no means to fancy that Hebrew literature in the period of its fullest development and art was so unlearned and simple.

The style in which the period of the Judges is described, like the period itself, stands in the middle, and has less distinctive character. Treated in the earlier portions like an appendix to the primitive history, and written in a similar tone accordingly, it subsequently, as the diversity of the two styles develops itself, assumes the type of the history of the Kings; and the later writers properly treated the period as only a preparation for the history of the Kings.

The most copious source left to us for the recognition of the

<sup>1</sup> In this class we include נִזְמָן for נִזְמָן, touch, even Deuteronomy. Yet נִזְמָן is found in Deut. xxii. 19, and נִזְמָן in Lev. xvi. 31 (where the Samaritan, however, has נִזְמָן), Num. v. 13.

general character and specific modifications of historical composition, is found in those narratives which have been inserted in the Great Book of Kings—that is, what the LXX. call the four Books of Kings (the two Books of Samuel and the two of Kings), and the Books of Judges and Ruth, which belong to them. But the Chronicles also serve to supplement these sources, and often in important matters. Tracing the development of this kind of writing, as deducible from all these indications and testimonies, we obtain the following picture of it.

### **I. First history of the Kings.**

It is evident that the great events and successes of David's time stimulated many to attempt to preserve, at first only in outline, written records of what was most memorable. Moreover, after the fashion of the great monarchies of adjacent countries, the new office of Court Historian had been instituted under David.<sup>1</sup> It was the duty of that official to register an authentic account of the events of his own time; and we are doubtless indebted to him for many very exact notices of the history of the Kings, that have been preserved.<sup>2</sup>

The first attempts at histories of the Kings were in general of that twofold character that we should expect from the twofold tendency that pervaded those times, and also continued throughout the duration of the monarchy. They either set out from a simple observation of occurrences, and made the mere history of the king and the state their staple—a kind of work that doubtless grew into the *Diaries of the Kings*, or state-annals, the only original portions of which may be supposed to have been those finished immediately on the death of each king; or they set out from a prophetical view of events, and mainly represented the operation of prophetic energies in Israel.

1) We still possess some very instructive pieces of the first class, which all indications justify us in reckoning under this head: (1) the long list of David's great warriors who sustained his throne, 1 Chr. xi. 10–47, with some remarks on the achievements and qualities of the most important of them; a list which is now also found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39, but with the

<sup>1</sup> This custom was retained to the last, as we see from 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24, and also Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6, 8, where the Greek name τὰ ἱπομήματα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρόδου first appears.

<sup>2</sup> The notices given in Kings and Chronicles of the children and wives of the various kings, and in Judah of the king's

mother also, and the accounts of their buildings and other undertakings, show what care must have then been bestowed upon many points of contemporary history, and on how uniform a plan the domestic and state records of the kings must have been kept.

omission of some of the names at the end; (2) the list of the warriors who went over to David in Saul's lifetime, 1 Chr. xii. 1-22; (3) the list of the captains and their suite who met together in Hebron to elect David king over all Israel, 1 Chr. xii. 23-40, with some historical remarks; (4) an enumeration of David's later wars against the Philistines, with a minute account of the achievements of some of his warriors, 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, of which the later half only is repeated in 1 Chr. xx. 4-8; (5) a survey of the state of the kingdom in the last time of David, 1 Chr. xxvii.<sup>1</sup> These passages, with some similar registers of the tribe of Levi, only relate to the general affairs of the state, the king, and the people, and are free from all special reference to a prophetic or sacerdotal view of history. They contain indeed the richest treasure of purely historical records, which, notwithstanding the greatness of the events, have remained entirely uninfluenced by the power of tradition, but thus give them quite rough and hard, without the roundness and circumstantiality of detailed description, and without any real flow of narrative. It is as if it were still sufficient to register the mere names of the great worthies and events, with a few remarks; whereas later times feel the great number of such names, and the mere documentary minuteness of such descriptions, burdensome. In addition, the language of some of these pieces displays so great an affinity with that of the Book of Origins,<sup>2</sup> that we must infer that they had a similar source, or at least contemporary sources, which, according to pp. 76, 82, there could be no difficulty in admitting. And it is expressly stated that the state-annals, which appeared after the death of each king,<sup>3</sup> and after the death of several were united in a larger work, contained such detailed lists of the families of the officials and worthies.<sup>4</sup>

In like manner some coherent remnants of the annals of the

<sup>1</sup> But verses 23, 24 must be later additions by the Chronicler, deemed necessary on account of the previous narrative in chap. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions נָכְרִי אַנְגָּלִי, 1 Chr. xii. 23, 24, and נָכְרִי יְמִינִי v. 33 (compare v. 18, vii. 11; Num. xxxi. 5, xxxii. 27; Josh. iv. 13; Num. i. 3, 20, 22, sqq., xxvi. 2, sqq.); נֶקְבָּה בְּאַשְׁכּוֹן 1 Chr. xii. 31 (compare Num. i. 17); לְלִבְנָה, 1 Chr. xxiii. 24 (compare Ex. xvi. 16, xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 2, 18, 20, 22, iii. 47) and others, as well as the general method and arrangement of the long taxing-rolls, &c., leave no doubt on this point. Although the

Chronicles and other late writings do often imitate the style of the Book of Origins and other parts of the Pentateuch, this is proved by the concurrence of all the indications to be no mere imitation.

<sup>3</sup> That this was always done at the express command of the following king (a thing probable in itself), is evident from the fact that the life of the last king of each kingdom is wanting in the official annals of both. 2 Kings xvii. 1-6, xxiv. 18-xxv.

<sup>4</sup> It will afterwards be made evident that the Chronicler had good reason for thus referring to the official annals; 1 Chr. xxvii. 24 compared with ix. 1.

kingdom have been preserved, which must have been written down immediately after the death of Solomon. I mean the passage in 1 Kings iv. 1-19, to which the remarks that follow in v. 2 [iv. 22] sq. vi.-viii. belong. These remnants, which the Book of Chronicles does not repeat, as if they were too insignificant for the history, furnish a view of Solomon's household with such minute details as could not have been obtained except immediately after the king's death. The minute account of Solomon's buildings must also have been written down soon after his death.

Here then we recognise, by distinct remains, the origin and character of the state-annals, and even though there were no such great achievements and events to record under the kings after Solomon, yet it is certain that the custom introduced after the death of David and Solomon was never relinquished, and that many genuine historical notices which are scattered about our present Books of Kings must be derived from such sources. With regard to their general contents, however, we must above all bear in mind that they were written by royal command, and therefore admitted only public, not purely domestic topics: wherefore such accounts as those about David's domestic affairs, 2 Sam. x. sq., or Jehu's violent conduct, 2 Kings ix. sq., can hardly have found a place in them.

2) How events were described from a prophetical point of view, however, is shown by the passage about the first wars against the Philistines after David was anointed, 2 Sam. v. 17-25. We find here a description of several successive battles, which, in local knowledge and graphic delineation, is quite on a par with the passage in 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, noticed at p. 137, but which is prominently distinguished from it by the circumstance that it views the whole with reference to the question how far the result corresponded to the oracle which David had each time consulted. And when we consider how great the influence of the oracle was in those times, and what a share prophets had in fashioning events, we shall see that every great event might be described either popularly or prophetically, as the writer regarded the one side or the other. To this class belongs a portion of the original account of Nathan's speeches about building the Temple, 2 Sam. vii.; and many other stories, or at least their first rudiments, as 1 Sam. xiv. 18 sq., xxii. 5, xxiii. 1-14, xxx. 7 sqq.; 2 Sam. ii. 1: whereas throughout the whole of Absalom's rebellion, for instance, there is no mention of a single oracle, or of the oracle being consulted.

We are naturally led to suppose that this continued to be the

condition of things after David also. And in fact, besides the fragments preserved in Chronicles, we possess one great instance of this, belonging to later times, in the history of Hezekiah and his age. This narrative, contained in 2 Kings xviii., 13-xx., and Isaiah xxxv.-xxxix., must, if only from its peculiar style, be regarded as borrowed from a special work, which was most likely composed soon after the king's death, and probably by a scholar of Isaiah, as its sentiments are truly prophetic, and it contains some of Isaiah's declarations, evidently derived from accurate tradition. In the Northern Kingdom also, we might have expected to find similar records equally partaking of the historical and the prophetical character. But no such clear traces of these have come down to us: although the history of Ahijah, 1 Kings xi. 26 sq., xiv. 1-18, and still more that of Elijah and Elisha, 1 Kings xvii.-2 Kings xiii., show how powerful, even here, was the influence of the prophet's activity upon the treatment of history, and how it tended to drive into the background all other departments of history. And strictly prophetical books always contained some historical remarks and explanations.<sup>1</sup>

**2. General history of the ages of the Judges and the Kings. The Prophetic Book of Kings.**

But the history of the monarchy could not always remain enclosed within these original limits; its facts, drawn from the most various sources, had by degrees to be amalgamated and harmonised together. Later readers may have felt increased dissatisfaction with the crude disconnected sketchy narratives, with their thousands of numbers, and their unexplained names, often left as they stood in the state chronicles,—all presenting broad masses of undigested materials. Moreover, no grand survey of a period and selection of its events, such as is demanded from the historian, is generally possible until the period itself has retired in some degree into the background.

But as this interest in a general survey of the history of the Kings gathered strength, it was attended by a desire to study also the long antecedent period of the Judges, as forming a fitting introduction to the history of the earliest kings. No doubt much that took place during the period of the Judges might more truly be viewed as a continuation of the primeval history, and in fact (as already stated, pp. 69 sqq.) was long so treated. But with the prolonged duration of the monarchy,

<sup>1</sup> See my *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, to here, possesses especial importance in reference to the authorities of the *Chronicles*.  
vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

men became accustomed to contemplate the transitional period of the Judges from their own later point of view, and thus to unite its history, in some form or other, with that of the origin and progress of the monarchy.

Many clear indications prove that this method of historical composition bore sway with little interruption during a considerable period, and attained a glorious maturity. And exactly from this period of highest bloom, there are preserved the remains of many works which fully attest the high degree of excellence which this historical method had attained, and its paramount influence in this region. As these remains are to be discovered only when incorporated in later works, (and in fact only in one later work in any considerable measure), and as moreover a more uniform narrative style prevailed from this time onwards, it is very difficult to discriminate them. However, by following such indications as rise clearly into view, we are able to discriminate the following works.

1) We must here distinguish, in the first instance, a work which, by its happy example, appears to have laid the foundation of this new method of writing history, though, as the oldest discoverable by us, it is naturally preserved with the least completeness. This work still held a place far removed from every higher, i.e. prophetic survey of history; it recorded the events separately and with the utmost simplicity, and only in occasional scattered remarks gave hints of the differences as well as the progress observable in the great periods of history. Its sole adornment was gracefulness and poetic animation in the narrative; and it described nothing else with the same completeness as it did the history of wars. This is the work from which are preserved important fragments of the history of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. xiv., and which fully described both the earlier and later wars of David; and it is very possible that the author of the next following work had this one before him when he wrote his survey of the campaigns of David, 1 Sam. xxx. 26 31; 2 Sam. viii. But to these narrative portions, the two which close the present Book of Judges xvii. xviii. xix.-xxi. bear so decided a resemblance in their extreme historical clearness and antiqueness, as well as in the colouring of the separate expressions,<sup>1</sup> that we may derive them from the

<sup>1</sup> In prose, the phrase בָּנֵי נְזֹבֶד is found only in Judges xx. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 38; the repeated mention of the priestly oracle under the stereotyped phrase בָּנֵי נְזֹבֶד Judg. i. 1, xx. 18, xxiii. 27 (compare xviii. 19); 1 Sam. xiv. 37, is here characteristic, as being foreign to the Book of Origins and other books, even where this very subject is specially treated of, Num. xxvii. 21.

same source. And thus we obtain an insight into the immediate objects of this work.

The author may have lived soon after Solomon, perhaps under the prosperous reign of Asa : the latest traceable portion of his work guides us to about this time,<sup>1</sup> and we have no reason to place him later. In fact the division of the kingdom of David had introduced so radical a change, and turned men's thoughts so decidedly upon the earlier history of the monarchy, that the historian must have felt himself thereby stimulated to greater activity ; and we can readily understand how an important work could be produced, whose main object was to give the first connected narrative of the late glorious age, and the unhappy division which had now taken its place. Besides, when this author wrote, the monarchy excited almost the same feeling of universal respect that it did at the time of the Book of Origins, according to pp. 75 sqq., and the people still felt vividly enough the social advantages secured by it. One main object therefore with the author was to display, through the narrative of preceding events, the misfortunes of the times before the monarchy, when caprice and lawlessness were unchecked, and to contrast with this the happiness of the kingly age ; and he enforces this point as far as possible throughout his narrative.<sup>2</sup> This work appears not to have contained any enumeration of the Judges and their deeds, but, in its description of times anterior to the monarchy, rather to have taken its stand upon the abstract idea of the Congregation of Jahve, and of the High Priest, as the representative of its unity at all events in a legal sense. In order therefore to have a fixed starting-point, the author commenced with the period succeeding Joshua's death, and took as his basis the ancient Book of Covenants already described, pp. 68 sqq.<sup>3</sup> But though he may perhaps have described more than these two events belonging to the period of the Judges, yet he certainly did not dwell very long upon this period, as he used it merely as an introduction to the history of the monarchy.

2) But of another work which sprang from the same tendency;

<sup>1</sup> Namely, in the account of the revolt from David's house, the description of the national assembly in 1 Kings xii., especially verse 20, corresponds exactly with the earlier one in Judg. xx. 1 (compare on the other hand 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 1); also the expression נִזְבֵּן, 1 Kings xi. 34 (in which, as in בָּנֵן, xii. 18, this book accords with the Book of Origins), was probably adopted from this work into the later one; and the phrase 'Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day' points to a

writer who lived before Jehoshaphat, when the northern kingdom was regarded as simply rebellious against Judah.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. xvii. 6, xxi. 25; compare xviii. 1, xix. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Besides what has been already mentioned, there is the phrase וְיָצַר נָאָר, to set on fire, for to burn up, Judg. i. 8, xx. 48 (elsewhere found only 2 Kings viii. 12, and, from imitation, Ps. lxxiv. 4), used rarely of cities, for בְּנָאָר, which occurs in Judges xviii. 27.

there have come down to us such extensive and connected remains (many passages being preserved to us in their original fulness and almost unchanged), that we are able fully to survey its scope and extent and the division of its parts. This is the work whose remains extend from the beginning of the Books of Samuel into the Books of Kings, and which cannot be briefly designated more appropriately than as the Prophetic Book of Kings. Next to the Book of Origins, but embracing a different sphere, this is the most agreeable and influential of the historical books. But the peculiar charm of this work is mainly derived from the fact, that it is the first upon the field of history which is entirely pervaded by the prophetic spirit; and indeed, without this, no writing among the ancient people of Israel could become highly attractive. This narrator may be distinguished among the historians of the monarchy as emphatically the Prophetic historian. On this account his preference for a larger survey and closer combination of the expanding historical materials ought not to surprise us at that early date, since no one would be so ready to present these as a Prophet from his higher point of view.

a.) From the existing remains of this book it is easier to discover its commencement than its close. For we cannot doubt that this work, like our present Books of Samuel, began with Samuel's birth and career. For in this case nothing is presupposed which must necessarily have preceded it, and been elsewhere more fully treated; for a new epoch obviously opens with the life and activity of Samuel, from which all that follows is developed; and whatever is mentioned of a prior period respecting Eli and his sons, really serves only as a counterpart to the history of Samuel.<sup>1</sup> The narrator's main subject, to which he is evidently hastening on, is indeed the monarchy; but the foundation of this was so indissolubly bound up with the entire career of Samuel, that he could only obtain a firm foundation by giving an account of that prophet's life.

The close of the work seems more difficult to discover, owing to the loss of the original words, but indications are not wanting which enable us to determine the epoch to which the author

<sup>1</sup> Except that the fact that on Eli's death the length of his judgeship is also given, 1 Sam. iv. 18 (compare vii. 15), might be taken as a proof that the narrator had commenced his work with a general history of the Judges. But if at the time of the narrator the commencement of a history of the Judges had been already made (and this cannot be disproved), he might consider his work as a continuation of that, and on occasion of Eli's death,

which he could not but mention, add the customary notice of the length of his judgeship. A similar view must be taken of the appeal made to the history of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, 2 Sam. xi. 21; for although this is a different thing from a reference to the sacred history known to every one (1 Sam. iv. 8), the author might assume that that also was known from older books on the period of the Judges.

must have brought down his history. With the least attention, it might have been seen long ago, that this work did not close with the present Books of Samuel, for (passing by for the present all other signs) the first two chapters of the First Book of Kings continue the narrative so exactly in the same style and colouring, that we cannot discover the slightest trace of another hand. But these two chapters, which carry on the thread of the narrative of the Books of Samuel, are by no means a mere supplement describing the death of David, since they carry on the narrative further, and describe also the earliest actions of Solomon as king in such form and with so little apparent close as to arouse our curiosity, if we had not felt it before, to know more of the deeds of this king ; so that we regret to see the thread of the narrative then suddenly cut short. There is however one especial passage at the very beginning, which gives us the clearest insight into the actual age of the writer. The author pauses here to survey the great whole which he is about to describe, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36 (and the same is repeated in essence but more briefly, 1 Sam. iii. 11-14), and thus skilfully ensures the attention of the student from the beginning to the close. Since Eli is here threatened in prophecy with a time when he and his father's house (i.e. the whole sacerdotal house of Ithamar), amid the utmost national prosperity, would come to extreme want, and his dignity be taken from him, and given to another priest (and his house), and when, especially, all the grown members of his house would fall, and the younger ones beg priests' bread from the High Priest of the other house,<sup>1</sup> it is perfectly obvious that the author hereby indicates a time when the house of Ithamar was in disgrace, a time, too, which he had himself passed through, and which he intended to describe fully in the course, or rather at the close, of his work. When we consider the importance of the sacerdotal house in those early times, and reflect that, next to the king, it possessed the highest hereditary authority in the state, we can understand how a narrator, himself probably a Levite, while writing the history of the monarchy, could use the fortunes of this house as a sort of prophetical frame for his work. In fact, through all events, whether of war or peace, the narrator holds fast the thread he had tied at the very outset by constantly referring to the fate of the heads of the Priesthood, and remarks significantly that on occasion of David's flight from Jerusalem in Absalom's rebellion, the greatest delay was made by Abiathar the descend-

<sup>1</sup> The same thing occurs on a smaller scale in the case of Joab, 2 Sam. iii. 28, 29 ; compare 1 Kings ii. 28 sqq.

ant of Eli.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the prophecy in question cannot have been written long after the fall of the house of Eli, since the circumstances of that event appear to the narrator quite vivid and undimmed by time; besides that this house must have afterwards in some degree recovered from this fall, as will be shown further on. If we ask, then, at what time the various heavy misfortunes of this house, which the work at its commencement promised to reveal, actually came to pass, and in what part of the work they are narrated, we find it indeed announced, with an express appeal to the prophecy made to Eli,<sup>2</sup> that Solomon immediately after his accession degraded Abiathar from his office, and exiled him to his own estate. But this cannot possibly be the complete fulfilment of that prophecy: moreover the narrator here ascribes to Solomon the very significant declaration 'that he would not now put him to death,' as if he intended on a later occasion to describe far heavier misfortunes that fell upon him and his whole house. Indeed, from the declaration at the very commencement<sup>3</sup> that the expected faithful High Priest 'should for ever go in and out before the anointed of Jahve,' it undoubtedly follows that at the time of the writer the rejection of the house of Eli had long taken place. Moreover this anointed one can be identified only with Solomon (or possibly his successor), but certainly not with David. This fact, as well as the general tone of the passage, naturally carries us beyond the death of Solomon, and we must regret the loss of those passages of the work in which the complete and final fulfilment of the prophecy was given.

But the clearest indication of the age of the author is found in the fact that the same hand which begins the account of the life of Solomon in 1 Kings i. sq., is frequently visible also in the succeeding narratives in the Books of Kings, where it may be infallibly distinguished from all other documents by its extreme individuality, until it appears for the last time in the account of the elevation of king Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 1-x. 27. On a nearer view it is impossible to doubt that the same prophetic narrator who related the raising of Saul to the throne in 1 Sam. ix. sq., sketched also this vivid picture of Jehu's elevation; for even the separate phrases display the greatest similarity without any appearance of imitation. It was consequently during the excited period which followed Jehu's elevation that this work was composed, and everything indicates that the author was a prophet belonging not to the northern, but to the southern

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 24.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 35.

kingdom: but that exaltation had affected both kingdoms at once, and was like the last flashing up of the flame of inspiration of the old prophets. Through this great king, the last who was urged on and raised to the throne through prophetical activity, the recollection of the harmonious cooperation of Prophets and Kings as it existed in the early times from the days of Samuel, must have been vividly recalled. And thus this history has no other object than to display this very cooperation from the time of Samuel and Saul down to that of Elisha and Jehu, and to derive the fortunes which befell the monarchy in Israel from a prophetic source. Consequently, no other historical work contributes more information than this on the earlier Prophets of Israel.

b.) At the same time the author also desired to present a general history of the times after Samuel. He obviously employed for this purpose the best written and oral authorities,—amongst others the songs of David, derived from a trustworthy source,<sup>1</sup> and of which he introduced as many as appeared desirable. Yet the stream of his discourse is most copious and eloquent wherever he approaches the main object of his narrative; on other occasions he cuts it very short, especially in the military portion, as is most distinctly seen in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48. But as the time was now come to attempt to understand the hidden forces engaged in the development of those events, and especially of the more remote among them, in the conception and presentation of his subject the author occasionally rises far beyond the merely material, in order to place clearly before the eye the prophetical truths involved in the external events. And this prophetic view and treatment being especially familiar to him, we may justly assume that he was himself a Prophet; and from the careful attention which amid so many other more weighty events he bestows upon the fortunes of the Ark, as well as the Priests and Levites, and from his apparent great acquaintance with everything pertaining to them, it seems equally certain that he was also a Levite. The prophetic survey of events, however, which is this author's most characteristic contribution to historical knowledge, and the transformation of the earlier portions of the history hence arising, breaks forth far more freely in the case of Eli and his sons, and of Samuel and Saul, than in that of David, where we scarcely find even a commencing trace of it. In general, it

<sup>1</sup> The tone of the expressions, 2 Sam. i. 17, iii. 33, xxii. 1, xxiii. 1, leaves no doubt that this writer himself interpolated such songs; on the first occasion of doing this, 2 Sam. i. 18, he names his authority.

first appears only as a light veil thrown in certain places over simple historical recollections. But it is precisely this conjunction of the two unamalgamated factors of the narrative (the power of an almost perfect recollection of the whole particulars of the history, as they formerly appeared to, and were understood by, contemporaries, and the new power contained in the higher survey of the history as a whole, at first however influencing only isolated particulars), which constitutes the most remarkable, and likewise the most instructive speciality of this work.

But with regard to the arrangement and distribution of these extensive historical materials, it is remarkable how this work, which is preserved to us nearly complete, already displays the very same plan and method which is observed in even the latest Semitic works of a similar character, and is especially discernible in the Arabic Annals of the Chalifs and other rulers.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears as if it were an ancient usage of all Semitic historians, to which the old Hebrew writers were also glad to conform.<sup>2</sup> I allude to the prevalent custom in these works to reserve all general information about a ruler—the account of his house and establishment, his wives and children, his habits and customs of every kind—to the close of the record of his life. If however the arrangements of a ruler had undergone numerous modifications during the course of a long and changeful career, as was in fact the case with David, the historian could then select some convenient pause even in the middle of the ruler's life, at which such general observations might be introduced. Through the combination and reconciliation of this custom with the prophetic treatment of the subject, the following arrangement and division into sections arose:<sup>3</sup>

i.) As already stated, it is the life of Samuel as ruler, 1 Sam. i.-vii., which lays the foundation to this History of the Monarchy (which if it must have a general title ought undoubtedly to be called the *Book of Kings*). This, as is required by the whole plan of the work, is closed by general observations respecting Samuel, vii. 15-17. But although Samuel still survives, and even after the section of his life here described takes part in public affairs, still the grand division relating to him must close here, inasmuch as here the account of his sovereign rule as

<sup>1</sup> Abulfida's *Chronicles of Islam*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence it makes no difference to the exposition of 1 Sam. vii. whether the words are referred to this or to the following narrator.—Josephus retains this usage in his *Antiquities*: although 1 Maccabees shows that it might be gradually relaxed.

We find, however, something very similar in Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 51.

<sup>3</sup> We leave for the present unnoticed the later additions which it received, as well as the minor curtailments to which the separate parts were subjected.

judge comes to an end, and the history henceforth moves onward towards another ruler. This phenomenon, surprising at the first glance, repeats itself in a case in which on a superficial survey it is easier to overlook it : for

*ii.)* When the narrative passes over to the choice of the first king and his government, 1 Sam. viii.-xiv., the history of Saul's reign might appear to be closed too early with the requisite general observations respecting him, xiv. 47-52, since his death does not occur until chapter xxxi. Yet it is after all quite correct that the special history of Saul as reigning sovereign, as understood by the author, would close with chapter xiv. For with chapter xv. commences at once the account of the Divine rejection of Saul, and, closely connected with this, that of David's Divine election, thereby occasioned and rendered imperative ; according to the prophetical sentiment of the writer, therefore, Saul ceases at chapter xiv. to be the true king, and the history both of the people and the monarchy begins to move on towards David as the grand centre of the work.

*iii.)* With the life of David we reach the fullest and richest portion of the work ; for the lives of the following kings, of which only scanty remains have been preserved, could scarcely have presented such a long and constantly attractive series of varied incidents and extraordinary vicissitudes. It is not surprising therefore that this great section was subdivided into several distinct portions, corresponding with an equal number of parts of David's life. Thus we have first the account of the rise of David brought down to the death of Saul, in which the two heroes move near each other, like rising and setting stars, until finally the one is completely set, and the other ascends towards the zenith, 1 Sam. xv.-xxxi. But here as elsewhere the original work is no longer found pure and complete, and still less does the succeeding history of the reign of David in 2 Sam. i. sqq. present the appearance of a satisfactory order in its extant form ; but this must be referred to a later compiler, respecting whom more hereafter. What the original form was, however, can be at least approximately discovered, if we attend to all the scattered indications of it. Here we have in the first place to consider that a work which deals with its materials in so independent, so peculiar, and moreover so agreeable a manner as this, cannot well be supposed to have given such long and wearisome lists as that of David's warriors, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39, comp. 1 Chron. xi. They may perhaps have been merely copied out of earlier works, or with equal possibility be due to the hand of a later collector and reviser. And since the work of this

reviser is discoverable by other signs also, we must abide in the belief that such passages as are most evidently heterogeneous did not belong to this work. The comparison of 1 Chron. xi.-xxix. is instructive on this point. The original form of this biography of David as king, which we elicit from these and other indications, appears to have divided this portion of his history, in conformity with its subject-matter, into the three following sections :

a) The life of David after the death of Saul, until as king over all Israel he had gained a firm position in Jerusalem ; a period of uninterrupted prosperity, during which the highest possible fortune seemed destined to fall unmixed to his share. The extant portions of this section are discovered in 2 Sam. i.-vii., and it undoubtedly finds a suitable close in the narrative of the exertions made by David, when himself firmly established in Jerusalem, to provide an equally permanent abode for the sanctuary also, 2 Sam. vi., closing with the great prophetic passage 2 Sam. vii. Here a pause is even still perceptible in the history.

b) The central portion of David's reign in Jerusalem. Here the work obviously compressed into the smallest space the most heterogeneous materials. As might indeed be expected from the writer as a prophetic historian, he first treats with the greatest possible succinctness of the foreign wars and victories of David, 2 Sam. viii. 1-14 (as he had previously done those of Saul, in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48, only that in the case of Saul still greater conciseness was possible), apparently epitomizing the earlier history of the wars already described, p. 140; <sup>1</sup> then passing over to internal affairs, he gives only a very scanty account of the internal arrangements of the kingdom at the commencement of this period, 2 Sam. viii. 15-18 ; then, however, he describes at great length the moral behaviour of David towards the posterity of Saul, 2 Sam. ix., and towards his own house, x.-xx. 22, and closes with an account of two plagues which clearly did not occur until his later years, xxi. 1-14, xxiv. The passage respecting later wars with the Philistines which placed David's life once more in utmost jeopardy, xxi. 15-24, must, originally at all events, have proceeded from another hand. We discover the same arrangement in 1 Chron. xviii.-xxii. (excepting some omissions to be hereafter explained); and it cannot be denied

<sup>1</sup> That the notices of the wars in chap. viii. have been much abridged, may also be inferred from the fulness (probably equalling that of the authority consulted) with which the war with Ammon, x. xii. 26-31, is presented, on account of its connection with the history of Uriah.

that after thus cutting out the disconnected portions,<sup>1</sup> we obtain as the result a simple and appropriate arrangement.

c) To the last division, the commencement of which is indicated in express terms in 1 Chron. xxiii. 1, would belong, according to the above-explained plan and the corresponding example in 1 Chron. xxiii.-xxix., more general surveys of David's position and his connections especially towards the end of his life. We no longer know how much the work originally contained on this point, since the Chronicles here follow other authorities; but of the extant portions, the following pieces belong to this place: a second brief table of the internal arrangements of the kingdom, 2 Sam. xx. 25-26 (wanting in the Chronicles); David's magnificent song of victory, composed in his latter years, ch. xxii., and the 'Last Words of David,' xxiii. 1-7. With these the entire section was suitably closed;<sup>2</sup> for nothing then could well be added excepting his death, and that is more appropriately taken in connection with the account of Solomon's accession.

iv.) The account of the reigns of Solomon and his successors, down to the limit already indicated, followed next. We have indeed to regret that just at this part the work has come down to us very imperfect. Yet even here many of its narratives are preserved almost without change. Thus the notices of Solomon's enemies, xi. 11-40,<sup>3</sup> quite take us back to this work by their peculiar style; and in the narrative of the division of the kingdom, 1 Kings xii., many ideas and phrases recall this work;<sup>4</sup> but these details can be better discussed hereafter, when we are treating of this period of the history.

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the passage 2 Sam. xx. 23-26, which will soon be considered, and the two others, xxi. 15-22 and xxiii. 8-39, of which we have already spoken.

<sup>2</sup> Anyone capable of fancying and doggedly maintaining that after David's *Last Words* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, when we naturally expect nothing to follow but the account of his death, the narrator could tell the story of the pestilence, ch. xxiv., must have the meanest opinion of the writers of the best period of antiquity. But everything goes to prove that those writers were not so thoughtless and unmethodical; and we have already seen in the Book of Origins how passages were torn by later hands from their original connection and transplanted elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Excepting several words and phrases, especially in vv. 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> The description of the Revolt in verse 16, bears the colour of the time, and agrees

almost word for word with 2 Sam. xx. 1. Again, the formation **מלךָה** for 'kingship,' is peculiar; 1 Kings xii. 21, compare i. 46, ii. 15, 22, xi. 35, xxi. 7; 1 Sam. x. 16, 25, xi. 14, xiv. 47, xviii. 8; 2 Sam. xii. 26, xvi. 8; but elsewhere only in 2 Kings xxv. 25, and Dan. i. 3, apparently by way of imitation. Rarely it interchanges with **מלךִתָּה**, 1 Sam. xx. 21; 1 Kings ii. 12, and **מלךְכָתָה**, 1 Sam. xv. 28; 2 Sam. xvi. 3; but the latter, as well as **מלךְכָתָה**, 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14, xxvii. 5; 2 Sam. iii. 10, v. 12 (which is, indeed, necessary where it denotes a 'kingdom,' and which alone admits of a plural), seems to have got into the text only on a later revision: compare 1 Sam. xxiv. 21 [20], xxviii. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13, 16; 1 Kings v. 1 [iv. 21], ix. 5, xi. 11, 13, 31, xii. 26, xiv. 8, xviii. 10; 2 Kings xi. 1, xiv. 5, xv. 19.

c.) Not only the plan and subject-matter of this work as above described, but also its style and phraseology, exhibits a perfect unity, in so far as its language is original, and not due to mere verbal quotation of earlier authorities. The description is not so luxuriant and gushing as in the Book of Origins, but yet full of internal power and external beauty, sensibly flowing from a national life still sound and strong on the whole, and sustained throughout by a charming simplicity and life. Since this work was once undoubtedly very popular, its diction served as a model to later authors ; and it is therefore difficult to descend to details, and discover many words and expressions strictly peculiar to it: yet a closer examination shows that such are not wanting,<sup>1</sup> and brings us to the conviction that the work must have had somewhere about the extent already indicated.

Since, then, all indications show that this work remained the fixed basis of all popular histories of the monarchy, it was afterwards naturally often retouched, and in this process lengthened in some parts, but in others still more seriously shortened. The extensive remains of this and the former work contained in the Books of Samuel and Kings, exhibit traces of very considerable abridgment, not only at the end, but in the middle also. This is especially seen in the fact that in these fragments an unexpected allusion is often made to subjects which ought to have been explained before, but are now left wholly unexplained. Thus Jonathan appears quite unexpectedly in the account of a military expedition, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, without being described either previously or here as Saul's son. In 1 Kings i. 8, Shimei and Rei appear among the firmest supporters of the throne

<sup>1</sup> Besides the examples already furnished, we may observe, for instance, that the ordinary expression for the community in the Book of Origins, **הַעֲמָדָה**, is wholly wanting in this work, which employs the periphrasis '**בְּנֵי יְהוָה**', 'people of Jahve,' instead, 1 Sam. ii. 24; 2 Sam. i. 12, vi. 21, xiv. 13; 2 Kings ix. 5; an expression used in the Book of Origins, Num. xvii. 6 [xvi. 41], only with especial emphasis, and elsewhere (Num. xi. 29; and somewhat differently, Judges xx. 2) very rarely used. The analogous phrase, also, the 'heritage of Jahve,' 1 Sam. x. 1; 2 Sam. xiv. 16, xx. 19, xxi. 3, appears to have passed first from this into other historical works ; 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. Another favourite phrase of this book, 'according to thy heart's desire,' (an idea which admits of very various renderings), 1 Sam. ii. 16 (xxii. 20); 2 Sam. iii. 21; 1 Kings xi. 37, is unusual elsewhere; as is also true of **הַכְּרָמָה**, 'to eat,' 2 Sam. iii. 35, xii. 17, xiii. 5 sqq. The particle **לֹא**, 'only,' though not used here as in the Book of Origins, to the exclusion of **לֹא** (1 Sam. i. 13, v. 4), certainly greatly predominates. On the other hand, many words elsewhere very common, never occur here; as **עִזְׁזָלָה**, denoting 'to root out' (in the Book of Origins also little used); **לְמַסֵּד**, 'to assemble,' with all its derivatives (such passages as 1 Sam. xix. 20; 2 Sam. xx. 14, point at all events to a somewhat different usage); **שְׁמַדָּה**, 'to be quiet'; **עָזֶב**, 'to break up an encampment,' the plural of **עָזֵב** and **הַעֲזֵבָה**. There are also expressions which at least prove the similarity of several portions, as **כְּבָשָׂר** in a warlike sense (not so used in the Pentateuch and Joshua), 1 Sam. xxiii. 27, xxvii. 10, xxx. 1, 14 (xxxii. 8); Judges xx. 37, ix. 33, 44; **צָלָל** for **צָלָל**, 'arrow.'

of the young Solomon, without our having the slightest prior intimation of the importance attaching to these two men. In the passage 1 Sam. xxx. 26-31, remarkable in many ways, a number of cities in the tribe of Judah are carefully enumerated, to which David sent booty from the Philistine city of Ziklag as a present to his old friends, because he had formerly rested there with his army. From this we naturally expect that David's expeditions towards this region must have been already mentioned in the proper place, since the reference is otherwise unintelligible; but we now search in vain for the passages to which reference must be here made. How much then must have been lost between 1 Sam. xxiii. and xxx., while later hands inserted chapters xxiv. and xxvi. !

8) With the passages from this and the former work are variously interwoven those of another which must have described very nearly the same period. For these fragments are very similar to the former ones, and in any case not written much later; yet the delineation is thinner and more faded than in the two prior works. It also appears that in this work the prophetic element did not so decidedly predominate as in those. A reference to 1 Sam. v.-viii. or chapter xxxi. with their surroundings will enable us sufficiently to appreciate the somewhat impalpable differences between this work and the two former ones, both in the phraseology and in the subject-matter.

It is however probable that this is the very writer who prefixed to his history of the Kings a history of the Judges, of which a considerable portion is still extant. By this we mean the book from which a still later author took the separate histories of the Judges, now found Judges iii. 7-xvi., to be then modified or rewritten after his fashion. This narrator viewed and described that long period with reference not to the High Priests as his predecessor had done (p. 141), but to the Judges. Of these he counted up the round number of twelve, and gave careful statements respecting the length of their tenure of office and their place of burial. The constancy of this habit of itself points to an author possessing great individuality. Moreover his judgment upon the monarchy differed greatly (according to Judges viii. 22-24) from that of the previous writer, but was in perfect agreement with the passage already noticed, 1 Sam. viii. 5-18; compare x. 18, 19. Since moreover he also directed his attention to the almost constant wars, which the people had then to bear, he seems to have arranged his work especially with reference to the duration of these wars, and of the intervening

years of peace. On suitable occasions, it is his custom to mention in set phrase, both the fact and the length of the rest secured to the land after each great commotion.<sup>1</sup> And since this characteristic habit<sup>2</sup> is repeated in some of the fragments preserved by the Book of Chronicles from the history of the kings of Judah immediately succeeding Solomon,<sup>3</sup> and appearing from other indications also to contain ancient remains,<sup>4</sup> we have every reason to assume that this work brought down the history in like style and arrangement to more than a hundred years after Solomon. The delineation in such passages as Judg. iii. 7 sqq. is quite in accordance with that already described in the earlier histories of the Kings, and especially in the passages of this third work. But the author here obviously makes use of very varied and very ancient sources in important sections, as in Judges vi.-viii. of a history of Gideon which must have been written in the north country,<sup>5</sup> and in other passages the earliest historical work, described p. 68 sqq.<sup>6</sup> Side by side with these more important works, there undoubtedly existed many smaller ones devoted to the history of individual heroes. Thus the history of Samson was the subject of a special composition of a very peculiar character, as we can still see from its remains preserved in Judges xiv.-xvi.

### *3. Looser treatment of this period of history.*

Thus did this branch of historical composition reach its highest bloom at a comparatively early period, and it is really surprising how much we feel the want of such beautiful historical fragments in the Second Book of Kings after the limit assigned to them above (viz. 2 Kings x.). It seems as if the succeeding age had lost the power of producing works so grand

<sup>1</sup> Judg. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28: this phrase was probably withdrawn by a later compiler from the accounts of the next following Judges.

<sup>2</sup> For the expression in Josh. xi. 23, xiv. 15, is similar, but not identical, and the number of years is not given there.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chr. xiii. 23 [xiv. 1]; xiv. 4, 5 [6].

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. xiii. 4-7, 19-21, exhibits a more antique style, but the other verses the ordinary style and views of the Chronicler; note especially that in v. 6 are found the words בְּרִית מֶלֶךְ בָּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and בְּרִית מֶלֶךְ בָּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The matter contained in each of the two narratives is equally distinctive.

<sup>5</sup> Compare my *Hohes Lied*, p. 20. This

authority is also marked by the phrase 'the spirit of Jahve moved him,' Judg. vi. 34, elsewhere found only in the ancient fragments 1 Chr. xii. 18 and 2 Chr. xxiv. 20, for our present author himself employs a much simpler one (*בָּרוּךְ*) Judges iii. 10, xi. 20, compare 2 Chr. xv. 1, xx. 14. In Judg. xiv. 19, xv. 14, on Samson's life, there is a different phrase again with the same meaning (*בָּרוּךְ*), which occurs nowhere else except in the prophetic Book of Kings already described.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. ix. and x. 8 present glimpses of a very ancient work both in the subject-matter and in certain words, as נַעֲמָה v. 4, which recalls Gen. xlxi. 4.

and yet so pleasing. The events of the day were now noted down with increasing promptness, but historical composition on a grand scale gradually degenerated with the entire national life, until in the end the events recorded of the latest kings took a form curiously resembling those of the primeval history.

This last point is of great importance here. For we cannot fail to observe, that in the earlier portions of this great division, as they faded away into the distance, the same kind of loose paraphrase as we have already seen upon the primeval histories gained a footing, though here necessarily restrained by the greater accuracy of memory. We may observe this to take place in very various ways.

1) A distinct example is presented by the history of Saul and David. For as this is now put together in 1 Samuel by an author whom we shall soon have occasion to characterise, it also contains in chapters xii., xv.-xvii., xxiv., xxvi., xxviii., fragments from two or three later works, in which only recollections of the most striking portions of the history are narrated with so much freedom as to make them appear as if newly produced, and a special effort is made to present them with suitable dignity, and, where possible, with the elevation of prophetic speech. The traces of a work which narrated the life of Solomon in its greatness, with strict concentration and prophetic severity, has also been preserved in 1 Kings. But these particulars, which could not be discussed without entering into considerable detail, must be reserved to a future occasion.

2). The history of Elijah and Elisha, the greatest Prophets of the Northern Kingdom, as we now have it embodied in 1 Kings xvii.-2 Kings xiii., mixed with other materials, and abridged by the loss of its commencement and in various other ways, clearly underwent many modifications, not merely orally, but also in writing, before it reached the highest possible point of exaltation. We possess in this the most striking example of the development of the history of the Prophets during successive centuries ; and, on a close survey of the extant portions of this special division of historical literature, we are able to recognise the very various elements of its composition, its earlier and its later points of view, the original materials furnished by actual memory and their gradual transformation, also the unmistakable colouring of different authors, wherein however the peculiar prophetic terseness and keenness of speech is never forgotten.

3) Another different and very instructive example of the great freedom with which subjects belonging to this department were gradually treated, is furnished by the story of Ruth. This story,

the historical substance of which cannot be discussed here, belongs essentially, in design as well as in arrangement (iv. 17-22), to the circle of Davidical histories, although it contains only one single event taken from the domestic life of David's ancestors. We no longer have the means of tracing the story through its earlier stages, but the fragment of it presented in the Book of Ruth is sustained in existence not so much by its absolute historical value as by the preeminent beauty of its pictures and descriptions. Upon the primeval history it has been several times observed that in proportion as it was more treated by later writers the freer treatment gradually prevailed, and mere description was increasingly admitted into the place formerly occupied by narratives more strictly bound to the repetition of the original facts; but here we find something quite new and peculiar added. On carefully examining the kind of description prevailing here, we find not merely a very soft and lovely painting of Hebrew domestic life, which, as we may hence infer, must have assumed a beautiful form in many places where it needed not to trouble itself about the great world, but also a truly artistic and learned as well as faultless and pleasing treatment of the subject. This blending of learning and art for the production of a beautiful narrative is the feature most characteristic of this small historical work. Without anxiously concealing by his language all traces of the later age in which he wrote, the author had obviously read himself into the spirit of the ancient works both of history and of poetry, and thus produces a very striking imitation of the older work on the Kings (see p. 142 sqq.) From his investigations of the antiquity of his people, he (in iv. 7) describes obsolete national usages, with the careful discrimination of a scholar. But again, antiquarian lore does not alone interest this author; he employs it merely as a medium through which, with artistic skill and a true feeling for moral beauty, he may present a charming picture of antiquity, and wake anew a nearly forgotten tradition from the early age of David's house. A gentle and gracious as well as poetical spirit animates this little historical picture, and the style itself often insensibly passes into actual poetry, as when Naomi (i.e. the *joyous one* in name as well as in fact) exclaims (i. 20, 21):

*Rather call me the 'troubled one,' for the Almighty has greatly troubled me; rich in blessings I departed, yet poor has Jahve led me home:*

*How then call ye me the 'joyous one,' for Jahve has bowed me down, and the Almighty has brought upon me evil!*

In this we distinctly hear an echo from the Book of Job, not merely in the general style but even in some single words and phrases.<sup>1</sup>

This narrative undoubtedly stands isolated among the many historical books of the Old Testament, and we shall search in vain for an historian otherwise known to us to whom we may ascribe it. We must admit that we have here a narrator of a perfectly individual character, whom it will be most correct to regard as having lived during the Captivity; for though considered by itself (as the similar cases Gen. xxxviii. and Canticles show) such a narrative respecting a female ancestor might readily have originated during the rule of David's house, yet the whole literary treatment of this passage, and especially the way in which it is mentioned (iv. 7) that a custom existed 'in Israel' formerly (which could only cease with the national existence) points clearly to a later time—to an age which found one of its noblest literary occupations in reviving the glorious traditions of early times, and especially those relating to David's house.<sup>2</sup>

But it is inconceivable *a priori* that an historian of that age should have written and made public such a small piece by itself alone. Therefore here, as in the similar case of Jonah,<sup>3</sup> we are led to conclude that this story of Ruth is only one taken from a larger series of similar pieces by the same author, and that through mere chance this is the only one preserved. And it certainly owes its preservation to the fact that the latest editor of the great Book of Kings, of which we shall treat immediately, inserted it in that work at its proper place. Of this we can at once produce a clear proof. For it cannot but strike the reader as very curious that the Books of Samuel never describe David's family and lineage, neither where the first mention of him occurs, nor elsewhere; but on the contrary his father, 1 Sam. xvi. 1, enters upon the scene quite isolated and without introduction. This is by no means the general style of that work. David's family and lineage ought even more than Samuel's (1 Sam. i. 1), or Saul's (1 Sam. ix. 1), to have been explained, since David is obviously far more than either Samuel or Saul the hero of the book. We may therefore justly suppose

<sup>1</sup> See especially Job xxvii. 2. This freer use of the simple name 'רִאשׁוֹן' as an abbreviation for 'בָּנֵי אֶלְעָזֶר' here, and in Ps. xcii. 1, was evidently rendered possible only through the grand example of the Book of Job. Possibly the first instance of this shorter form is Ps. lxviii. 15 [14];

but unluckily that is only one isolated ancient verse. See besides Num. xxiv. 4, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, viii. p. 156–57.

<sup>3</sup> My *Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. ii. pp. 558–59.

that this statement was removed from it by a later hand: but then the conviction irresistibly forces itself upon us, that no one else was so likely to do this as the author who inserted this story of Ruth into the larger work, because its occurrence there rendered the former account needless and disturbing. On this view the LXX., who append this narrative without special title to the Book of Judges, and place it before 1 Samuel, were quite correct; for the latest writer, seeking a fitting place for this piece, could find none more suitable than this, to which it belongs according to date, causing no interruption, and at the same time preparing us for the immediately following history of David. And the fact that in the modern Hebrew Bibles this piece is treated as an independent work, and forms one of the five Megilloth, is known to have its foundation only in a later collection of books used in public festivals.

#### **4. The latest form of these Books.**

Lastly, when we examine the latest form which the history of the Kings assumed, the first thing which we ought to consider is perhaps the remarkable influence of the Deuteronomic ideas upon this field. For after the Reformation by Josiah, these ideas, the age of which has been already approximately determined, p. 117 sqq., evidently penetrated deeper and deeper into every department of life and literature. Thus they produced a new mode of regarding the period of the Judges and the Kings, which could not be long without influencing its treatment by historians. We are still able to trace the steps by which these ideas gradually gained possession of this region, and ultimately quite transformed it, and produced their own peculiar aspect of history.

But in the meantime books of narrative were growing more and more numerous, whilst the times which they had to describe were lengthening and becoming more difficult to survey. Hence here as in the primeval history, the desire naturally arose to fuse into one narrative, by proper selection and abridgment, the rich but not always self-consistent materials which this diffuse literature had produced. And the more completely the Deuteronomic ideas took possession of the extensive field of the history of the Judges and the Kings, and strove to illuminate and recast its more important features, the easier did it become to omit from the fuller earlier works much which under this new light seemed to have lost its importance.

1) *The last Editor but one.*

a.) The beginning of this change may be very clearly discerned in a remodelling of the old work on the Kings described p. 142 sqq., to which a large part of it as preserved to us has been subjected. We here find on the one hand the freest impress of the Deuteronomist, and recognise even the peculiar colours of his style,<sup>1</sup> but on the other we perceive that the Deuteronomic ideas are as yet very far from entirely penetrating and remodelling that early work, and indeed that they only very rarely at favourable opportunities here and there gained admission, as if cautiously feeling their way. These two facts taken together lead to the supposition that this is the first instance of an old historical work being remodelled according to Deuteronomic ideas, and we shall soon discover a still later labourer upon this same work, already adjusted to Deuteronomic ideas. We cannot, indeed, determine to a single year the time when this author wrote, but all the traces which we can here observe and collect lead clearly to the conclusion, that he did not compose his work later than towards the close of the prosperous reign of Josiah.

The passages which were then introduced by him into the older narratives may be easily recognised, in part by their Deuteronomic sentiments and peculiarities of style, and in part also by the circumstance that they add nothing to the historic contents of the narrative, but only present reflections, or carry somewhat further a subject already given. We thus perceive that it is not the history in itself, but an idea, that guided the author to such expositions as seemed most wanted by his contemporaries. Besides, the words of this writer show us an age in which, although the nation was much weakened, yet the kingdom of David and the Temple still existed, and the hope of their permanency still lingered.<sup>2</sup> This could be no other than the earliest time after the Reformation by Josiah, when the declining kingdom appeared to be rising into new and glorious life, and especially Jerusalem and its Temple to have triumphed for ever over the darts of misfortune.

<sup>1</sup> A marked instance of this is furnished by the highly characteristic expression 'with all thy heart,' originally employed by Joel ii. 12, but first made current by the Deuteronomist's discourse on all matters of religion; it reappears here as a pet phrase, 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 20, 24; 1 Kings ii. 4, viii. 23, 48, xiv. 8; 2 Kings x. 31. But the following writer, although quite Deuteronomic in his views, uses this phrase much less frequently; see 2 Kings xxiii.

25. A characteristic expression of similar meaning is 'his heart was not perfect with Jahve,' 1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3, 14; 2 Kings xx. 3. This is not to be attributed to the Deuteronomist, as is evident from the consideration that neither this writer nor the next speaks of that love towards Jahve, the urging of which is the most striking feature of the Deuteronomist; see also Josh. xxii. 5, xxiii. 11.

\* As is seen in 1 Kings viii. ix.

When we survey all these passages,<sup>1</sup> it becomes clear how similar they all are in every respect, and how completely they differ from the older work into which they are inserted, as well as from all the earlier works already brought under consideration.

b.) But this compiler was certainly the first who collected and skilfully blended those materials of the older works which appeared to him the most important; of which the clearest example is found in the long section, 1 Sam. i.-1 Kings ii. Here the different masses and strata of the narrative lie before us, so unmixed and distinct as to be readily recognised on close inspection, and separated into their original elements; whereas from 1 Kings iii., where the great curtailment effected at a later time begins, they are far more difficult to trace. It is obvious that this compiler took as his basis the work of the Prophetical Narrator, the most beautiful of those already described, and blended into one narrative with it all the materials he wished to take from other works, as well as additions of his own. But he everywhere used his own judgment in the selection of his materials, and often placed them near together, with but little attempt at amalgamation. The principal work also which he employed as his basis he by no means gave without curtailment.

Among the additions which are not Deuteronomic, but introduced by the compilers, we may with great probability reckon the Song of Hannah, which is inserted at 1 Sam. ii. 1-20, inter-

<sup>1</sup> These are as follow: 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4 (which two verses, moreover, disturb the context); parts of 1 Sam. xii. (a narrative introduced in its present form solely for the sake of the warnings attributed to Samuel, and presenting great discrepancies in its incidental historical allusions); 1 Kings ii. 2-4 (where, on occasion of David's last injunctions to Solomon, instead of such words as may have originally stood there, we now read exhortations which in every particle and phase of thought clearly bear a Deuteronomic colouring. These three interpolations are all that are found between 1 Sam. i. and the beginning of 1 Kings iii.,—the very place in the ancient Book of the Kings where the great abridgments begin, of which we shall soon have to speak. Perhaps, then, this compiler himself effected these abridgments commencing from this very passage? But the question is no sooner asked than it must be answered in the negative; for no reason can be adduced why a writer who up to this point had only made occasional suitable additions, and certainly had never made any great

curtailment, should now all at once adopt an opposite course. Since, on the other hand, in the subsequent history we still occasionally find indubitable traces of his hand, we must suppose that he treated in the same way the further portions of the history of the Kings up to the reformation under Josiah, using at the same time as his basis earlier works upon the monarchy. The tone and position of the words in 1 Kings iii. 14, vi. 11-13 and ix. 6-9, also direct us to the same writer; and his style is clearly discernible throughout Solomon's long prayer at the dedication of the Temple in 1 Kings viii. 22-61, which from its whole tone, and especially from verses 41-43, must have been written before the destruction of the Temple. The favourite phrases describing David's race as a light set up by Jahve in Jerusalem (1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19), and Jerusalem as the chosen city of Jahve (1 Kings viii. 29, 44, 48, ix. 3, xiv. 21; 2 Kings xxii. 4), could at no other time have been so readily adopted by the historian as during the latter part of Josiah's reign.

rupting the original narrative. This poem was then undoubtedly taken from an older collection of songs, in which it stood without a name, whence it was possible to have regard only in the most general way to the nature of its contents, and to apply it to a different age and person from the one originally intended. It does not seem to have been composed by David himself when he was already king, but was undoubtedly written by one of the earliest kings of Judah.<sup>1</sup>

c.) Many indications show that as the author in narrating the events of successive centuries approached his own times, his work became more detailed, and he introduced many considerable passages of his own composition. In the story of the founding of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings ix. 6-9, he already cast a true prophet's glance forward at its possible destruction, just as was done by Jeremiah at that very time; and doubtless he also is the author who, in a narrative clothed in prophetic form of the life of the first king of the ten tribes, 1 Kings xiii. 1-32, alludes to Josiah, the king of his own day, and his great work;<sup>2</sup> thus enabling us from the beginning of the history to infer its close, and likewise approving himself as a prophetic narrator. The work thus became truly prophetic not merely in form but also in fact, insomuch as it contained predictions; for, though the author certainly witnessed the influence of the pious king Josiah, he did not live to see the destruction of the Temple, of which he only gave prophetic hints in the course of his narrative. To this writer we are also undoubtedly indebted for the extremely accurate and instructive account of the internal condition of the Samaritans towards the close of the reign of King Josiah, 2 Kings xvii. 24-41.

## 2) *The last Editor of the History of the Kings.*

The history as it proceeded from the hand of this first Deuteronomic editor was, from all these indications, very comprehensive; but this very extent may soon have become somewhat burdensome to later readers. Besides, this work did not extend to the close of the history of the Kings: hence another editor might soon become necessary, who would not only shorten many parts, but also add to it much that was of importance.

That one final author and collector edited the present Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings as a whole, is to be concluded from many signs, of which one has been already mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> Compare my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, i. pp. 111-113; a similar instance, and not far removed from this in time, has already been elucidated (p. 123).

<sup>2</sup> Compare 2 Kings xxiii. 15-18; if in verse 18 *Samaria* is the correct reading, it perhaps furnishes a clue to the earlier form of the story in 1 Kings xiii. 1-32.

and others will be noticed presently. This last author of the present Great Book of Kings enlarged by the history of the Judges as an introduction, cannot have written before the second half of the Babylonian Captivity, when King Jehoiachin, who had been carried off very young to Babylon eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, had been taken into favour at court by one of Nebuchadnezzar's successors, and was already dead.<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is not known; but it was certainly under the Chaldean rule, since his honourable restoration at the Chaldean court is the last historical event the author has it in his power to record of him. After the close of the Hebrew monarchy history passed a very distinct verdict upon the ages succeeding Moses and Joshua. The various principles which had acted and reacted upon each other while the great waves of that history were still surging, separated themselves in the calm which succeeded the dissolution, and the great earnest question of the age, Whence came so much misery upon the people? not only invaded the dominion of history, but even sought preeminently there for its calmest answer. The true Prophets had indeed long since given a general answer to such questions, and since the history had now on the whole substantiated the anxious forebodings of the earlier prophets, the historian, even in that age, could not well have done otherwise than enter into their truths; but now the narrator's most urgent duty was to prove the presence of these truths throughout the various events of history.

But it was impossible to an age so deeply wounded in its patriotic feelings to examine dispassionately and describe at length the history of the many centuries between Joshua and the destruction of Jerusalem; the national grief was too severe, and the national mind too intent upon deriving consolation and instruction from the history, to be able to examine it impartially. Hence the prophetic truths expressed in the Deuteronomic treatment of the history which had commenced long before, became yet more fully the light and life of the views now taken of history. Wherever the history as a whole confirmed them, they were brought prominently forward, and were used chiefly to raise the student above the interminable details of history and give a more lifelike view of its principles. He then who looked through this long period to find an answer to the question,

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 27–30; that the last king, the still older Zedekiah, was already dead, follows from Jer. lii. 11. This last narrator certainly wrote in the neighbourhood of the Chaldean court; and therefore when he speaks in his own person he de-

scribes the Holy Land as lying on the other side of the Euphrates, 1 Kings v. 4 [iv. 24] (twice); compare Ezra iv. 10 sq., and a full exposition of this subject in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vii. p. 212.

through what cause had the kingdom fallen, or when and how had it been most flourishing, could evidently not contemplate any age except that of David with unmixed pleasure, and must have regarded with sorrow the centuries which preceded, as well as those which followed, this sublime historical point, because they repeatedly indicated a dissolution of the unity and stability of the kingdom as well as of the true religion. But it was especially easy to attach to his remarks on these less perfect times the historical lesson and warning which was then most needed, and which the author inculcates in an important passage repeated almost word for word in both places.<sup>1</sup> Therefore while it would appear desirable to give the beautiful middle portion of the history with all the detail which the records permitted, enough might seem to be done for the two long side-pieces, the earlier and the later history, with their many painful occurrences, by rendering the narrative as concise as possible, so as to bring prominently forward only the general lesson of the history. In accordance with all this the whole history must have been divided by this last compiler into the three following main sections:—

a.) He placed first the present Book of Judges as an introduction to the history of the Monarchy. For this book, in its present form, was attached to the present Books of Samuel with the single object of having here the history of the Judges and the Kings, i.e. of the whole period after Joshua, brought together. This is made clear by a peculiar expression of the last author respecting Samson, namely, that he had *begun* to deliver Israel from the power of the Philistines.<sup>2</sup> But if Samson only began this deliverance, then the reader naturally expects to be told of its further prosecution by others after his death. Thus a hint is already furnished by anticipation of the history of Eli, Samuel, and David, and it cannot therefore be affirmed that the conclusion of the present Book of Judges closes the history and

<sup>1</sup> The passages meant are Judges ii. 6–23 and 2 Kings xvii. 7–23, which, both in thought and in expression, so closely resemble each other (see especially יְמִינֵי נָבָעַ, Judg. ii. 14, 16; 2 Kings xvii. 20, a phrase very unusual in prose) that we cannot well help attributing both to the same writer. Otherwise we must suppose that the last compiler, having received from previous ages the Book of Judges in its present form, imitated it as an antique work; and certainly the 'driving out of the land' mentioned in Judges xviii. 30, need not include also the captivity of the

inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah. But on careful consideration the former assumption appears not only probable but absolutely certain, from the relative position as well as from the style of the two passages: see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, x. p. 140. It is also specially noteworthy that in 2 Kings xiii. 4, 5, xiv. 26, 27, the latest writer views and describes the raising up of Jehoahaz precisely as in Judg. ii. 14 sqq. he had done that of the Judges.

<sup>2</sup> Judges xiii. 5; this is the obvious meaning of this passage, confirmed also by verse 25.

renders that book independent of what follows. In truth, the conclusion of the series of Judges formed by Samson's tragical fate is so unsatisfactory as to be to the reader the first strong stimulus to know the further course of the Hebrew-Philistine history. But the last author seems to have wanted either the materials or the inclination to fill up the short interval between the death of Samson and the middle of the rule of the already aged Eli; and he had only (as already shown, p. 155 sq.) the story of Ruth to fill up this gap.

The last author then did nothing with reference to the strictly historical matter beyond combining the two earlier works on the age of the Judges, the very diverse character of which has been already explained p. 140 sq., p. 151, and working them up in Deuteronomic fashion, to use a brief expression. Here again we find the essential feature of the work to be, not the actual narrative and history of earlier times, but the way in which the history is treated and used for the deduction of moral lessons.

(i) The author began with a general introduction taken from the ancient work, which, according to p. 141, viewed this period without regard to the military leaders of the people; and he there described how the tribes had not conquered the whole country, and had in so far failed to accomplish the Divine plan, Judges i.-ii. 5; a passage which seems to be greatly curtailed, and would be much more intelligible if we had the original at full length before us.

(ii) Then the author, passing from the death of Joshua to the description of the Judges, and following the other authorities already noticed (p. 151 sq.), first presents a general survey of the entire period of these Judges and of their position while it lasted, ii. 6-iii. 4. And this point of the history gives to the Deuteronomic ideas and doctrine an opportunity of their freest and fullest expression. Sins against Jahve, repentance, and amendment, are the three pivots on which the Deuteronomic scheme turns. The nation which during that age, after each effort at amendment and the successive rising-up of each great deliverer or judge, relapsed again into unfaithfulness and then into misfortune, furnishes at once the example and the lesson, how faithless behaviour towards Jahve always punishes itself, and the greatest national sufferings then become necessary for the moral probation and purification of the nation. In order to establish the truth of this doctrine in each individual case occurring from iii. 7-xvi. the writer commences his account of the first Judges, and then of each of the five others of whom

there was much to tell, with a previous falling-away from Jahve, and misery consequent thereupon, the pressure of which brought the people back again to Jahve, who then raised up the true deliverer. In the few principal actions of the period more life is occasionally infused into this monotonous narrative by a beautiful description of a Prophet in times of misery raising his voice in sorrow or in anger to declare the truth to the people, vi. 7-10, x. 10-16. In these descriptions the author unquestionably had in his thoughts the older passage, ii. 1-5, which sounds more historical, besides such passages as 1 Sam. ii. 27 sq. In the actual history of the Judges the author generally adopts the narrative of the earlier authority almost verbally. But in the case of Samson, the last of these Judges, whose life was also given by the compiler by abridgment from a special work (see p. 152), and served as a fitting occasion to explain the nature and origin of Nazaritism, this lofty introduction expands into a grand picture of Divine manifestation and annunciation, xiii. 1-24, such as the Fourth Narrator of the primeval history loves, according to p. 111 sq. This however comprises almost all that the last author has added of his own, for elsewhere he has merely shortened or slightly altered the wording of his authority, but added nothing of importance to the history itself. And if we reflect that he nowhere distinctly describes the evil to which, after each amendment of their conduct, the people constantly recurred during that age of vicissitudes (for such names as Baal and Astarte are used quite loosely according to the custom of after-times, and assert nothing distinctly but the relapse from Jahve), there can be no doubt that the description of individual events was coloured by his general conception of the period; just as the same author in the Books of Kings calls each individual king of the Northern Kingdom wicked without any qualification, because to his peculiar conception that kingdom was intrinsically corrupt.

(iii) The whole is closed with fragments from the very different ancient authority mentioned p. 140, which described two remarkable events of that age external to the circle of the Judges. Here the last compiler is still further from adding or changing anything; for nothing even of a Deuteronomic tendency is given. But if we ask wherefore this compiler (or possibly even the former one) inserted only these two stories, since he doubtless found many similar ones in the document whence they were taken, the most obvious reply is, that both relate to Levites, and moreover to Levites from Bethlehem (xvii. 7, xix. 1),

and thus possessed an especial interest for an author who undoubtedly sprang from Judah, and was probably a Levite.<sup>1</sup>

The time at which this book thus received its present form cannot in general be matter of doubt, owing to its Deuteronomic principles; there are also found distinct traces of dependence on the Book of the Law in its latest development. The wordy description (xiii.) of the angel's appearance to Samson's parents obviously imitates many shorter delineations of similar events which the author found in the older books of law and history;<sup>2</sup> and the phrase 'they turned quickly out of the way which their fathers walked in,' ii. 17, is both here and in Deut. ix. 16 taken from a story given by the Fourth Narrator in the Book of the Law, Ex. xxxii. 8, where it is undoubtedly far more genuine and perfectly appropriate. It is also a very decisive circumstance that where the author begins to speak freely from himself, ii. 6-10, he takes up the thread from the last words of the present Book of Joshua xxiv. 28-33. Now here words are found which cannot have been inserted by any earlier writer than the Deuteronomist.<sup>3</sup> It would be incorrect to conclude from this that the author wished to combine the history of the Judges into one whole with the Book of Joshua and the Pentateuch; for he merely joins on at the end of Joshua for the sake of a suitable commencement, and it cannot be proved that in early times these books were ever united (see p. 114 sq.). But it does follow from the above fact that at the time of the author the Deuteronomist had long completed his work.

b.) The history of the *Origin of the Monarchy* until the accession of Solomon is given by the latest author entirely, or almost entirely, unchanged from the previous compilation. For the lesson, that the kingdom had fallen because the greater number of its princes had fostered the repression of the higher and purer religion, assumed prominence in the history only after the time of Solomon. And as David had in fact remained very true to the ancient religion, and in the later times was moreover looked upon as the single perfect example in that long list of kings, of a good ruler and faithful worshipper of Jahve, it was

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the Book of Ruth is concerned with Bethlehem has no connection with this, as has been pointed out, p. 153 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The principal passages which the author had in view in chap. xiii. are Gen. xvi. and xxv. 21, also Judges vi. 17 sq.; we find, likewise, 17, 18, an amplification of the shorter image, Gen. xxxii. 30 [29].

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xxiv. 28 is connected with the

preceding Deuteronomic narrative: and verse 31 must be by the Deuteronomist, on account of the phrases מִנְחָה יְהוָה, Deut. iv. 26, 40, v. (16) 30 [33] vi. 2, xi. 9, xvii. 20, xxii. 7, xxv. 15, xxx. 18, xxxii. 47, and בְּעֵשֶׂת יְהוָה Deut. iii. 24, xi. 3, 7. Moreover, according to p. 114, something similar from the hand of the Fifth Narrator of the primeval history must have originally stood here.

believed to be not from David's reign, but only from that of his successor, until the first overthrow of the kingdom, that the introduction of foreign religions and the dissolution of the ancient order had been dragging the state down into corruption and inevitable ultimate destruction. The history of the monarchy therefore was divided by this author into two halves, separated by David's death: on the first of these, which was almost entirely filled by the personality of David, the thought and hope of the writer's age dwelt with evident joy and exultation; and as moreover David's idealised image had become an inexhaustible source of consolation and instruction for the Messianic hopes, the author published this first half, up to the accession of Solomon, in its original fulness, without any noticeable omission or addition.

But apparently it was this last editor who finally added some fragments of David's biography which he had at first designed to omit; at all events this is the simplest explanation of the order in which the fragments in 2 Sam. xxi. xxiv. now stand (see above, p. 148). We may also plausibly assume that the Chronicler had here before him the compilation of the previous Deuteronomic editor: he read the passage 2 Sam. xxiv. in another order (see p. 148 sq.); and he found the long list of David's heroes which is given in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39, and is probably extracted from the State Records, standing after 2 Sam. v. 10 (see 1 Chron. xi. 10-47) and in a more complete state.

c.) From Solomon's time, however, he gives only extracts from this and other earlier records, as if this long period of ever-increasing dulness and darkness required only the briefest description. But he begins here again to treat the history in his independent way, to make it the medium for his own views, and to add to the older book whatever he thought suitable. It may therefore be said that the first half of the earlier great work on the kings, which reaches to 1 Kings ii., was only re-edited by the later writer, but that the latter half, from 1 Kings iii., may be justly considered as his own work. It might therefore have been divided into two parts more correctly than has been done:—1. the history of the Kings until Solomon's accession to the throne (the present Books of Samuel and 1 Kings i. ii.); 2. the *Kings from Solomon to the Captivity* (the present Books of Kings from 1 Kings iii.). The LXX., who enumerate 2 (4) Books of Kings after the Book of Judges, show at all events more perception of the original connection of this great work. And to discriminate the first from the second half, the name of Book or Books of Samuel, on account of that

hero's importance, would not be wholly inappropriate to the former, only that the first two chapters of the Book of Kings ought to be added to it.

The author himself indicates the chief extracts he has made from other works, by referring at the close of Solomon's life to the Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41), and at the close of the life of each king of both kingdoms to the Book of the Chronicles of one or the other kingdom, as the place where more of the history might be found. An exception to this is made only by the last king of each kingdom (which curious fact has been already noticed, p. 187 *note*), and by the two kings Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin,<sup>1</sup> each of whom reigned only three months, so that the Chronicles of the kingdom probably did not contain much more than is here narrated of them. In the life of David and Saul, on the other hand, such references are evidently wanting only because the last editor does not much curtail his principal document before 1 Kings iii. The 'Life of Solomon' also, to which the author refers, was probably not a separate work, but only a part or one volume of his chief authority. This previous compiler may have constantly referred to the Chronicles of the kingdom; but we have no reason for doubting that the last editor also consulted them. From the method of quotation however thus much is certain, that the author either wholly omitted, or greatly shortened, most of the particulars given in these authorities respecting the wars, the buildings (if not ecclesiastical), and other secular enterprises of the kings, as also their mere personal affairs; but on the other hand retained in full whatever referred to religion and especially to the Temple. In this he was governed by certain fixed principles; for instance, although elsewhere not telling much of the personality of the kings, yet in the case of each king of Judah, he mentions his mother's name, evidently on account of the important part generally taken by the queen-mother in the government, especially when the king was a minor.<sup>2</sup> But that he abridged the narrative of his authorities even when he aimed at completeness is seen by a comparison of 2 Kings xviii. 9-xx. with Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix., where he omits the song of Hezekiah.

The most important element added by the author, the prophetic lesson of the long history commencing with Solomon, is expounded most openly at the point where he speaks of the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 31-35, xxiv. 8-17. It is true that an account of the reign of the last king of Judah was prepared very early (see p. 167, note); but as this could receive no authentication from a successor,

it might for that very reason not be received into the official chronicles of Judah.

<sup>2</sup> See 1 Kings xv. 13, which is here decisive; also ii. 19.

overthrow of the Northern Kingdom, indicates its causes, and at the same time casts a glance upon the coming similar overthrow of the Southern Kingdom, 2 Kings xvii. 7-28 ; but even in the middle of Solomon's life, the author takes a suitable opportunity to introduce the same truth in the words of the previous compiler, 1 Kings ix. 6-9 ; and thus, though less forcibly than in earlier writings (p. 159), is reproduced the prophetic treatment of the history, since its entire course from Solomon corroborates the warning revealed to him in a dream at its commencement. And as the early fall of the yet guiltier Northern Kingdom is the centre of the evil elements of this history, so do its good elements centre round the pious king Josiah, who radically extirpated the worship in high places, and carried out a national reformation with equal sincerity and power, 2 Kings xxii. sq. And as our author, in agreement with the previous compiler (compare p. 159) and many of the Prophets, ascribes the ruin of the kingdom of Judah especially to this worship in high places, he takes care to observe at the very outset of his own writing (1 Kings iii. 2 : comp. xi. 7-10) that they existed even in Solomon's time ; and adds to his account of even each good king of this kingdom, that in protecting them he did what he ought not to have done. The fact that he calls every king of the Northern Kingdom without exception an evil-doer in the sight of Jahve, arises from his general view of the origin and nature of that kingdom ; but he thus designates all those kings of the Southern Kingdom also who had favoured idolatry. It is especially these standing judgments pronounced upon each ruler which impress upon the work the stamp of that melancholy desolation which at the time of its composition weighed heavily upon the dispersed nation. Thus also in the general treatment of this part the same method is discernible which characterises the present Book of Judges (p. 162 sq.).

We here see in brief which of our author's additions were most specially his own ; but besides these it is obvious that he also wrote and appended the life of the last king Zedekiah, which was not yet inscribed in the history of the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> as also the still later narratives. The later portions of the stories of Elisha may have been introduced by him, as they appear to be merely further developments of old materials,<sup>2</sup> and with

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the writer had access to written authorities, from 2 Kings xxv. 22-26, which is derived from Jer. xl.-xliii.; on the other hand Jer. xxxix. received many additions from this end of the Books of Kings, and a still later compiler appended to the Book of Jeremiah

the whole of chap. lii. from the same source, omitting however the narrative 2 Kings xxv. 22-26, because he knew that it had been already given in Jer. xl.-xliii.

<sup>2</sup> Even from very different regions: 2 Kings iv. 14-16 springs from Gen. xviii.

respect to their contents, which are far removed from the fulness and substance of the older histories, stand upon the same level as the story in 1 Kings xiii. 1–32.

The hand of this latest author is recognisable besides, not only in certain favourite phrases,<sup>1</sup> but also in a great infusion of later and foreign elements of speech, of a kind which we have not as yet seen in any historian from Judah. This infusion however appears only occasionally, and is far from permeating the whole work. Many of these foreign words, too, may be attributable to the authorities employed by the author.<sup>2</sup>

9–11, and 2 Kings vi. 17–20 from Gen. xix. 11. It is often very characteristic of such imitations that they flow copiously from one single passage, as if it alone had been in the mind of the later writer.

<sup>1</sup> We may here class צְלָה הַרְעֵב שְׁנִינָה, which is as frequent in Deuteronomy, Judges, and 1 Kings iii. sq. as it is elsewhere rare (Num. xxxii. 13; 1 Sam. xv. 19; 2 Sam. xii. 9). תְּחִמָּה in 2 Kings xvii. 17, imitating 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; the use of כֶּן for *only*, and the constant use of נִזְכָּר *then*, in the loose transitions, which occur especially frequently in abridgments of histories; 1 Kings iii. 16, viii. 1, 12, ix. (11) 24, xi. 7, xvi. 21, xxii. 50 [49]; 2 Kings viii. 22, xii. 18 [17], xiv. 8,

xv. 16, xvi. 5; also the use of אֲלֹנִי in narrative, 1 Kings iii. 10, but not the frequent employment of בְּנֵי in the same (iii. 5, 11, 28, v. 9 [iv. 29], x. 24, xi. 23, xii. 22), as this may be derived from the original authority.

<sup>2</sup> As, for instance, we may notice that the strongly Aramaic form מְאֹדוֹת (hundreds) is found only in 2 Kings xi. a few times, and even there is avoided in verse 19; and that חָרִיב is found only in 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; פְּלִינִיחָה only in 1 Kings xx. 14 sqq.; פְּחֻזּוֹת only in 1 Kings x. 15, xx. 24, 2 Kings xviii. 24, and an Aramaic infinitive only in 2 Kings v. 18. The occurrence of the relative —וּ, 2 Kings vi. 11 depends on a doubtful reading (see my *Sprachlehre*, seventh ed. p. 474).

### III. THE LATEST BOOK OF GENERAL HISTORY.

#### CHRONICLES, WITH THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

THE trial days of the Captivity, and the commencement of the restoration of Jerusalem, were succeeded by centuries which in many respects might be expected to be peculiarly favourable to the composition of history. The close connection into which the history of the Hebrews now entered with that of the Persians and many other heathen nations, might render their historical view wider, and their historical perception more delicate. Literary activity now penetrating deeper and deeper into all classes, even the non-prophetical and non-sacerdotal, was enabled to follow closer and more fully upon the events, and thus to produce a profusion of most various works respecting contemporary history itself. And in fact this good fortune was not wanting. A new phenomenon in historical literature is presented by the memorabilia of contemporaries, in which laymen and others note down with fresh feeling, and from accurate personal recollection, what seems to them worthy of record for the instruction of posterity, or perhaps even more for their own satisfaction. Biographical memoirs of this kind, written by men who influence their time through their own force of character, or even are its chief support and leaders, can scarcely arise earlier than the final margin of a long series of historical literature. Though often presenting rather the warm feelings of an individual than a calm consideration and short survey of more weighty matters, these memoirs, as a glass truly reflecting the special history of the time, occupy a very different rank from all ordinary historical works. We find the most distinct example of this in the somewhat comprehensive fragments of a book by Nehemiah himself, incorporated in the existing Book of Nehemiah. Other examples, which are scattered more widely throughout the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and therefore more difficult to discover, will be better treated afterwards. As Nehemiah was a layman in high office, who clearly did not aspire to the name and fame of a scholar or

writer (for thus he exhibits himself in his memoir), we must infer from his example that this kind of occasional authorship was very frequent in those days.

But in other respects these ages took a form less and less favourable to the writing of history, as is sufficiently proved by such strictly historical works as have come down to us from them. When the general national life was sinking deeper and deeper into confusion and weakness, away from the bold elevation which in the beginning of the restoration of Jerusalem it seemed about to attain, how then should the historic art alone have progressed and flourished, or even saved itself from the insidious decay which the nation generally could not escape? The chronicler of a people submitting unwillingly to foreign or to tyrannical rule, as was then the fate of Israel, is not in a position to look straight at things; nor has he scope to look freely around him either, when his nation, driven into the utmost straits, falls more and more under the influence of vague and faithless fears. This decline in the character of the historical works, being an inherent necessity, could not fail to appear in that age of Hebrew history; indeed its primary origin has already been observed in the last works of the preceding period. The fresh wants and tastes of a later age demanded fresh histories; and there are many indications that if possible even more was now written in this department than in earlier days. The spirit of the old religion, which animated the earlier histories, could not at once be wholly lost or changed in the new works; although after a considerable lapse of time such a change is undoubtedly very observable, manifesting itself first only in certain peculiar books. But in general, the image presented to us in the historical works of those times, even where they describe antiquity and the better days of old, is yet only that of a community, subjected to many forms of internal repression, but all the more proud of its ancient blessings, and therefore increasingly anxious to retain these, and priding itself only in the cause of the ancient religion and its glorification.

In the Books of Chronicles, and those of Ezra and Nehemiah, which (as I shall hereafter prove) originally belonged to them,<sup>1</sup> we possess the most comprehensive and marked work of this

<sup>1</sup> The unity of these books has also been recognised by Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, p. 21). In ignorance of the views there advocated, I had been brought by independent investigation to the same result. Richard Simon also attributes Ezra i.-vi. to the author of Chronicles. A general conclu-

sion of this kind is not difficult to reach; but the important and fruitful question for us is, how the hypothesis of the unity of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is to be followed up and maintained in connection with a correct appreciation of the writer and his work.

age. For the more perfect understanding of this work in its entire bearing, it is desirable first to ascertain its age with all possible certainty and accuracy. One way to this is already opened in the statement just made respecting the connection existing between the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah and the Chronicles ; for the essential question then is, what was the earliest period at which these books, which carry down the history to the furthest point, could have been written. Without attempting to exhaust this question here, we may at once assume as evident, that the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah cannot have received their present form prior to the fourth century before Christ, because in some passages they speak of Ezra and Nehemiah as men who in a past age acted together for the benefit of the community,<sup>1</sup> and even look back with scarcely concealed regret to the days of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, as to a better age in which excellent arrangements with regard to the offerings due to the priesthood were established and observed.<sup>2</sup>

But besides all this, more definite signs are found in some genealogies which the author introduces. Among the numerous catalogues of families and companies which the work presents in every part, we find two families which the author evidently regards as preeminent in nobility and dignity, and whose lineage he therefore describes in greater detail and carries forward to a lower point than that of any other. The first of these is the royal family of David, as it had descended from the latest kings of Judah ; which though not possessed of actual authority was certainly still looked upon by many with a certain preference and reverence, so that it was never forgotten which member of the family would have been ruler if external circumstances had been favourable.<sup>3</sup> The second is the High-priest's family,<sup>4</sup> which did then actually exercise a sort of authority, and whose living representative must have been well known to all contemporaries. The author needs no justification for sedulously distinguishing these two families, and these alone, by tracing their genealogy with greater detail and carrying it down to a lower point. But it is equally clear that he carried it

<sup>1</sup> Neh. viii. 2, 9, xi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> This is quite the tone of Neh. xii. 47; while there is no doubt that it was written by the same writer.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. iii. 17-24, where the chronological series, which is somewhat difficult to make out, is as follows : 1, Zerubbabel ; 2, Hananiah ; 3, Shechaniah ; 4, Shemariah ; 5, Neariah ; 6, Elioenai ; 7, Hodaiah. The various readings of the LXX., which here

and in vii. 13 add several additional generations to the series, are probably based only on a misunderstanding of the writer's mode of exhibiting the line.

<sup>4</sup> Neh. xii. 10, 11, compare verse 22; the series of High-priests down to Jeshua the first priest of the New Temple was already given in 1 Chr. v. 29-41 [vi. 3-15]; compare Ezra iii. 2.

down exactly as far as events permitted, so that the last name in each genealogy was that of the then living head of the family ; the contrary supposition is untenable, because there is no reason apparent why these genealogies, so exceptionally carried down many generations beyond the Babylonish Captivity, should close earlier than with the last known member. When we have thus determined the lowest point reached by this history, the problem then is to calculate correctly this series of generations, and to discover the same names, in case they are found to occur in the history which is known to us from other sources. The first point that here strikes us as important is that the royal line from Zerubbabel, that is from the time after the Captivity, is brought down through six members, and that of the High-priests from Joshua, the contemporary of Zerubbabel, through five. This slight variation may be regarded as tending to prove that both series were actually brought down to the author's time. If therefore we reckon thirty years to a generation, these five or six generations after Zerubbabel and Joshua bring us 150 or 200 years further down, so that we find ourselves in the latest years of the Persian, or at the utmost in the earliest years of the Greek dominion, and hence we may safely conclude that this work could not have been written before, but also certainly not after this point of time. To this may be added as decisive, the testimony furnished elsewhere, that Jaddua the last High-priest here mentioned, lived until the commencement of the Greek rule.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence however of any distinct date, the question is still open, whether the work was written in the last period of the Persian rule, or at the commencement or even at a somewhat later period of the Greek. But on a close examination, we do not merely fail to discover in it any token however slight which might point to a lengthened duration of the Greek rule, but it may be shown that every probability is in favour of the contrary supposition. For the two genealogies just named, which are brought down to the writer's age, stand in this respect quite alone ; the real history closes with the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, beyond which we only find these two genealogies, extending to a later period ; that of the royal house being given at the beginning of the work, and the latter portion of that of the High-priest being interwoven with the history of Ezra and Nehemiah. This peculiarity of the work is easily accounted

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xi. cap. vii. 2, cap. viii., according to which he was High-priest already under the Persian rule. Other difficulties which this passage pre-

sents cannot be discussed here. But the tone of Neh. xii. 22 shows that he had long been High-priest when the book was written.

for. It is always difficult, and often unpleasant, for a writer to bring the general history of his country down to his own times, and therefore many writers intentionally avoid doing so. Most historians, whose subject is not limited to remote antiquity or to some definite period, would content themselves with carrying down the thread of the narrative only to the most recent prosperous or momentous events, and mention the affairs of their own day only incidentally and for special reasons. Now it admits of easy explanation why a writer, living during the latest period of the Persian or the earliest of the Greek rule, should have broken off the thread of the history with the last glorious days of Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah: the following decades of years brought with them nothing grand or cheering to reward the trouble of describing them; and this work generally seems to take pleasure in describing only the prosperous side of the history of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, the Greek rulers had then already made friendly advances towards the people, and Greek freedom had already produced favourable results even to Jerusalem, it would be inconceivable that a general history, such as this work aspires to be, could leave wholly unnoticed this last revolution of events, and the advantages hence accruing to the Holy City. A comparison with the example of the Book of Kings (p. 159 sq.) will make the truth of this observation apparent. Now the way in which Cyrus and his successors are constantly mentioned as Persian kings,<sup>1</sup> proves that the Greek rule had already commenced; but it certainly had not lasted long, and we may regard the work as having been written somewhere about the time of the death of Alexander.

**I.** If this be the age of the work, we can thence infer its immediate object. It is intended to be a universal history, arranged moreover on the same system as is adopted by the Arabs in their ordinary works of this kind, in which the narrative sets out from the creation of mankind and a multitude of nations, but from this extensive field soon contracts itself to the narrow limits of the one nation for which it was written. But the people for which the chronicle under consideration was written, was so inferior, in extent of territory and in greatness and power, to the ancient nation, that it could not be properly regarded as the same. In Samaria, the centre of the old Hebrew territory, a people was now established of whose affinity with themselves the lords in Jerusalem would know nothing; and

<sup>1</sup> Ezra i. 1 (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22), iv. 5, 24, hand Haggai and Zech. i.-viii., Ezra iv. vii. 1, Neh. xii. 22; compare on the other 7, vi. 1, Neh. i. 11, ii. 1. sqq.

from which they felt themselves for ever separated by the bitterness of all enmities, religious repugnance. And as little remained of the ancient possessions of the people but its religion, and that conceived in the form of the then rising hierarchy, the religion itself had in Jerusalem alone its narrow circle and fixed abode. Hence this general history, from its object and its plan, was enabled to draw its circle much narrower than similar works written at an earlier time, and necessarily became very different from them in its spirit and tone.

As to the country and the nation of which this work treats, we find it to be preeminently a history of Jerusalem only. To this single city the narrative hastens on as soon as possible, from the vast compass embraced by it at its commencement, and then remains fixed there up to its close. The shortest and at the same time most accurate name for the work would be ‘Chronicle of Jerusalem,’ especially if this name were understood in the rather wider sense in which the name of the kingdom of Jerusalem was employed during the middle ages. Everything relating to this city and the surrounding country is treated with the greatest interest; even the nature of the city population, composed of very various fragments of tribes, appeared to the author important enough to deserve a careful description, both as it was before the destruction, 1 Chron. ix. 1–34, and also as it was reestablished after the restoration of the city, Neh. xi.-xii.; but in this catalogue little notice is taken of the inhabitants of the surrounding country. And the author not only entirely passes over the history of the rival city of Samaria, when describing the new Jerusalem, but in the earlier period, before the destruction of the city, omits the history of the Northern Kingdom almost totally, although his constant citation of ‘the History of the Kings of Judah and Israel’ proves him to have had before him a work similar in character to our present Books of Kings. And indeed, at that time, the origin of Jerusalem reached so far back into the memory of a remote antiquity, and the city, having long recovered from its overthrow, seemed to have been so specially destined from the earliest times to become an imperishable sanctuary, that it is easy to understand how it could be made the pivot upon which to hang a universal history.<sup>1</sup>

Thus restricted almost to a history of Jerusalem, the work further becomes a history especially of the religion of that city,

<sup>1</sup> The determination of the writer to leave unnoticed the period of the Judges, because then Jerusalem had not yet become

the holy city, is especially observable in an alteration which he makes in 2 Chr. xxxv. 18 compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 22.

as the single mighty power which still subsisted there in its pristine force. Not that the author looked back without admiration and regret upon the times when Jerusalem enjoyed also the secular sway of the kingdom of David; the very carrying down of David's race from Zerubbabel to the author's own age, of which notice has been already taken, p. 172 sq., is a speaking testimony to the contrary. But the fact remained, that in the new Jerusalem, as it had existed for the last two hundred years, the ancient religion only had proved itself imperishable, and thereby obtained individual sway over many hearts, so that it was even then putting forth a new life in many of its branches. It is this interest in religion as it then existed and was understood, which induced the author throughout the course of this long history to dwell so much upon Priests of every kind, upon the Temple and its institutions, and upon all other religious usages, as well as to set forth with obvious sympathy and in full detail the merits of those kings and great men who had gained a name in the history of religion. This is the precise point upon which this work differs most from the present Books of Kings, even in those passages in which it would otherwise have fully coincided with them, for it enlarges upon much that in them was either entirely passed over or very shortly touched upon. And as according to p. 160 sqq., the Books of Kings treat the history so entirely in agreement with prophetical truths that they might be named a History of the Prophets, so this work bears a strong indication of the altered age in which it was written, in the circumstance that it might almost be viewed as a History of the Priesthood. If, besides, the composition of this work took place at the commencement of the Greek rule, the glorious acts of the ancient kings for Jerusalem and its religion, and even the favours shown by the Persian kings to the Temple and its servants, can scarcely have been described without a desire to receive similar favour from the new rulers.

Now here a way is opened to us to discover more nearly the position and occupation of the author of this work. That he was a Levite of some sort is clear from the whole tenor of his work, and from the extremely accurate notice he takes of the different sections of Levites. Now if on further examination we find that throughout the work one branch of the Levites is described with greater care than all the rest, and its functions brought into the foreground on every possible occasion, then we cannot doubt that he was a member of this very one. Now an attentive reader of the entire work cannot fail to notice that no

section of the Levites is made so prominent as the musicians, with their subdivisions, their manifold employments, and their public appearances.<sup>1</sup> With this is closely connected the special interest with which the author everywhere describes sacred festivals and solemn processions; since on such occasions musicians could not fail to be present, and indeed are not unfrequently expressly mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Neither the officiating Priests, however high their position might be, nor those Levites who were ordained instructors and judges of the people, and consequently dispersed over the country, are mentioned with equal interest. Indeed the notice of the latter is remarkably brief and hasty;<sup>3</sup> and the narrator in preference takes cognisance of all kinds of what we may call the Lower Clergy, among which the musicians were reckoned. Under these circumstances it does not admit of doubt that the author belonged to the corporate body of musicians resident at the sanctuary at Jerusalem; nor need we be surprised to find that some of these included authorship in their devotion to the arts, and were men of learning more frequently than the priests themselves. But finally, it is not the history of Jerusalem alone, nor even the special history of its religious system alone, that moved the author to compose his work. As in that age the nation as a whole lived upon the memory of the earlier glory and power of its religion, so the individual historian dwells with marked exultation and scarcely concealed regret on the glories of the earlier ages only of the Holy City, on those kings and heroes whose acts on behalf of the Temple and its ordinances, as well as on behalf of the ordination and elevation of the Levites, had been conspicuously meritorious, and on such historical events as appeared to teach the power and inviolability of the sanctuary at Jerusalem. Wherever anything of this kind enters into the narrative, the historian's heart expands with joy, and he retains unabridged

<sup>1</sup> To adduce only a few passages: 1 Chr. vi. 16-33 [31-48], xv. 16-24, 28, xvi. 4-42, xxiii. 5 (where the narrative is interrupted by a fragmentary quotation from an ancient poet, who, speaking in the name of Jahve, characterises the musicians as 'those whom I have formed to sing my praise'; the LXX, however alter this unusual collocation of words); xxv.; 2 Chr. v. 12, 13, vii. 6, viii. 14, xx. 19-21, xxiii. 13, xxix. 25-30, xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 15; Ezra iii. 10, 11; Neh. xii. 8, 24, 45, 47. A description of a son of Asaph in Neh. xi. 17 is here also to the point:

רְאֵשׁ הַקֹּהָן  
הַזָּקָן לְקֹדֶשׁ

'leader of song, weaver of glowing prayer.' The rhyme must here not be passed over unnoticed, as at this late age it may not be entirely due to chance. We have changed *הַלְּפָנִים* (here quite inappropriate) into *הַתְּפִילָה*. The words *יְהוָה לְתִפְלָה* must signify 'the singer of praises at the prayer,' i.e. while the whole congregation prays. For the construction of the sentence see my *Lehrbuch*, § 361, b.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the numerous passages in Chronicles compare Ezra iii. 1-7, vi. 19-22; Neh. vii. 73 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Compare 1 Chr. xxiii. 5 with 4, and xxv. with xxvi. 29-32.

the fullest details given by his authorities ; and where even these appear to him not to do justice to the subject, he has no scruple in introducing a more vivid colouring to testify to his warmer sympathy with the narrative, in variously expanding the descriptions, and interpolating songs, speeches, and similar additions. Especially the times of David, Asa and Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah, and finally Ezra and Nehemiah, are thus made luminous spots in the history of Jerusalem, and there, under the cover of narrative, he permits his own sentiments to emerge most distinctly. But then as one portion of the history cannot readily receive such marked prominence and distinction without a corresponding depression in another, we see that the author in his account entirely passed over much that he found in his authorities, which was unconnected with his special subject, and could present little comfort and encouragement to his contemporaries, or at all events obtain little sympathy from them, or which seemed actually to contradict that image of the heroes of antiquity which was endeared to the popular mind of the age. Thus when the author passes over the entire history of David's youth, and the building of Solomon's palaces, 1 Kings vii. 1-12—facts described by the authorities which we know to have lain before him—and repeats only the account of the building of Solomon's Temple, he omits only what seemed to him of little importance ; whereas Solomon's idolatry and other national calamities recorded in 1 Kings xi., and the incidents reported in 2 Sam. xi.-xx., of Bathsheba and of David's children, are evidently omitted for another reason—because David and Solomon were in his day so generally regarded as ideal heroes of antiquity, that stories of the dark side of their lives could not meet with much acceptance.

Bringing together then these three special objects which the author undoubtedly had in view, we have every reason to believe that in his day there existed no work upon history in general prepared in accordance with them, and that this book was compiled to meet an actual exigency of the time. As we have already pointed out, the earlier histories preserved in the Old Testament were written with widely different aims, and it is at all events very unlikely that during the interval which separates this book from the Book of Kings any work appeared having a similar design and extent. But to understand fully the ground occupied by this work, we must take a further step in advance. It is everywhere most conspicuous that the author regarded the Pentateuch with the Book of Joshua as a sacred book, i.e. as one universally recognised as a Book of Religion. The titles

by which he frequently quotes it (see p. 131), the account of Ezra reading 'the Book of the Law of God' at the festival to the assembled people, Neh. viii. 1-18, and other similar grounds, fully demonstrate this; and the fact that the author took nothing from it beyond the most indispensable genealogies shows with equal certainty that from its sacred character he could assume a knowledge of it to be possessed by his readers.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, all the indications we possess contradict the notion that the Books of Judges and of Kings, described p. 159, were by the author or his contemporaries already looked upon as equally sacred. He does indeed use these books (as will be further explained afterwards), but treats them quite as an ordinary authority; and the great variations from them which he introduces into his work seem rather to show that he desired to present the history in many respects quite differently from the picture there given. This Book of Chronicles, then, was intended to be a universal history, which, acknowledging the sacred character of the Book of the Law, adopted its historical data without question, and could omit the full exposition of whatever was already adequately told there.

**2.** Accordingly this work fell naturally into three parts of unequal extent:

1) *The primeval history as far as David the founder of the power of Jerusalem*, 1 Chron. i.-x.—This part is treated most briefly, both because the narrator is hastening onward to David and his kingdom, and because he assumes his reader's acquaintance with the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua; so that his own additions appear chiefly in the light of a supplement to that history. Since however the work from its universal character ought to embrace the entire sphere of history, he here (1) places together in ch. i. the generations from Adam down to the twelve tribes of Jacob, as found in Genesis; and (2) then gives a careful survey of the genealogy of the twelve tribes, interspersed with brief remarks respecting some of them, ii.-vii.; and then (3) immediately retreats from this great circle of all the tribes to the two (namely Benjamin and Judah), who were united into one kingdom through their metropolis Jerusalem; and these he

<sup>1</sup> Whether exactly our present Pentateuch is here meant might seem doubtful from the passage Neh. viii. 14, 15, as the words there quoted do not agree exactly with Lev. xxiii. 40-43. But the ancients seldom quote prose passages with verbal accuracy, and the essential meaning of the two passages is the same. This suffices to remove the doubt. It is also obvious from

the free introduction of Jerusalem in verse 15, that the quotation does not profess to be verbally exact, but takes its colouring from the Chronicles. Ezra ix. 11, 12, and Neh. i. 8, 9, present similar cases; here, among other changes of minor importance, we find the Prophets generally named instead of Moses—a very remarkable circumstance.

describes reversely, according to their cities (the genealogy passing into topography), although these descriptions are far from exhaustive, viii. 1-ix. 34. Finally, by attaching to this the description of a single house—that of Saul of Gibeon (or Gibeah) in Benjamin, ix. 35-44,<sup>1</sup> he makes a transition to the death of Saul, and consequently to the elevation of David, who soon removed the seat of government to Jerusalem, and thus is enabled to commence the last portion at once with David's kingdom, and Jerusalem as its metropolis, chap. x. (taken from 1 Sam. xxxi.).

The two last of these three divisions contain a number of statements which although very short are of extreme value, since most of them are found nowhere else in the Old Testament; which, moreover, being derived from early authorities, often happily supplement for us traditions known from other sources. The historian who in every case links his narrative to the events of primeval times, here descends far beyond the age of David; the genealogies according to the twelve tribes are described in ii.-vii. as they existed up to the commencement of the Assyrian and the Babylonian captivity; that of David only being iii. 10-24 (exceptionally, according to p. 171 sq.) carried down to the author's own time. But this anticipation of time was here necessary, because the narrator in the second part, when he passes to the history of Jerusalem after David, has no longer room to mention the histories of the other tribes, so that what he desired to say respecting them could only be introduced here, before he passed from the wide circle to the narrower one.<sup>2</sup> The descriptions of places, viii.-ix., also carry us to the age immediately preceding the Captivity,<sup>3</sup> since, standing in contrast to the local conditions of the New Jerusalem described in the

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that this very passage occurs again just before, in viii. 29-40, and with two additional verses. We might fancy (although the LXX. have the same text) that it had been foisted into one of these two passages by a later copyist. But it is indispensable, both in ch. viii., where the Benjamites of Gibeon, according to verses 28 and 29, are contrasted with others, especially those of Jerusalem, and the full list of places inhabited by Benjamites is not complete without the general summary in v. 40, and in ch. ix., where it forms the transition to the history of Saul and David. The truth then seems to be that the writer himself adopted it in the first passage from his authority, and afterwards repeated it in the second, omitting, however, the concluding words

as inappropriate there. A similar instance of repetition is found in 2 Chr. i. 14-17, ix. 25-28. It is one of the signs of the decline of literature.

<sup>2</sup> Just as in Gen. xxxvi. much is inserted concerning Edom which taken chronologically ought to be reserved to a much later period.

<sup>3</sup> The particulars of this are seen with tolerable certainty by a comparison of ix. 11 with v. 40, 41 [vi. 14, 15], which makes it clear that at all events the genealogical and family notices of the southern kingdom were taken down about thirty years before its overthrow; those of the northern kingdom are carried down by the account in v. 22-26 to the Assyrian captivity.

third part, they describe the old city as it was during the government of the Davidical kings. But as they obviously could not be conveniently introduced into the continuous history of this kingdom, as given in the second part, they find their right place here, in continuation of the genealogies.

The numerous genealogical notices contained in this book are expressed very tersely, indeed with artificial brevity, by the habitual use of technical expressions and liberties of speech, by which the greatest number of names can be crowded into the narrowest space.<sup>1</sup> These abbreviations, though frequently leading to fresh mistakes and omissions, rendering the text unreliable, often putting serious difficulties in the way of understanding it rightly at the present day, and requiring a special study in order to penetrate into their meaning, must nevertheless in the writer's age have been in frequent use, and not therefore either wholly new or strange. What a wide difference we here behold between the ancient method adopted by the Book of Origins, the fulness and clearness of which brings a certain charm even into such parts of the history as of themselves might seem empty and tedious, and the many technical abbreviations of this work! and how certainly may we infer from this very difference that the interval between that early and this late book was filled by the development of a rich and varied genealogical literature!<sup>2</sup> But it has so happened that we now possess in the Old Testament scarcely any other genealogies but those of these two books. Further, it is unmistakable that the author passes somewhat hastily over the genealogical series of the earlier period, and that his authorities here afforded him far richer materials than he found good to employ; this appears even in his arrangement and mode of describing the generations according to the twelve tribes. He gives in considerable detail the genealogies of those three tribes only which the general plan of his work proves to have been the nearest to him: first, *Judah* (ii.-iv. 23), where he particularly distinguishes the posterity of David (iii.); whilst to Judah the mention of Simeon must be attached (iv. 24-43), and then (not to drop entirely the old

<sup>1</sup> Omitting the words *father* and *son*, or in less familiar instances very briefly designating the family relations, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs, as already stated, p. 23, also possess a similar literature. The zeal with which this study of genealogies, census-rolls, and similar documents was incessantly pursued, as well as the remarkable stages through which it passed, may be estimated by the new technical terms gradually brought into use. It is not

until the Chronicles, but then constantly, that we find שְׁנִירָה used in the sense of enrolling oneself according to house, lineage, &c., and שְׁנִירָה as a βιβλίον συνεδιας, as the LXX. have it, i.e. book of genealogies, Neh. ix. 5. The etymology of the word is obscure (see my *Alterthümer*, p. 313). The earlier name for this is תְּהִלָּה בְּ (see page 80) from which is derived נֶגֶל הַתְּהִלָּה (Numb. i. 18).

arrangement according to primogeniture) Reuben and with him the other tribes beyond the Jordan are treated of (v. 1-26); secondly, *Levi* (v. 27.-vi. 66), to which are then attached much shorter notices of all the remaining tribes (vii.) ; only that among these, according to page 179, thirdly, special prominence is given to *Benjamin* (viii. sq.) But, evident as it is that much is here compressed into a narrower space than it occupied in the authorities consulted by our author, it is very strange to find that the tribes of Zebulon and Dan are wholly passed over, and that of Naphtali (vii. 13) disproportionately little is said: and since no kind of reason can be found for this omission, we must consider it a mutilation of the work by a later copyist (although the ancient translations agree with the Masoretic text), unless we are inclined either to accuse the author himself of this obvious departure from his own plan, or else to conjecture that he left his work incomplete.<sup>1</sup>

2) *The continuous history of Jerusalem under David and his successors until the Babylonian Captivity*, 1 Chron. xi.-2 Chron. xxxvi.—Here the three last Books of Kings run parallel with this work, but if it is occasionally shorter than these, it has on the other hand a considerable number of additions of greater or less extent. The author's arrangement of the events of David's life (1 Chron. xi.-xxix.) has already been exhibited with sufficient clearness (pp. 164, 165); in the life of Solomon his plan inclines to yet greater brevity.

3) *The history of the New Jerusalem in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*.—This third part joins on closely to the second, as far as the story is concerned; but like the first part contains a great many genealogical tables, and lists of the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem, serving as a supplement to the first. The somewhat singular mode of composition and arrangement adopted in this last part, can however be understood only from a correct knowledge of the authorities used in it.

3. Now the question of the authorities used by this author throughout his work, and the manner in which he employed them, is indeed thorny and difficult, like all such enquiries into authorities, and is still further perplexed by the author following the custom of many late writers in reviving the literary use

<sup>1</sup> As Dan would unquestionably be placed next to Naphtali, and at the end of verse 13 of ch. vii., the words בָּנֵי בְּלֹהֶן which are now meaningless, must refer to Dan, as in Gen. xlvi. 24, 25. This is too palpable a thoughtless omission to be lightly put to the account of the writer himself. Dan is indeed carelessly passed over, also in vi. 46, 54 [61, 69] compared with Josh. xxi. 5, 23, 24, but that his name was not designedly avoided here is shown by ii. 1, 2. See, on this and other points relating to Chronicles, the *Jahrb. des Bibl. Wiss.* vi. pp. 99, 100.

of ancient words, as for instance some from the Book of Origins.<sup>1</sup> But partly in the author's express citations and references, partly in the above-described method of the work, and in other indications, we find various means of proof through which we are not left quite in the dark.

1) In considering the authorities named, or at all events indicated by the author, we have to discriminate two distinct kinds. For we may in the first place justly assume, that the authorities for the numerous genealogical and topographical notices—a prominent and valuable feature of the work—form a distinct class; indeed this is made evident from the mode in which they are mentioned. For besides that it is probable in itself, that these accurate accounts were derived from taxing rolls, the idea is supported by the not unfrequent notices of the time and method in which actual taxations occurred;<sup>2</sup> and we thus become certain that at all events after the establishment of the monarchy such taxations frequently took place, and muster-rolls relating to them were preserved. The actual documents, indeed, can hardly have been in the possession of our author; and we find clear indications,<sup>3</sup> and even express testimony,<sup>4</sup> to the effect that the accounts received by him had already passed into various historical works and were only taken by him from these. But their ultimate source cannot be doubtful; we have every reason to ascribe them in their earliest form to public records, the most reliable source possible.<sup>5</sup>

The author may, however, very possibly, except in the passage Neh. xii. 23, have found the more important references to these authorities in the older books from which he makes his extracts. The case is quite different with the second class of authorities, which consists of books referred to at the close of the biography of each king of Jerusalem from the time of David, in which more could be found respecting him. Here therefore he refers to

<sup>1</sup> As בְּרִית מָנָה, עֲבֹדֶת נָשָׁא, 1 Chr. v. 6, vii. 40; see p. 93, note.

<sup>2</sup> The exactest report is that in 1 Chr. xxiv. 6, where the officers appointed to conduct the census and taxation are mentioned by name. These taxations are accurately dated by the reigns of the various kings, 1 Chr. v. 17, vii. 2, xxiii. 3, 27, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 23, 24; Neh. xii. 23; see also 2 Sam. xxiv.; Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 6, 64: in accordance with which such slight notices as 1 Chr. ix. 1 are to be interpreted. See above p. 137; and my Allerthümer, p. 349 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> According to Neh. vii. 5, and Ezra ii., the writer found the list which is here

given twice, already inserted in each of the two earlier works which he here employs and often quotes verbally.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chr. xxiii. 27; see xxvi. 31, xxvii. 24, and Neh. xii. 23, according to which these taxing-rolls were inserted in the 'Events of the Time,' i.e. the Chronicles, or official journals. In the last-named passage it is impossible to suppose our present Books of Chronicles, so called, to be referred to, because the author could not speak in this way of his own work.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, the phraseology of 1 Chr. iv. 38, v. 18, vii. 11 (see above, pp. 81, 137 sq.) leads us back to the Book of Origins.

documents which, as we must conclude from the simple meaning of his words, were actually before him, but which he did not wish to repeat with the same fulness. Now the external differences in the mode of citation of these books prove them to consist of two widely divergent kinds :

On the one hand the author quotes certain titles of historical works, viz. (to present in the first instance all these forms of name) most frequently the ‘Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,’ 2 Chr. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26; compare xxxii. 32, or else in the reversed order, ‘of Israel and Judah,’ 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxviii. 6; less frequently the ‘Acts of the Kings of Israel,’ 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18, or what is obviously the same, the ‘Book of the Kings of Israel,’ xx. 34 (*Israel* being used in the larger sense, including Judah; since Manasseh is the King for whom this book is quoted in the former passage); and once with the title shortened at the close, but at the beginning expressed with greater fulness and distinctness, the ‘Story of the Book of the Kings,’ 2 Chr. xxiv. 27.<sup>1</sup> The probability is, however, that the same work is meant throughout, especially as the second and third names may be mere varieties of the first formed by abbreviation at the end. For in no instance are two such names quoted together as those of different works; and since at the close of the history of each king, the author only names one such work as his authority, no reason appears why in one case it should be one work, and in another a different one; the work quoted being always a ‘Book of Kings’ which might contain the lives of all the kings. And when we ask what was this ‘Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,’ it is in the first place certain, that we must grant the author’s acquaintance with the canonical Books of Kings in their present form as described on pp. 159 sqq., because many traces of the peculiar style of the latest author of that book in narrative and description recur here, as may easily be seen by a comparison of the two works from 1 Kings iii. and 2 Chr. i.;<sup>2</sup> indeed the author obviously used that work as the

<sup>1</sup> The compound term מִרְשָׁת קֹפֵר in this passage might be supposed to be not very different in meaning from the simple קֹפֵר, somewhat in the same way as about this period we find שְׁמַנּוֹת לִשְׁאָן in the titles to some of the Psalms (see my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, i. p. 210); the later name מִרְשָׁת signifying ‘Study, i.e. learned work, treatise, commentary,’ being merely added on to the other to render its meaning more definite. In 2 Chr. xiii. 22 (compare xxvi. 22), the only other passage where the word is found before the Rabbi-

nical age, it clearly means only a treatise, writing, and is in fact a new word for ΚΕΠ; and the LXX. have here only ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ, and even for the compound term in xxiv. 27 only γραφή. But it seems a more probable conjecture that the Chronicler has here given in full the earlier part at least of the title of the book. We shall find that this agrees with its nature and contents, so far as we are acquainted with them; for it must have been a late and very comprehensive work.

<sup>2</sup> Compare especially the close of 2 Chr.

foundation of his history of the monarchy, enlarging or altering it only where it seemed to him best so to do. But to conclude from this that the author in those references had only the canonical Books of Kings before him, would be a great error, because it would clearly be absurd to refer to a book which often contains less information upon the kings of Jerusalem, and from the days of Solomon seldom gives any accounts which are not recorded in the new book also—as if it were a fuller record. Equally erroneous would be the idea that the State Annals which formed the basis of the canonical Book of Kings were the book referred to. These constantly bear another name, both in the Book of Kings<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere;<sup>2</sup> and this evident discrimination of title forces us to conclude that the object of the author's reference was not the State Annals, but some other work.

On the other hand the author refers also to the words and writings of individual prophets, relating to the life of some one king. These, from their narrow range, and also apparently from their prophetical character, may be regarded as forming a contrast to the former kind of authorities. These references are as follows: in David's life, to the 'Words of Samuel the Seer, of Nathan the Prophet, and of Gad the Seer' (1 Chr. xxix. 29, 30); in Solomon's life, to the 'Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the Vision of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat' (2 Chr. ix. 29); and in Rehoboam's life, to the 'Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and Iddo the Seer' (xii. 15); in Abijah's life, to the 'Writing of the Prophet Iddo' (xiii. 22); in Jehoshaphat's life, to the 'Discourses of Jehu son of Hanani' (xx. 34); in the lives of Uzziah and Hezekiah, to the 'Prophecy of Isaiah' (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32); and finally in Manasseh's life to the 'Words of Hozai' (xxxiii. 19).<sup>3</sup> But it strikes us at once as curious that according to 2 Chr. xx. 34 the words of Jehu the son of Hanani just mentioned had been transferred to the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,'<sup>4</sup> and that similarly, according to xxxii. 32, Isaiah's prophecy was to be found in the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah'.<sup>5</sup>

xxxvi. with the corresponding passage in the Second Book of Kings.

<sup>1</sup> Namely in every passage without exception; in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18 can scarcely be regarded as an abbreviation of it.

<sup>2</sup> The other passages (1 Chr. xxvii. 24; Neh. xii. 23; Esth. ii. 23, vi. 1, x. 2), in which the title *לְבָרִי חִמֵּים* occurs, may be considered also to refer to the public records. The application of this name by

later writers to the Books of Chronicles, though not incorrect, was perfectly arbitrary, as the different name *Παραλειπόμενα* chosen for them by the LXX. proves.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptionally, he is not designated a prophet; the LXX. understand it of *δρόπτες*, but that would be *πορεία*, v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> The LXX. read these words quite differently, δις κατέγραψε βιβλίον βασιλέων; but their error is obvious.

<sup>5</sup> Here also the LXX. misunderstand the

These two, then, of the prophetical passages named were not separate books which the author had lighted upon, but parts of the same work, which he elsewhere cites by its general name. But if this is true of these two cases, the doubt naturally arises whether the other prophetical passages were not also taken from the same work. And many indications seem to favour this idea. For the passages in question are, in every instance but one, found at the end of the life of each king, the more comprehensive work on the kings being never named at the same time; whereas if they were completely separate (as for instance the Book of Jeremiah), they would certainly have only served to supplement the narrative of the principal history. Either the general title of the large work, or these special titles, are given at the close of each king's life; which looks as if these latter were intended to take the place of the more comprehensive and therefore less definite title. Moreover we are equally perplexed by the indications of the contents of these apparently separate works, if we suppose them to be prophetical books, such as those of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or even Isaiah; for they even contained pure genealogies,<sup>1</sup> which seem very foreign to the character of such works. The conclusion, however, which we have drawn from the position of these prophetical references is by no means everywhere certain; for on one occasion (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19) the author refers to a prophetic passage as well as to the large work; and it might fairly be argued that on some of the kings it was sufficient to quote the special work only, without mentioning the larger one: moreover Isaiah's work mentioned in xxvi. 32, on the earlier and later events of Uzziah's reign, can hardly be understood of a merely prophetical portion of the large work, as Isaiah did not appear as a prophet until the last year of that king's reign. It must therefore be admitted that besides the large history the author seems to have had smaller prophetical books before him; but these cannot have been similar to our canonical Books of Jeremiah, Isaiah, &c., because from Samuel and other such very ancient prophets large works of the kind are hardly to be expected. They may have been in part prophetical records of early date, and of the kind described pp. 138–151; and in part perhaps recent works composed in the manner of the old prophets: a free kind of literature which had then been long in vogue; see pp. 152 sqq. To this last division perhaps belonged the words of Hozai in 2

words, inserting a *kol* before *לְבָנָיו*; by the general manner of the book.

which is refuted not only by the change of <sup>1</sup> The word *לְבָנָיו* in 2 Chron. xii. 16, the prepositions *בְּ* and *לְ*, but still more which however the LXX. misunderstood.

Chr. xxxiii. 19, of which the Prayer of Manasseh in our Greek Apocrypha may probably be considered an extant fragment. In this case the book must have had a great resemblance to the Book of Daniel. The character of these special prophetical passages must then be determined by special investigation of the case of each king upon whom they are cited as authorities.

The next weighty question is, what was the form of that large comprehensive work to which some at least of these references point? And here, as already shown, it would be a very great error to imagine that the writer meant those State Annals which were epitomised in the canonical Book of Kings, and that he, having read them again in the original form, now used them in his peculiar way. Many of the detailed narratives given in those State Annals may have passed immediately into the large work which our author used—indeed there are many reasons<sup>1</sup> for regarding this as almost certain; but the old State Annals themselves cannot, for the reasons already given, have been used by our author. But we must suppose the work to have been a very detailed and comprehensive one. On the other hand it contained the fullest accounts of the words and deeds of the great Prophets, so that its principal divisions could be even directly named from them, and separated as special works: indeed we may unhesitatingly assume that it was published in many volumes, and that, as in the case of other lengthy works of the ancients, its sections were gradually more and more separated and regarded as distinct works. On the other hand it did not refuse admission even to a multitude of genealogical and topographical notices.<sup>2</sup> Even the peculiar phrase repeated in all the references, that ‘the other deeds, both earlier and later, of this king,’ may be found in this book, sufficiently shows with what fulness and accurate attention to dates the life of each king was treated there. In the life of David, which the author treats most in detail, he several times refers to subdivisions of the biography which he had used as his authority.<sup>3</sup> Where, on the other hand, that authority may have yielded little more than he himself gave, as in the case of the two years’ reign of Amon (2 Chr. xxxiii. 21–25), he does not refer to it at all.<sup>4</sup> When we reflect, finally, that the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 136 sq., 182 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As we must conclude partly from the express reference in 2 Chr. xxiv. 27, partly from the many genealogical notices derived even from the houses of individual kings, unknown to the canonical Book of Kings, as 2 Chr. xi. 18–23.

<sup>3</sup> The words ‘in the later events of David’s reign’ (1 Chr. xxxiii. 27), or, as if in explanation of this, ‘in the 40th year of David’s reign’ (xxvi. 31), only contain a reference to the latter portion of the authority used for the history of David.

<sup>4</sup> References are also wanting in the

real full name, 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' indicates a blending of the history of the two kingdoms, which was probably first completely carried through by the last compiler but one of the canonical Book of Kings, and further that stories of the prophets clearly occupied the chief place in the work, more especially in the age of the earlier kings (and our author refers far oftener in the case of the earlier than in that of the later kings to those seemingly separate prophetic works), we might fancy that it was the very work from which, according to pp. 164 sqq. the canonical Book of Kings was extracted. But, although the author undoubtedly made use of that work, as follows from pp. 164 sq., and although the supposition that he used it only indirectly, as quoted in a later large work, is refuted by the discovery that (according to p. 184) he sometimes quotes it by its proper title as his direct authority, the life of David shows that besides this he must also have used a far more extensive work. We must therefore conclude that the largest book which he had was a work in which, on the plan of the canonical Book of Kings (pp. 146 sqq.), the history of both kingdoms was treated from the prophetic point of view, and in which liberties were taken in reviving the prophetic traditions, similar to those in the canonical Book of Kings, the origin of which we have already traced (p. 167); a work, however, differing in design from the latter in that it was not an historical epitome, but presented the history in its fullest extent, taking in all the ancient records.

Thus the author must have used three works: the canonical Book of Kings, an earlier compilation from the State Annals and other sources, and a larger but later work; borrowing from them only the history of the kings of Judah, and reproducing it in his own way, and referring for other matters which he did not care to give, not to the canonical book (which so far as the kings of Judah were concerned he had almost bodily inserted), but to the later work which was not admitted into the canon. But then we can hardly stop short of the conjecture that (according to p. 183) we possess the exact name of this great work, *Midrash sepher hamm'lachim*. The extensive genealogical notices must have been drawn chiefly from the work which he once<sup>1</sup> calls *Seferibre hajjamim*, i. e. Book of Daily Events, or Chronicle; a name which (according to p. 182, note 4) originally designated the official calendar, but which an author

three successive short reigns of Jehoram, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, for the reasons Ahaziah, and Athaliah, 2 Chr. xxi.-xxiii.: already given p. 166.  
elsewhere only in the reigns of Jehoahaz,<sup>1</sup> Neh. xii. 23.

might easily appropriate to his own or any other work founded upon it.

The writing of Elijah the Prophet, mentioned 2 Chr. xxi. 12, cannot belong here, being only mentioned in narrative, and evidently quoted from the authorities already described. The 'Book of Lamentations,' mentioned 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, though now lost, may be confidently affirmed not to have been a history.<sup>1</sup>

2) Thus much may be said of the authorities directly or indirectly named by the author. But the author may very possibly have also used other authorities without such reference, the employment of which may be distinctly traced by certain indications. The authorities expressly named by him were too voluminous to be taken at all completely into his work; and it may be on this account that he refers to them. But other records may have been bodily incorporated, or so completely worked into the substance of his new work as not to require any reference. And this is distinctly the case especially with some valuable authorities used in the last part of the work now known under the name of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

For it cannot escape the notice of any tolerably attentive reader, that this part of the work, separated though it has been for thousands of years from the remainder, really belongs to it, and received its present form from the same author. Some grounds for this conclusion have been already given above; but the very complexion of the language affords sufficient proof of it. Although, from the author's practice of literal citation from his authorities, the language of the book is in general rather patchy and varied than uniform and sustained, and often, especially in the first and third parts, and in the life of David, (for the remainder of the second part is written more uniformly, like a short abstract) contains isolated anomalous expressions which can only have been retained from the older books; yet no sooner do we fully apprehend the real nature of the work than we discover passages the substance and style of which both prove them to be distinctively the author's own; and in these a peculiar phraseology is observed, found nowhere but in this work, though pervading every part of it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See more on this point in the new edition of my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> To present here a few examples: peculiar to this writer is the use of **תִּזְבַּח** in the sense of voluntary offerings to the temple (1 Chr. xxix. 6 sqq.; 2 Chr.

xvii. 16; Ezra i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5, vii. 13, 15, 16 (twice); Neh. xi. 2), a word found nowhere else except twice in Judg. v. and there in a different sense; further **שָׁזֵר** 'singer,' and many other words connected with his profession and cherished opinions; **לְקַח** to receive (1 Chr. xii. 18, xxi. 11;

But certain as it is from all these indications that this last part was written by the hand of the same author, yet it also exhibits conspicuous fragments of earlier works, which he must have employed without making any express reference to them. The difficult task of correctly picking out these fragments is aggravated by the fact that the author does not use them like official documents, and cite them entire and apart, but—sometimes even after he has begun to quote them literally—intermixes words or thoughts of his own, and passages of other writers, and thus presents a nearly insoluble medley. We can, however, clearly recognise the three following different kinds of authorities.

a.) Concerning the first years of the New Jerusalem up to the completion of the Temple, the author found two written documents:—first, the full and accurate catalogue in Ezra ii. of those who returned from the Captivity (this, however, for various reasons,<sup>1</sup> must have been inserted into an earlier history, from which it is here repeated); and secondly, the official documents

2 Chr. xxix. 16, 22; Ezra viii. 30), found prior to this only in a few poetical passages, and later in Esther; the phrase נָבִיא, supported by the authority of such earlier passages as Lev. xxiii. 37. נָבִיא is nowhere else so frequent as here (1 Chr. xii. 22; 2 Chr. viii. 13, xxiv. 11, xxx. 21; Ezra iii. 4, vi. 9; Neh. vii. 18, xi. 23; compare earlier 1 Kings x. 25, repeated 2 Chr. ix. 24); there are other favourite expressions, such as the verb חָבֵן; the phrase יְמִינָה and the plural מִלְכּוֹת נְאָצָzoֹת (compare 1 Chr. xiii. 2, xiv. 17, xxii. 5, xxix. 30; Ezra iii. 3, ix. 1, 2, 7, 11; Neh. ix. 30, x. 29 [28] with Ezra x. 11; Neh. x. 31, 32 [30, 31]), where the singular interchanges with it. The construction exhibits, on the one hand, a laboured condensation never before used in prose, e. g. in the use of the infinitive with ה (as 1 Chr. xv. 2 and elsewhere), and especially in the relative clause (as 1 Chr. xv. 12, compare v. 3); and, on the other, great laxity, as in the very loose employment of the article before the *status constructus*. The writer also affects a certain elegance of speech and fastidious choice of words, which leads him, for instance, to avoid the repetition of the same epithet by saying 'Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the viewer'; for these words are not intended to convey different ideas, as is clear from

2 Chr. xii. 15, xiii. 22. He also affects an antique style by the use of obsolete expressions, as, for instance, in sedulously avoiding (with very few exceptions) the abbreviated form of אָנָּא, though undoubtedly the prevalent form in his age. In other points, however, as for instance, the continual use of אַלְהִים for הָוה, he cannot disown the character of his age. Occasionally he manifestly imitates Ezra's style.

<sup>1</sup> In Ezra ii. 63–iii. 1 and Neh. vii. 65–73 an historical narrative was appended to this list before it was used by Nehemiah and our author. Both of these found the same narrative so appended; but our author abridged it more, and put in more of his own (תְּחִנְנָב, Ezra ii. 68): a striking example of the way in which such documents were treated in that age. The LXX. present the same variations as the Masoretic text. The original independence of this passage is also proved by the very word צְרִינָה Ezra ii. 1; Neh. vii. 6, which is as foreign to our author as it is current with other later writers, since in Neh. i. 3, xi. 3, it belongs to Nehemiah's own work; and by the word לְרִכְזָה (only found here), which in this fuller form corresponds exactly with δραχμή, μέτρον, and for which 1 Chr. xxix. 7, and Ezra viii. 27, have the shorter form άρκόν. (See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1855, p. 1392 sqq., 1856, p. 798.)

on the interruption and resumption of the building of the Temple, in Ezra iv. 8-vi. That these, together with the royal decrees here given, had come down to the author, admits of no doubt;<sup>1</sup> but it is equally evident that he found them in an earlier historical work;<sup>2</sup> and this, consequently, may be regarded as the ultimate foundation of the remaining accounts of that period, and may have been the same in which the catalogue in Ezra ii. was preserved from destruction. It is very difficult<sup>3</sup> to identify this earlier work in detail, partly from the freedom with which the author adds from his own stores,<sup>4</sup> and partly from the great curtailments to which the histories have here evidently been subjected.<sup>5</sup> That it was written in Aramaic from the first, may be inferred from the way in which that language is introduced by the latest author in Ezra iv. 8. It is, indeed, true that the latest author wrote as easily, nay more so, in Aramaic than in the ancient Hebrew, which was then dying out; for even after the decrees of the Persian kings and the representations made to them are ended, he continues to use this language in mere narrative, Ezra vi. 13, and reverts to Hebrew in Ezra vi. 20, only when compelled to it by the consideration that the work had been commenced in Hebrew; and we discover moreover here and there in this Aramaic passage unmistakable traces of his peculiar thoughts and expressions.<sup>6</sup> But the way in which the Aramaic enters at first in Ezra iv. 8 proves

<sup>1</sup> The exactness of the names given by the last compiler in Ezra iv. 7 shows that the document used by him must have told everything more fully and thoroughly than we are now able to do even conjecturally by the help of the detached notices which he has left us.

<sup>2</sup> One proof of this is found in the fact that the Aramaic letter which the last compiler announces in Ezra iv. 7 does not immediately follow in v. 8, but not till עבדיך in v. 11, and the intermediate verses must have formed an introduction to the letter in the history from which he quotes, v. 8 being only a title to the following (perhaps written with larger or different characters in the original), and the narrative commencing with v. 9. The want of any clear transition between v. 7 and v. 8 proves this; and there is a similar case in v. 6-7; see also vii. 12. Moreover our author himself never prefixes any such titles.

<sup>3</sup> In Ezra v. 4 the writer uses *ve* as if he had witnessed it all. The use of the first person plural in Neh. x. 1, 31-40 [ix. 38, x. 30-39] does not disprove this; for that passage also is based upon a con-

temporary document which the last compiler quotes with greater freedom only towards the close. Not only in the Latin Chronicles of the middle ages, but also in the Oriental histories, a similar *ve* or *I* is found retained very curiously from the book quoted; see *Land on the Syrian Chronicle of John of Ephesus*, p. 38. We must not here appeal to the *we* in 2 Macc. i. 20, 3 Macc. v. 43. The reading נָאכְרִים, however, cannot originally have stood in this connection, but must have been transposed here from vv. 9, 10; and we must with the LXX. read נָאכְרָא in its place. (See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1851, p. 874-75.)

<sup>4</sup> Observe הַחֲנָרֶב Ezra ii. 68 (which reappears in his Aramaic, Ezra vii. 13, 15, 16), the מְנֻזֵּב יְמִינָה in Aramaic vi. 6; the entire description of the sacrificial offerings, vi. 9, 17, 18, which in any passage of this whole history would direct us to this author; again בְּלֹעַ עֲרָם, iv. 7, 24, as compared with verses 8, 11.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the extreme brevity of Ezra iv. 6 and 7.

<sup>6</sup> See the last note but one.

for certain that it was the language of his authority, and not merely introduced by the last author in the description of these transactions with the Persian court and accompanying events.<sup>1</sup>

b.) From Ezra vii. the narrative, passing over a considerable space of time, probably from a deficiency of materials, reaches Ezra's exertions for the New Jerusalem, relating his journey from Persia to the Holy City, vii., and from ix., what he there accomplished. But here it strikes one as very strange that the account of his activity in Jerusalem apparently closed with x. (the end of the present Book of Ezra), where we are far from anticipating any such termination; since after the preparations described x. 16 sq. our curiosity is roused to know how Ezra will end the war against mixed marriages, in which he had only just begun to attain any success, but is doomed to disappointment. But in fact the thread of this narrative runs on until it is satisfactorily wound up at Neh. i.-vii. We must therefore suppose that the long passage treating of Nehemiah (Neh. i.-vii.), which will soon be shown to be derived from a memoir of Nehemiah's on his own life, was inserted here by the latest author.<sup>2</sup> And it is not difficult to discover the reason of this insertion. For since the narrative of the termination of Ezra's undertaking could not fail to mention Nehemiah's cooperation (Neh. viii. 9, x. 2 [1]), the latest author might deem it suitable to give a preliminary view from another source, of Nehemiah's journey to Jerusalem and mode of action there.

Now let us bring together again the disunited passages, Ezra vii.-x. and Neh. viii.-x., and examine into their origin. The most characteristic thoughts and expressions of the latest author are here crowded together as if he spoke entirely from himself. Even the decree of the Persian king addressed to Ezra (Ezra vii. 12-26), in the Aramaic dialect, exhibits occasional points of phraseology so perfectly characteristic of the latest author<sup>3</sup> as to drive us to the assumption that it was he who put it into its present form, with a license of historical description not exceeding that which the Arabian historians often employ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Because the last compiler does not, as Ezra vii. 12, commence using the Aramaic with the document quoted.

<sup>2</sup> It might be fancied that the author of the apocryphal Third Book of Ezra, who at ix. 37 skips at once from Ezra x. 44 to Neh. vii. 73, had before him a book without this interpolation; but in that case he must have passed at once to Neh. viii. 1, and not to Neh. vii. 73, a verse quite unsuitable to the context.

<sup>3</sup> Not to mention again בְּחַנְכָה, v. 13, 15, 16, note the perfect similarity between

the description of the temple-offerings in verse 17, and other descriptions of them given by our author himself; and that in verse 24 the office-bearers of the temple are divided into classes which no one but our author consistently distinguishes thus.

<sup>4</sup> This will be allowed by everyone acquainted with the Arabic historians; even in works professing to give true history any commands which it is known from other sources that a prince must have issued, are often dressed up by the writer in the form of a regular edict.

On closer examination, however, we discover grounds for assuming the employment of a memoir written by Ezra himself on his acts. For Ezra, throughout the passage Ezra viii. 27-ix., is mentioned in the first person, and the use of the first person plural in Neh. x. is connected with this phenomenon. Now we have every reason to see in this the trace of an actual memoir of Ezra's on his own life. For boldness like that of the Book of Daniel, which allows any ancient hero to enter speaking of himself in the first person, is foreign to a work like this of purely historical purpose, and is in fact found nowhere else in it—not even where there was a strong temptation to it, as in the case of David; but rather, as the numerous passages which speak of Nehemiah in the first person are undoubtedly drawn from his memoir, so by parity of reasoning these passages must be derived from a similar memoir of Ezra's. Moreover, the passages Ezra vii.-x. and Neh. viii.-x. contain such a number of minute circumstances and careful enumeration that we are here forced to assume as the foundation of the present narrative the work of a contemporary who took an active part in the establishment of the religion, from a consideration of the number of names of unknown individuals brought together here as if quoted from official documents, Ezra viii. 1-14, x. 18-44; Neh. x. Finally, variations in style are not wanting here;<sup>1</sup> and in them too we recognise traces of an original document not wholly effaced by the revision of the last author. And as Nehemiah, after the pieces to be presently exhibited, inserted in his memoir some earlier records also, so from many traces may we infer that Ezra did, and thus laid the foundation of chapters i.-vi. of the book now called by his name.

c.) Nehemiah's memoir, being less altered by the latest author, is more readily recognisable. In style, subject-matter, and plan it is quite peculiar, a personal memoir in the true sense of the word, exhibiting with matchless truth the innermost nature of the man. The exposition of this point, however, must be reserved for the history of the time.<sup>2</sup> Here we have chiefly to

<sup>1</sup> The phrase **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**, Ezra vi. 19, 20, viii. 35, x. 16 (compare iv. 1), and the employment of the article instead of **יִשְׂרָאֵל** before the verb (*Lehrbuch*, § 331, b), Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17 (compared with v. 18, where **יִשְׂרָאֵל** takes its place), are nowhere else so common. The pious phrase **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** used in various connections (Ezra vii. 6, 9, 28, viii. 18, 22, 31) is characteristic; it occurs again in Nehemiah ii.

8, 18, showing a coincidence between these contemporaries in the use of a phrase elsewhere uncommon.

<sup>2</sup> His peculiarities of style are therefore easily discriminated; they are also seen in the abrupt pause before a merely explanatory clause, as vi. 19, where **וְ** is, or xiii. 5, where **וְ** before **וְ** is designedly left out. The most tangible peculiarity is his use of the name Jew, as if he did not count himself one of them,

explain the manner in which the latest author used it, and must primarily notice that, as the memoir of the 'Priest' Ezra, according to extant traces, regarded exclusively the state of religion and of the Temple of Jerusalem, so that of the Layman and Governor Nehemiah, on the other hand, is chiefly occupied with the condition of the city and the social welfare of its inhabitants ; though Nehemiah, following the tendency of his age, often, and with a certain partiality, does notice religious matters also. Therefore (1) he describes with pleased prolixity, Neh. i.-vii. 4, how he travelled to the Holy City, restored order there, and built up her walls. (2) He very properly pauses here in order to present the statistics of the city and her territory, i.e. the list of the inhabitants—both the names of those who dwelt there on the first return from the Captivity, and their distribution under his new arrangements. This is the passage, Neh. vii. 5-69, xi. 3-xii. 26. But the latest author, while evidently taking the previous part almost without change, makes in this several important alterations, adding for instance much respecting the Priesthood in xii., especially after v. 10, and giving to the passage a new conclusion in his own manner. He had, moreover, to resume the fallen thread of the history, and of Ezra's journal on the most fitting occasion without necessarily waiting till the close of Nehemiah's memoir. Consequently, after repeating in ch. vii. 6 69 from Nehemiah the old list of the first-returned captives, which Nehemiah himself states (vii. 5) he had found, and with which he must also have appropriated the narrative in vv. 70-73 (although the list in question had already been given in Ezra ii. from the same source whence Nehemiah took it), he inserts the remainder of Ezra's history (Neh. viii.-x.), to which the transition might seem prescribed by the subject itself, as the one history (xii. 73) breaks off at a *seventh* month, and the other (viii. 2) continues the narrative of the earlier events in Ezra ii. 68, iii. 1, also from the beginning of a seventh month.<sup>1</sup> (3) After this pause, Nehemiah's memoir turned to describe the dedication-festival for the new walls of Jerusalem, Neh. xii. 27-xiii. 3 ; and here again the latest author adds something of his own, especially towards the end of the twelfth chapter. The memoir finally closed (xiii. 4-31) with short and disconnected enumerations of other services rendered by the author to Jerusalem ; leaving the impression that in the end Nehemiah did not care to describe all that remained in his memory as fully

<sup>1</sup> The reiteration in the same work arising hence really differs only in extent from that described p. 179 sq.; but un- doubtless an historian of a better age would have managed to avoid such palpable repetitions.

as he could have done. It would be impossible to characterise more accurately than in these words the nature of a personal memoir such as we suppose Nehemiah's work to be. The latest author has made no alteration either here or in the simple superscription, Neh. i. 1, which may be due to Nehemiah's own hand. Nehemiah's memoir, then, unquestionably ended here; and we have every reason to believe that the latest author also designedly chose the same point for the conclusion of his great work, inasmuch as whatever was to be said about still later times had been already mentioned on suitable occasions.

3) After this exposition of the sources of this work, we need no further proof of the richness of its stores of information both from ancient and from recent times; and we also discover that the judgments of some modern German writers respecting it are either based upon misconception or else very unjust. Undoubtedly the writer assumes very great historical license in his endeavour to revivify many periods, especially that of ancient Jerusalem; yet even there he restrains himself within certain bounds. So, for instance, when he introduces songs at the time of David, he only employs the present collection of Psalms, which even then was regarded as chiefly by David. The manner in which he deals with his sources may, however, easily lead to misunderstanding; and of course a work so far removed from the early history, and describing it only through the medium of derived authorities, must be employed for historical purposes with very great caution. Still, by accurately observing what is the author's own in thought, word, and description, and what he must have derived at all events in its ultimate basis from his authorities, and thus distinguishing the fundamental elements of the work, we shall be enabled to use it confidently and with much advantage even for the earlier history, and glean from it many important and genuine accounts, which we should elsewhere seek in vain; indeed we may discover surprising relics of the earliest historical works, preserved in it through the medium of later books, which are here quoted literally. This has been already incidentally shown in some instances, and for the rest it will be better shown hereafter in the cases in point. We now require only a few words more on two important facts connected with the same subject.

For David's life the author made use of the present canonical Book of Kings as his chief authority, but in a form differing in many important points (as we saw on p. 187) from the present one, and possessing the advantage of greater authenticity. But along with this he also presents much other matter—long lists

of names and families, most of which I have grouped together above (p. 136 sq.), as well as long speeches and exhortations. Now whence are these additions derived? In the speeches and exhortations indeed, a slight acquaintance with the peculiarities of the writer will allow us to see nothing more than the historical license with which he endeavours wherever possible to reanimate David's age. But whence can those long dry lists be derived? Certainly not from the work of the prophetic historian of the Kings—the basis of the canonical Book of Kings; for that is an independent work formed as it were at a single casting, aiming at a rich, flowing, and elegant manner of description, and intentionally avoiding everything dry and fragmentary, such as these lists and enumerations; and the two passages which are appended to the extracts taken from it, 2 Sam. xxi. 15 sqq., xxiii. 8 sqq., are certainly (for the reasons adduced on p. 148) placed there quite out of their connection, having been inserted by later hands. The assumption forced upon us by this reasoning, that such passages were derived from some other source, is also corroborated by other considerations. We read, 1 Chr. xxii., an account, wanting in 2 Sam., of no small preparations made by David for building the Temple. This narrative is the natural continuation of chap. xxi., and certainly not essentially unhistorical, so far as its ultimate basis is concerned; especially as it does not accord with the prophetic description in 2 Sam. vii.; comp. xxiv. Since therefore an independent work such as the prophetic History of the Kings could not have comprised these contradictions within itself, these divergent accounts must be derived from other, and in the present case even from earlier, sources. And thus we should deprive ourselves of one of the richest and oldest sources of the Davidical history, if we failed to do justice to the very remarkable remains of the Chronicles of State fortunately preserved to us in the Book of Chronicles.

On another period, which is treated with extreme brevity in the canonical Book of Kings—that of David's successors in Judah down to Hezekiah—this work, when rightly understood and applied, not only yields very valuable supplements to the history of the monarchy, the foundation of which undoubtedly rested on the original State Annals,<sup>1</sup> but also tells us of many Prophets, of whose very names we should have otherwise been wholly ignorant.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is clear from p. 184 sq. that the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. such passages as 2 Chron. ii. 17   xxiv. 3 (compare v. 27), &c.

[18] (compare v. 1), iv. 7-10, xi. 6-12,   <sup>2</sup> Observe such instances as 'the vision 18-23, xiii. 4-7, 19-21, xxi. 2, 3, xxiii. 1, of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam' in 2

uncanonical great work which it used as its authority contained very detailed notices of such prophets, and may consequently be supposed to have drawn its information from actual prophetic books of history (pp. 138 sq.). And thus the historian who can carefully sift the author's various accounts, and extract from them the precious grains of truth, will even here reap a harvest as the reward of his labours.

**4.** Of this great work, only the third part, already described p. 182, was probably at first admitted into the Canon, under the name of the Book of Ezra (subsequently also called the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah); because we find this part separated off as an independent work, not only in the Masoretic text, but also in the LXX.<sup>1</sup> The history of the New Jerusalem, which would naturally appear especially important in after-times, might easily be at first admitted alone into the Canon, especially as the Books of Samuel and Kings, if already admitted, would appear sufficient for the chief part of the history of old Jerusalem. Fortunately, however, for the fuller historical knowledge of antiquity, the two earlier divisions of the work also were subsequently received into the Canon. But apparently because the history of the New Jerusalem already existed in another canonical book, only the earlier portion of this history was copied in its original context on occasion of this admission into the Canon; and in token that the rest was to be found elsewhere, the narrative was broken off in the middle of a sentence, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 sq. (comp. Ezra i. 1, 2); a remarkable phenomenon, which however appears also in the LXX., and seems to admit of no other explanation.

#### *The Book of Esther.*

The Book of Esther, which was admitted among the canonical books of the Old Testament solely for its account of the feast of Purim, was certainly written somewhat later than the book we have just been considering. In its mode of treating an historical subject, also, it closes the cycle of old Hebrew history, and is already subject to the influence of an utterly different mode of regarding and treating history. We have indeed already seen how historical writing gradually burst its old bounds and took an artist's license to reanimate its subject-matter by means of a new thought. But the animating thought

Chr. ix. 29, of which unfortunately only the title and not the contents are given; the prophet Iddo in xii. 15, xiii. 22; and Hanani the prophet under king Asa in xvi. 7-10.

<sup>1</sup> But perhaps not so early as the author of the Apocryphal 3 Ezra, who at ii. 1 passes at once from 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21 to the Book of Ezra.

which then converted old fading traditions into pleasing new stories, sprang at all events from the living well of the old religion, and might therefore in favourable cases conjure up figures both beautiful and truly Hebrew. But the Book of Esther shows, for the first time, that even this well is beginning to dry up and be lost to the historian. Its story, though rendered attractive through art, highly cultivated of its kind, knows nothing of high and pure truths, but allows low calculations of expediency, the force of blind faith, and the caprice of passion, to reign supreme. We fall here as if from heaven to earth ; and looking among the new forms surrounding us, we seem to behold the Jews, or indeed the small men of the present day in general, acting just as they now do. Moreover through the entire narrative the author avoids, as if by design, mentioning the name of God ; either because the story was addressed to minds unwilling to be reminded of higher names and things, or rather that he himself remains to the end true to the same low view of things in which the general plan and spirit of this festal story took its rise ; a model narrator, at least for uniformity and consistency. But this, perfect and attractive as it may be of its kind, and in this case actually is, must nevertheless be regarded as the true termination of the Hebrew historical literature, or perhaps in some respects even as diametrically opposed to the true Hebrew conception of history. The fact that this book, which gave the best exposition of the meaning of the Purim feast, so highly esteemed in recent times, was therefore deemed worthy of a place beside the older books of the Canon, must not blind us to its real nature and wide diversity from all other historical books of the Old Testament, nor to the fact that it was written at a time already far removed from the spirit of the old religion.

The history of the proper historical literature of the Hebrews being now concluded, this and all later books will be more suitably considered as historical authorities, when we are engaged upon the latest epoch of the nation.

#### *Conclusion.—The Views of the Moderns regarding Antiquity.*

Looking back now at the close over the ground traversed, we can form some idea from this one example of historical development in the nation, how great that development must have been in other directions also. All possible species of historic writing, with the single exception of the purely critical, have been observed ; the youthful kind making the first trial of

its powers, the mature and cultivated, and the artificial in many gradations ; that of the State Annals with their lapidary style, and that which teems with graceful description ; the legal, the priestly, and the popular ; that which simply narrated, that which is lifted by prophetic thoughts to a poetical elevation, and that which reanimates its characters by freely putting speeches into their mouths ; the almost purposeless, and that which has the most definite aims ; the heavenly, and the utterly earthly. Historical composition attained its highest bloom under the first Kings, and retained this position for several centuries ; but its beginnings go back even to the age of Moses, and comprise certain extraneous pieces which appear to be of still earlier date. It passed through vicissitudes equal to those to which Arabic historic writing down to the time of Abulmá-hásin, Makrízí and Ibn-Chaldún was exposed, and showed itself more varied and plastic in its course, more rich and comprehensive in its acquired materials, than that. Here, therefore, standing at the very threshold of the history of the people, we have every reason to suppose that the nation also must have passed through many similar vicissitudes and stages of high cultivation ; for this it is which in every age is reflected in the working of the intellect in historical literature.

But at any rate, up to the time of the formation of the Old Testament Canon, historic writing did not reach a stage which in any strict sense deserves the name of a philosophic treatment of history. No complete discrimination between historic fact and mere tradition, which would lead to an undivided search after the former, had been effected, because the necessity of such distinction had never been deeply felt. And this defect, having subsisted during the most flourishing period of the People of Israel, was still less likely to be removed in the age of their final and utter decay, as will be further shown in the course of the history itself.

But wherever historic insight is not constantly gaining in systematic strictness, clearness, and rich variety, and preserved in all its purity, it must lose more and more of its transparency, certainty, and fulness, in direct proportion to the distance to which the period in question is removed from the present either in time or in vital interest. Hence the ideas held in later times on the ancient history of Israel, especially on the very earliest epoch, became increasingly vague and defective, and equally so among people of the most diverse faiths, among Jews, Samaritans, and Christians alike. It is true that the great events and deep experiences of any later age may throw back an un-

expected light over wide spaces of ancient history. And no sooner had Christianity appeared than many phases of concentrated antiquity shone with a warm glow never seen before. But still these are only occasional, if powerful streams of light, which pour over the surface, but cannot reach and brighten every part.

But yet the ancient history was of necessity brought into more constant and general use with the closer and closer attachment to the religion which it taught, and the wider extension which it thenceforth experienced through its own completion in Christianity. Consequently as the study of the history increased, the caprice with which it was used increased also; for it is only in the use of certain and clearly defined knowledge that consistency and freedom from caprice can always be maintained. And again, all parties and schools, however in other respects they differed among themselves, could not but agree in this free and capricious use of history; since the first Christians did not understand the proper application of the few but penetrating sayings of Christ himself which condemned this arbitrary method.

The application of the ancient sacred history was demanded by the feelings and wants of that age, far more than its correct description. It was applied in all imaginable ways,—in oral instruction at every step; in proof of all possible truths; in writings of the most various kinds, for warning, for reproof, for consolation; in books clothed in a prophetic dress, or in purely poetic ones; in forms moulded in imitation of the old Hebrew literature, or in such as were animated by the freer breath of the new age and especially by Greek art. Such writings issued mainly from the most active and impetuous tendencies of the time,—among the Jews from the Hellenists and other separatists, among the Christians from the Gnostics and other sects: but here and there they are also found among the established communities. An instance of this is furnished by the large work, the ‘Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,’<sup>1</sup> written by a genuine Pauline Christian, towards the beginning of the second century; filled with a powerful and noble spirit, it imitates Jacob’s Blessing, mentioned on pp. 69 sq., in taking as its text the sacred memories of the lives and characters of each of the twelve sons of Jacob.

<sup>1</sup> The reprint of this work in the *Codex Pseudepigr.* of J. A. Fabricius, V.T.I., pp. 496–759, scarcely does more than reproduce the earlier edition of Grabe, without rendering it superfluous. One cause which led the author to introduce Jacob’s twelve

sons as speakers, was doubtless the circumstance that St. Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin; the introduction of Benjamin thus permitting a natural allusion to the high historical importance of his great descendant.

But along with the flood of such writings, others also arose, which, with whatever motive undertaken, were intended to describe the ancient history simply as it was, and to make it known to contemporaries. The only comprehensive work of this kind preserved entire from the Grecian age, the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, though admirable in language and style, is destitute of all high and just views of history, and addicted to abusing any occasional freedom of treatment by the introduction of distasteful conceits, far-fetched and infelicitous conjectures, which betray only too clearly the Pharisee of that age.<sup>1</sup> On the earlier ages of the history it is difficult to discover in this work a single genuine grain of ancient tradition which was not already present in the canonical books of the Old Testament; and it is therefore most fortunate that the numerous attacks to which the work was exposed, subsequently induced the author to write the defence known as the *Two Books Against Apion*, in which he gives valuable extracts on the ancient history from books otherwise lost; for in the larger work he had given but few such. It is for the later period only that the works of Josephus are important. On the earlier times almost the only useful element in them are his extracts from former works. One book, the *Seder Olam (rabba)* has been preserved, which for the first time treated the chronology of the whole Old Testament history as a subject worth knowing for its own sake; it dates at the earliest from the middle or close of the second century after Christ.<sup>2</sup> This work, which in language and spirit may be compared with the best passages of the *Mishna*, was written in an age when Judaism, already totally dissevered from Christianity, was also separating itself from all Greek culture, in order to fall back rigidly upon the letter of the Old Testament. Though it does not exactly treat the historical contents of the Old Testament more arbitrarily than the Christians of the first two centuries did, and even carefully brings together all passages of those Scriptures which appear to possess any importance to the establishment of a single continuous chronology, yet through the utter caprice of its arrangement it clearly proves that no certainty can be attained by this method alone. And even its frequent ingenuity and its attempts to reduce all the facts of history to round and definite numbers, as well as to exhibit surprising analogies, must have often distorted the

<sup>1</sup> For instance, *Ant.* vi. 12. 8, where he expresses himself strongly against monarchy.

<sup>2</sup> Printed at Amsterdam 1699, together with the *Seder Olam Zutta* of much later date, and a very ample but unsatisfactory commentary by Johann Meyer. On the age of the work, see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, p. 85, 138.

truth. A similar judgment must be passed upon that part of the *Mishna* which relates to this subject. Let it not be thought that the Talmud contains none but true recollections of early times : for even in the *Mishna* we meet with a mode of refining upon difficult points of antiquity quite analogous to the so-called Rationalism of modern times.<sup>1</sup>

But there were other works also which united the two purposes of historical description and moral exhortation. Such a work is the *Book of Jubilees*, written by a Jewish hand, about the first century before Christ,<sup>2</sup> and much read by Christians afterwards. In modern times it was supposed to be irrecoverably lost, until the recent discovery of an Ethiopic translation.<sup>3</sup> The evident design of its strict exhortations is to recommend the accurate observance of the Sabbath with all the festal arrangements of the Old Testament ; but it also explains from history the meaning of all the sacred divisions of time, especially the Jubilees ; to this end breaking up the entire history of the world down to the giving of the law at Sinai into small periods,<sup>4</sup> everywhere half fancy and half truth.

Thus during the few centuries before and after Christ arose, even within the bounds of the ancient community, an extremely extensive and varied literature on the subject of the ancient history.<sup>5</sup> Very few of these works, however, have come down to us complete ; many are as yet only very imperfectly known ; and the very existence of many once popular works can only be inferred from certain indications, which do not even enable us to give their names or trace them with any certainty. This truth must be steadily borne in mind in reading the works which have come down to us : or else we shall miss the true

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the trifling explanation of the lifting of Moses' hands in Ex. xvii., and of the serpent in Numb. xxi., which is given by the פָּנָס הַשְׁמָר ch. iii. end. Even the Arabian Rabbis, as Saadia Tanchum, are often only triflers in Biblical exegesis : Ewald, *Ueber die Arabisch geschriebenen Werke Jüdischer Sprachgelehrten*, Stuttgart, 1844, p. 7 ; and in the Tübingen *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 574 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The first certain allusion to this book occurs as early as 4 Ezra xiv. 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Dillmann, with a dissertation on its age, in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 230 sqq. and iii. It was published in Ethiopic, also edited by Dillmann, at Kiel, 1859. On a recently discovered ancient Latin version, see *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1862, p. 2 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Hence seems to have arisen its other name, signifying in effect τὸ λεπτὸν (subtilia, minuta) τῆς Γενέσεως (comp. καὶ τὸ λεπτὸν διηγέοθαι and λεπτολογεῖν in Epiph. *Hær.* (li. 10, 12 sq. 30), and still more abbreviated ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, *Parva Genesis*; which however is ill-suited to a work of such extent. See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1860, p. 404 sq., and D'Abbadie's *Codd. Codd. Aethiop.* p. 133. The Ethiopians generally name the book *Kūfälæ*.

<sup>5</sup> Philo, at the commencement of his *Life of Moses*, refers to many highly-esteemed historical works, on Moses for instance, written by Jews, but not included among the sacred writings ; but his own works show how little of any importance respecting the ancient history could be gleaned from them.

meaning and importance of much which even they contain.<sup>1</sup> Moreover it is very possible, indeed often obvious, that many, and especially the earlier of these authors, made use of written records not admitted among the canonical books. We must not overlook even such authorities; though the most careful search will be rewarded with but few grains of gold in this increasingly desolate expanse. For it is most melancholy to perceive, that with the advance of time the correct understanding of the distinctive features and even of the sublimity of antiquity retrogrades. Of this many instances will come before us as we advance.

Before the expedition of Alexander, no Greek observer had specially noticed the peculiar manners and history of this recluse people; they were at that time confounded with the Syrians, Phoenicians, and Palestinians (or properly Philistines): even Herodotus neither visited their country nor learned anything definite about the people or their name, except that they were circumcised.<sup>2</sup> But as the Jews, and subsequently the Christians, became better known to the Greeks and Romans, some few writers among the latter gradually began to take some interest in the ancient history and peculiar customs of the Israelites. Few of these however were so free from prepossession against them as Aristotle<sup>3</sup> or Hecataeus of Abdera;<sup>4</sup> the greater number were hindered by the strong wall of existing prejudices against the nation from gaining any profound or comprehensive view of their history, as will be further shown in its proper place. A fresh impetus, both stronger and purer, to the study of this history, was felt by early Christianity. No sooner had the Christian Church gained a firm and peaceful footing in the world, than such men as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome turned their fresh energies to this sphere. Here we see the first serious preparation and prelude to a philosophic treatment of the Old

<sup>1</sup> Very little has as yet been correctly observed on the question how many and what uncannonical books are referred to in the New Testament; but it ought at length to be seen that much that is alluded to in the historical books and in the Epistles, especially that to the Hebrews, must necessarily come from writings which have not become canonical. It is usual to assume an oral tradition as the basis of such stories, without considering the utter impossibility of this assumption in the greater number of cases; for even if any view not found in the canonical books had been first formed in a school (which Philo assumes, ii. p. 81), yet it must have

been early reduced to writing. In the same way no one (as far as I know) has yet pointed out that in the Mishna we occasionally find passages of a much earlier date: as for instance in *Pirke Aboth* ii. 1, 2, some sayings which from their tone and style must be very ancient, possibly even derived from some early prophetic work.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Alterthümer*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> According to Clearchus, in Josephus' *Against Apion*, i. 22. This entire disquisition in Josephus is of importance.

<sup>4</sup> In Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 22; Eusebius, *Præp. Evangelica*, ix. 4; and Diod. Sic. i. 40, according to Photius.

Testament history. But it is notorious that all such efforts were then left incomplete, and that a long night of increasing darkness soon supervened. Through Islam this darkness became even denser ; since, with all its eagerness to catch up and remodel any traditions of Biblical antiquity which came in its way, it took them only from the mouth of the then living Jews and Christians, and not even from the best extant sources.<sup>1</sup> Owing its own birth to a neglect of history, Islam has never given birth to any true history.

We have now in the broad light of day to complete (what the best Fathers of the Church began) a philosophic history, the certainty and truth of which shall ultimately attract all alike—Jews and Mohammedans as well as Christians, scholars as well as soldiers and kings.

<sup>1</sup> These traditions are found collected in the great Islamicate Chronicles, beginning with that of Tabari, or as an introduction to the history of Muhammed ; see Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845, and my own remarks in the *Tübinger Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 571 sqq.

### SECTION III.

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

THE chronology of the history of an ancient nation, whether in its larger divisions, or in its entire extent, can never be secure and readily available as exact science, unless it is proved that during its national existence it employed a continuous and fixed computation of years (or Era) in specifying the order of events. Yet how long it is before a nation reaches this point at all! and how few of the nations of antiquity, despite their high culture in many other respects, ever understood the necessity of this art, simple and all-sufficient as it is! The great historical phenomena and events themselves may so entirely absorb the thoughts of a nation or other community, that for a long time they hardly find it necessary to look any further and enquire to what definite period of time they belonged. In Israel this deep interest in the internal life, and childlike disregard of the outside of history, was of long duration, induced and cherished as it was by historical position. Even in the New Testament age, the narratives of the Gospel-history long remained at this first stage of self-sufficing and homelike seclusion, until at length Luke began to find its place for it in the chronology of the great world. And ancient Israel rejoiced for centuries in its deliverance from Egypt and the bondage of Pharaoh, without even seriously asking the name of the Pharaoh under whom Moses rose up, or caring much in what year or even century he reigned. Where in the ordinary transactions of life a date could not be dispensed with, as in deeds concerning transfers of property, the ancient Israelites probably found it sufficient to count time by the years of their ruler. No such Israelitish document has indeed as yet been discovered; but this system was in use among the Egyptians, even as late as the age of the Ptolemies.<sup>1</sup> Before the Monarchy, one sort of supreme power in Israel possessed the requisite permanency to serve as

<sup>1</sup> Many Egyptian records of the kind interpreted, at least as far as the numbers have already been discovered and reliably are concerned.

a reference in counting the course of years—the High-priest's office ; and this it could do even when greatly reduced in power.<sup>1</sup> But when in much later times documents such as these were appealed to, it would be necessary in the first instance to obtain from some master of the science a determination of the time when any given ruler lived ; and thus a system seemingly simple proved itself in the end particularly technical and complicated. Extraordinary events also, whether joyous or grievous, not unfrequently served as chronological landmarks, as we clearly see in some examples taken from common life.<sup>2</sup> But no one such date remained long enough in the national memory to become permanent. Thus during the whole period in which Israel flourished as a nation, no one era ever came into continuous and general use.

**I.** But it would be a mistake to infer from this that the ancient Israelites possessed no means of counting the course of years. They were assuredly not so barbarous as this ; and in every civilised state the necessity of a continuous survey of the years is felt at every step. Computations of years, reaching back very far, were especially required for the settlement of the annual festivals and the entire calendar.<sup>3</sup> In the ancient world generally, and in Egypt especially, this work was the duty of the Priesthood ;<sup>4</sup> and so it doubtless was in Israel. Moreover the Sabbatical and Jubilee years of the Israelites, which were undoubtedly faithfully observed in the earliest ages, introduced the further necessity of computing long series of years (Cycles). As the Priests thus had to compute very various and sometimes extensive periods, we can see no reason why they should not have possessed a permanent chronology.<sup>5</sup>

The mode in which the Book of Origins marks time furnishes

<sup>1</sup> The great excitement occasioned in early times by the death of a High-priest and the consequent inauguration of a successor, and the marked epoch formed by these events, may be imagined from the indications explained in my *Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, p. 197, 425.

<sup>2</sup> Amos i. 1; comp. Zech. xiv. 5; the case briefly mentioned above (p. 52) may have been a similar one in primeval times; a third instance is that of Ezekiel's reckoning from the captivity of King Jehoachin, i. 2, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Especially as distinct traces are perceptible of two beginnings to a year; one of which at least (that maintained by the Priests) required a scientific calculation. See my *Alterthümer*, p. 394 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Egyptian priests we have the important description in Clemens Alexan-

drinus, *Strom.* vi. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The calculation of centuries would be much easier if the fiftieth year were always the year of Jubilee; see my *Alterthümer*, p. 415 sq. The later Jewish scholars generally fixed the fiftieth and not the forty-ninth as the Jubilee year; as we see plainly by the *Seder Olam rabba*, c. xi.; Philo's *Quæstiones in Genesim* xvii. 1 seq. apud Aucher, ii. p. 209; *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, vii. 36, and other authorities; see my *Alterthümer*, p. 419. The Book of Jubilees, however, reckons by jubilees of precisely seven weeks, i. e. of forty-nine years; but this is only a learned fancy of treating and reckoning the whole ancient history as sacred, as if some special sanctity lay in the constantly-recurring number seven.

each other. But in both these cases of parallelisms we trace a later hand; and those so-called synchronisms appear from all available indications to have been only imported by the learned into the history after the total destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The earliest Hebrew writer known to have employed a foreign (i.e. non-Israelite) chronology is Ezekiel, living in the middle of the Babylonian captivity; yet even he scarcely ventures to put the foreign beside the native chronology at the very front of his work.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore only where a foreign history or chronology comes into some contact with the history of Israel that any comparison can be instituted. Every combination of the kind that can be safely made, cannot but be extremely welcome and useful here. For the latter half of the history we have at command many points of comparison with the history of the Phoenicians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans and the Greeks, which help to clear up many obscurities. But for the first half of this history, i.e. the period before David and Solomon, these sources, so far as we yet know them, fail us almost totally.<sup>2</sup> At present therefore the Egyptian chronology alone possesses for both divisions of the history considerable, and for the earlier unrivalled, importance. Manetho's numbers as yet stand alone to vouch for the whole early history of Egypt and the countries of Western Asia; and from the close connection existing at many important points between the histories of Israel and of Egypt, they will be found of the greatest use to us. Lately too, the secrets of the ancient Egyptian inscriptions and papyri have been disclosed in increasing numbers and accuracy; and it is generally names and dates upon these which can be deciphered with the greatest certainty. Nevertheless we must beware of incautious or excessive reliance upon this authority, so far as it is yet accessible and appears uncorrupt. For though the Egyptians from the earliest times displayed the greatest capacity for numbers and calculations, and loved the abstruse arts of that department, yet even they employed as yet no permanent chronological era in common life. For ordinary purposes they reckoned time by the years of the reigning king; and the larger numbers preserved from their schools contain only the frequently ingenious computations of the learned.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my *Propheten*, ii. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> The whole fourth volume of Bunsen's *Egyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* refers to this subject.

<sup>3</sup> See Lepsius's great work *Die Chrono-*

*logie der Ägypter*, vol. i., Berlin, 1849; to this still incomplete work, his *Königsbuch der alten Ägypter*, Berlin, 1858, also on a very large scale, serves as a supplement. Böckh, in *Mанто und die Hundsstern-*

**3.** But beyond the mere numbers of years there have come down to us, amid the mass of historical materials, various other supports for the chronology which are deserving of attention.

Such a support would have been furnished by the mention of the observance of the Sabbatical, and yet more of the Jubilee years, if such mention were frequent, or indeed occurred at all. These Sabbatical and Jubilee years were unquestionably actually observed by the nation, during at least the first few centuries of their possession of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> If therefore one or more of these years were noticed in the history, and the date of the commencement of the series were also known, we should possess some fixed supports for the chronology. And in fact something of this kind was assumed by the learned Jews of later times who examined the ancient chronology as a whole. The author of the *Seder Olam rabba* (p. 200) teaches that the residence of Israel in Canaan prior to the first expulsion amounted to exactly seventeen Jubilees, or 850 years; and in accordance with this general assumption all special details were computed. It was taught, for instance, that the building of Solomon's Temple occurred exactly in the middle of a Jubilee-period, the finding and publication of the law of Moses under Josiah at the very commencement of the last, and the deportation of king Jehoiachin exactly in the middle of this last Jubilee-period.<sup>2</sup> But it justly excites our surprise to find these late writers speaking so exactly of things never mentioned with these details in the old historical works, nor even by Josephus. We need not indeed be much surprised to find no notice taken by the historical reporters of these great epochs in the earliest ages when they were undoubtedly observed, inasmuch as the accounts preserved of those early times are throughout extremely brief. But if during the more fully described periods of history (viz., the times of the Kings) all these years of rest were really observed with the accuracy which these later writers pretend, it cannot but appear strange that no single observance of them, either during the building of the Temple or on any other occasion, is recorded. In the time of the New

*periode* (Berlin, 1845), attempted to extend this theory of artificially devised numbers, so far as to show the entire history of Egypt up to Menes to be arranged according to the Sothic cycle; this is very properly disputed by Lepsius. See also the critiques on the works of Lepsius and others on this subject, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1850, pt. 83; 1851, p. 425 sqq.; 1852, p. 1153 sqq.; 1858, p. 1441 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Alterthümer*, p. 411 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Seder Olam R. c. xi. 16, 23, 24, 25*. The time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib is placed by this work (ch. xxii.) in the 11th year of a Jubilee-cycle, therefore not immediately before a Sabbath-year, with an explanation of the words of Isaiah xxxvii. 30, which expressly avoids referring these to a Sabbath or Jubilee-year.

Jerusalem on the contrary, when at least the Sabbatical year was actually observed, Josephus mentions it quite naturally wherever it had any influence on the course of history;<sup>1</sup> for the seventh year's fallow, observed as strictly as it seems to have been, from about the time of Ezra and the Maccabees, had a remarkable influence upon many social arrangements, occasioning especially the demand to omit the land-tax for that year. Now it may possibly be of some use to note one of the years of this period, which was kept as a sabbath, as by reckoning from thence backward and again backward, we may be enabled to draw some sort of conclusion respecting earlier times also. If however, in the later age the seventh year only was observed, and no notice was taken of the Jubilee and the fifty years cycle, the calculation thence deduced would not without modification admit of application to the early times. Moreover we are ignorant of many preliminary points essential for carrying through such a calculation with any great degree of certainty. As to the Rabbinical assumptions mentioned above, we can only suppose that they sprang from the well-known mode of dealing with the Old Testament adopted by the Rabbis; who hunted up supports, actual or apparent, furnished by isolated sentences of Holy Writ, in order to establish their pre-conceived opinion, and were thus, through assumptions more witty than truthful, betrayed further and further into error.<sup>2</sup> To gain firm ground here, independent of Rabbinical subtleties, we should require at the outset very different authorities and auxiliaries from those now at our command.

The numerous genealogical tables, of greater or less extent, scattered throughout the Old Testament, and in part elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> furnish another support to the chronology. For by taking twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 2. 4; *Antiquities*, xiii. 8. 1, xiv. 10. 6, 16. 2, xv. 1. 2. See *Tac. Hist.* v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear from the above-cited passages of the *Seder Olam R.*, that the two passages in Ezekiel i. 1, 2 and xl. 1 served as starting-points: the expression וְיָמִין נַעֲמָן (xl. 1), was explained as the commencement of a Jubilee-cycle (but it can signify only the beginning of a single year, though certainly in a somewhat extended sense, and not to be restricted to the first day or first hour only); then the thirtieth year mentioned in i. 1, was interpreted of the thirtieth year of the preceding cycle (which is nowhere even remotely indicated), and so the conclusion was arrived at, that the year of the Restoration of the Law by Josiah was the first year of the last Jubilee-cycle before the Captivity. The

Duke of Manchester (in his work *The Times of Daniel*, London, 1846), has recently attempted to support a similar assumption by the passages Jer. xxviii. 1, 3, xxxiv. 8-11, as if these numbers and words applied necessarily to Sabbatical years, but without at all proving that they really have the signification which he attaches to them. We know besides from other sources that in the learned schools of the early Rabbis a great desire prevailed to reduce the entire ancient chronology to Jubilee-cycles. The *Book of Jubilees*, mentioned p. 201, only endeavours to carry out for the entire pre-Mosaic period what others had attempted for the post-Mosaic.

<sup>3</sup> See how in a later age the *Protev. Jacobi* c. 1, and Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 7, speak on this subject.

five to thirty years as the average length of a generation in ordinary historical times, we can fill up many gaps in the chronology. And there is no doubt that such genealogies were very constantly kept, at least in periods of settled government. We are not, indeed, distinctly informed whether all new-born children were at once registered by the priests; but we know that lists were kept of the houses of the priests and of others of about equal rank through both parents;<sup>1</sup> and that of all the members of the community without exception accurate census and muster-rolls were taken.<sup>2</sup> But great havoc may very likely have been made in these registers from time to time, through political commotions and the dispersion of the people;<sup>3</sup> and the tables in the Books of Chronicles, with all their richness, are transmitted to us with abbreviations so serious as often to occasion obscurity (see pp. 180 sqq.). Here then great caution is requisite throughout. Moreover the genealogies for long periods are very likely (according to pp. 24 sq.) reduced to round numbers, which demand still greater caution. Abbreviations of this kind are found down even to quite late times.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless a complete and accurate comparison of all such tables may very possibly yield some results even to the chronology.

**¶**. All these circumstances unite to prove the great difficulty of establishing a chronology which shall embrace the whole history of the nation, a difficulty which is especially felt in the earlier period. To these considerations must be added the especial liability of numbers to be mistaken and changed by the transcriber.<sup>5</sup> The antiquity of the Hebrew nation passed away without leaving any satisfactory answer to the historian's questions on these points; and although the Book of Origins presents a general view of the chronology very admirable for the early age of which it treats, yet in the following centuries the decay of the historic spirit manifested itself in a want of accurate attention to the chronology also. In the age of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Josephus *On his own Life*, ch. 1, end; *Against Apion*, ii. 7. The small פְּנִימָה or Book of Generations (this common Rabbinical title answers to the בְּנֵי mentioned above, p. 180 note, and is found as early as the M. *Jebamoth*, iv. 13), given by Josephus of himself, contains something singular.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. my *Alterthümer*, p. 350 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 64; even if what Africanus says (apud Eusebium, *Hist. Ecol.* i. 7) of a burning of the genealogies by Herod, is not to be taken literally.

<sup>4</sup> As in 4 Ezra i. 1-3 only just twenty generations are reckoned from Aaron to Ezra; and as Ibn-Chaldun mentions from his own experience a reduction of about twenty generations to ten; *Journ. Asiatic* 1847, i. p. 444; ii. p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> It is a theory incapable of proof, that in ancient MSS. the numbers were expressed only by letters of the alphabet, and therefore so frequently interchanged; but no other words are in themselves so liable to interchange in writing as the names of numbers.

Greek and Oriental supremacy, indeed, there early arose in the learned schools of Alexandria an energetic desire to regard with a more strictly philosophical eye the whole history, and with it the chronology also, of the Eastern nations ; and as this zeal spread to the Hellenists also, a certain Demetrius, probably either a Jew or a Samaritan living in Egypt as early as the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, about B.C. 210, attempted to form a more accurate chronology of the ancient history of Israel.<sup>1</sup> But such attempts were too isolated to lead to any permanent results. This is very distinctly seen in Fl. Josephus, who, while displaying less aptitude for chronology than for any other branch of historical investigation, understands its importance as well as the Greek historians, and yet is nowhere guided by any firmly-grounded view on the subject, and consequently sways to and fro in utter indecision.<sup>2</sup> Still less certainty, however, is exhibited by the Rabbis of a still later time (see pp. 200 sq.). Christian scholars of the second, third, and fourth centuries were the first to take up these studies anew. The subject of chronology was first briefly touched upon by Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, in his Oration to the Greeks, and then more definitely by Theophilus of Antioch, in the second, and yet more in the third book addressed to Autolycus ; in which, however, he does not adopt any really philosophic method, to bring the various dates into harmony, but rather aims merely to show the great antiquity of the Old Testament books and history. But Africanus and Eusebius of Cæsarea, who followed next, strove with philosophic earnestness to bring the Biblical chronology into accordance with that of other nations, and Africanus especially brought to this task remarkable diligence and acuteness. But this, like all other philosophic enquiries respecting the Bible, remained at that time incomplete. The writers of the Middle Ages paid still less attention to chronology ; Syrian and some other writers, however, have preserved many isolated dates, transmitted from ancient authorities.<sup>3</sup> At last in modern times the investigation of the entire subject was again resumed, and pursued anew from the very beginning.

The later scholars of antiquity were least successful in their

<sup>1</sup> See the extracts from his work preserved by Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21, 29, and in Clementis *Strom.* i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> We ought certainly in the writings of Josephus to make allowance for many alterations of the text made, often inten-

tionally, by later readers, and not make him personally responsible for all contradictions ; though even then a sufficient number remain unexcused.

<sup>3</sup> As in Lagarde's *Anal. Syr.* (1858), p. 120, 18 sqq.

attempts to establish a general chronology embracing all ancient history, frequently as such attempts were made, for various reasons. Fl. Josephus was of opinion that more than 5,000 years had elapsed from the Creation to his own day: others reckoned exactly 5,500 years between Adam and Christ;<sup>1</sup> but none of these views originate in any accurate philosophic investigation of the subject. In the Bible itself, the remains of the Book of Origins certainly present a continuous chronology down to the building of Solomon's Temple, according to p. 82. But even respecting some portions of that period there are other Biblical accounts at variance with its computations; and for the entire period following the building of the Temple the canonical books contain no computation of a chronological total at all. The Bible itself therefore, with its many various parts lying before us, rather incites to such a calculation than accomplishes it for us. We must be satisfied, if only from the actual commencement of the history of Israel as a nation, we can lay down a chronology correct in all its general features.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to an ancient Apo- xxviii. end. Those who reckoned by cryphon and with a discrimination of the Jubilees laid down the whole history separate periods, in Evang. Nicodemi, ch. differently by their peculiar art.

## SECTION IV.

## TERRITORY OF THIS HISTORY.

## I. PHYSICAL ASPECT.

MANY writers have tried to persuade themselves and others that the soil makes the people: that the Bavarians or the Saxons were destined by their soil to become what they now are; that Protestant Christianity does not suit the warm south, nor Roman Catholicism the northern latitudes, and much more to this effect. Such scholars as interpret history only by their own scanty knowledge, or even by their narrow minds and bleared sight, would try to convince us, too, that the nation of this history must have possessed some attribute or other, rightly or wrongly assumed to belong to it, because it inhabited Palestine, and not India or Greece. But if such reasoners would consider that in antiquity this very soil maintained nations, religions, and civilisations of the greatest imaginable diversity in the narrowest compass, and that between every one of its ancient and its present population the difference is infinite, although the soil has remained the same, they would see how little it is the ground alone that creates a nation and a distinctive stage of civilisation. In every land, except perhaps a Greenland or a Terra del Fuego, powers springing from a different source elevate a people to that stage in which the nobler forces of its mind have free play; and when these have once begun to act, then, if not afterwards utterly stifled, they free the nations more and more from the bonds of the soil and work out everywhere results similar in the main. The differences which remain after all, and must be ascribed to the special influence of each country, only resemble the different colours in the honey gathered by the bees from the different flowers of various lands. But these powers, even when precluded from free development, act upon the nation in their very perversion and obscuration far more forcibly than the position and properties of its clod of earth ever can, as is proved in the history of both ancient and modern nations. Only at the very beginning possibly, and in the lower spheres of his existence, is man fully exposed to the influences of the soil.

But of course a favouring soil can do much to raise a nation speedily and easily by internal energies above the first difficulties of its existence to a stage in which its higher powers have free play. In later times, when the intellectual forces, having once been excited and openly exerted, pass from land to land, and can never more be utterly annihilated or repudiated, the soil is so inoperative upon the status of a nation that these forces often attain their highest perfection even in countries least befriended by nature. But before such powers were matured and diffused, the case must have been very different. It may be truly said that in the earliest ages of human history certain lands seem predestined by their advantageous position to elevate their inhabitants speedily, without foreign impulse or aid, to the higher stage of intellectual life, and to prefigure in miniature, in bold attempts and the play of youthful power, the career to be afterwards more slowly and deliberately run on a larger scale by the human race in general. And among those few lands upon which the morning star of creation shone brightest, Palestine must certainly be included, and indeed admitted to possess some peculiar advantages over all the rest.

1. This is not the place to describe the earth and sky of this strip of land, or their joint influence upon the products of the soil, the animal creation, or the mere physical conditions of human life connected with the bodily constitution, the habitation, and clothing of man. These things are in many respects the easiest to understand, and some of them have been already treated of. To turn, then, to their influence upon the intellectual life of man: the warm climate of the country, the exuberant fertility of its soil, which did not even, like that of Egypt, require the expenditure of much laborious art,<sup>1</sup> and its proximity to lands the wealth and various treasures of which could readily supply any deficiencies of its own, must here, earlier than in many other parts, have raised man above the first hard struggle for the necessaries of life, set his mind free from bondage to the earth, and given him leisure for higher efforts. But this fruitful land is really only a broad strip of sea-coast,<sup>2</sup> bounded on every side by the wide and terrible deserts of Arabia, with which its inhabitants were therefore always well acquainted either by personal experience or description. Here, as in the analogous case of Egypt, this position, keeping always before

<sup>1</sup> This is noticed in Deuteronomy xi. 10-12, as an advantage possessed by the Holy Land even over Egypt, productive as that had been rendered by human skill.

sense, i.e. to the Jordan, is often in elevated writing 'נֶגֶד, the coast'; Isaiah xx.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore, Palestine in the narrower sense, i.e. to the Jordan, is often in elevated writing 'נֶגֶד, the coast'; Isaiah xx.

6; like الساحل for instance, in the histories of the Crusades.

their eyes the contrast of want and superfluity, of death and life, must early have roused men's minds to reflect upon the hidden powers of life, and to feel deeper gratitude to the gods.<sup>1</sup> Thus even the most opposite forces here cooperated to elevate men early to a beginning of free thought and life. How powerfully men's minds were filled and moulded, especially in this early age, by their experience of the Deity, as alternately giving and withholding, and yet in the end wonderfully delivering, is still clearly seen in the story of that Patriarch who typifies the goodness of ordinary people. Isaac having even as a child with difficulty escaped a violent death,<sup>2</sup> settles as a man on the borders of the desert, and has to maintain a long strife for the possession of some hardly-gotten wells,<sup>3</sup> but is rewarded in the end by the distinguished favour of heaven, exhibited in the hundredfold increase of his corn.<sup>4</sup> Of similar import are the touching stories of Hagar and Ishmael in the desert: they seem hopelessly crushed by the inexorable hand of famine, but yet at the last moment are reached by the good providence of that God whose bounty fails not even in the barren desert.<sup>5</sup>

At the very dawn of history Palestine and Egypt always stand up clear out of the mists of earliest memories as civilised lands. When Abraham first entered the Holy Land,<sup>6</sup> so says tradition, the Canaanites already dwelt there. Now these very Canaanites appear at once, even in this earliest twilight of history, as fully civilised tribes, dwelling in cities and villages; a sign that the Hebrew tradition itself could not remember a time when Palestine was not a civilised country, though the Israelite Patriarchs were invariably pictured as not having yet attained the blessing of any fixed abode there. Homer also unmistakably regards the Sidonians and Egyptians as nations of a very peculiar and advanced culture, which the Greeks could then rather admire at a distance than emulate.<sup>7</sup>

**2.** But in close proximity with this rapid elevation to a finer culture, we early perceive also a dangerous over-culture and

<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient here to recall the significance which was attached to *Manna* in the earliest Mosaic religion, as will be explained farther on; and to note that many of the oldest and finest Suras of the Koran are full of profound utterances on this subject, and that nothing in the Koran is described with so much truth as the gratitude owed by necessitous man to the Deity.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> The Biblical story here is most closely

approached by an Arabian one from the first century of the Hegira; Ham. p. 15-17, comp. with the songs of similar meaning in the same work, p. 122, 4 sqq. from below, 292 v. 2 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxvi. 12-33.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxi. 14-19, xvi. 7-14.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Iliad, vi. 290-2, xxiii. 742-5; Odyssey, xiii. 285, xv. 414 sqq.; Iliad, ix. 381 sqq.; Od. iv. 125 sqq. 351 sqq.

over-refinement, a rapid degeneracy and deep moral corruption. If it is a universal law that the fall into corruption is deep in proportion as the stage previously reached in civilisation and art was high, because the arts of refinement themselves become ministers of vice, then we may infer from the early traces of great moral perversion cleaving to this land as an hereditary disease, the high stage of culture which it must have attained in the earliest times. It is true, the stories in Genesis of the sins of Sodom, and the impudence of Canaan the son of Ham, and the hateful origin of Moab and Ammon,<sup>1</sup> form a series of intimately connected ideas of primeval history, familiar only to the Fourth and Fifth Narrators: and the strong pictures given by the Prophets of the sins of Sodom certainly belong to no earlier age.<sup>2</sup> But the strictest history must, for reasons afterwards explained, allow that long before the time of Moses the Canaanites were very corrupt. The indigenous Canaanite human sacrifice, which was transplanted by the Phoenicians to Carthage, and there kept up to the latest times, was no sign of the barbarity common to uncultivated warlike tribes, but of the artificial cruelty often arising from excessive polish and over-indulgence.

Amid all the changes of time the moral corruption generated by the seductive charms of such a culture is with difficulty lost in the land of its birth. As in the Middle Ages complaints were early rife of the perilous degeneracy of the Crusaders in the land they had subjugated, so we here see that the Hebrews, the earliest known conquerors of the same land, were not unaffected by its influences. An effeminacy and depravity of life, not unlike that of the Canaanites, and doubtless promoted in part by the remnant of the early inhabitants, spread to a people which, through their entire nature and laws, ought to have been most proof against it,—at first indeed only partially and occasionally,<sup>3</sup> but subsequently more generally and irresistibly. The Prophets of the post-Davidical age bewail this much; but nowhere is a more striking picture given of this spreading depravity and its causes than in the song in Deut. xxxii.

**3.** But if in other equally favoured lands, as for instance Egypt, such inversions of civilisation may possibly for ages scatter their poison undisturbed, eating into the very vitals of the nation, Palestine has always from the first had numerous

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xviii., ix. 20–27, xix. 30–38.

<sup>2</sup> The first prophet who thus speaks of it is Isaiah; for Amos iv. 11, and Hosea xi. 8, had mostly in view only the destruction of the cities in the Jordan circle; and by Hosea, Gibeah was regarded as the

great example of sin in ancient days; ix. 9, x. 9.

<sup>3</sup> That this is the only proper way of viewing Gibeah's infamous crime (Judges xix.) will be made clear afterwards.

and still more powerful antidotes in the desolations by physical agencies, to which this land is exposed with a frequency and severity perhaps unknown to any similar country. Among these are to be named, primarily, destructive earthquakes, to which it has at all times been exposed,<sup>1</sup> from its position on the track of this mysterious power from the Caspian Sea to Sicily; frequent and most ruinous inundations;<sup>2</sup> the unchecked rage of desolating storms and dreadful hot winds from the Arabian desert;<sup>3</sup> a temperature not calm and equable like that of Egypt, but liable to violent shocks and dangerous changes, producing incalculable mischief and long-continued unfruitfulness of the soil;<sup>4</sup> the plague of locusts, and ravages occasioned by the dreadful increase of scorpions and similar creatures;<sup>5</sup> numerous diseases, some destroying life quickly, like the plague,<sup>6</sup> and others appalling through their slow but sure development, like the various species of leprosy;<sup>7</sup> and lastly the extreme instability of property and life, in consequence, as we shall explain hereafter, of the incessant incursions of enemies. These and other hardships of this land acted as inexorable disturbers of the growing effeminacy. In them the inhabitants might not unreasonably see pressing divine warnings and exhortations to turn from all the errors of their ways. This influence was naturally strongest in the earliest ages, before men had gradually learned to overcome, whether by art or by religion, the terrors of nature.<sup>8</sup>

This, however, gives no more than the mere possibility of

<sup>1</sup> This is of course often alluded to in the Bible; but while within the circle of tradition it is mentioned only in connection with Sodom, and perhaps with similar intention on occasion of the sin of Korah in Numbers xvi. 32-34, and historically only in Amos i. 1, where Amos speaks of a great earthquake under King Uzziah (the same to which a later prophet once pedantically refers back. Zech. xiv. 5), we know from the experience both of the Middle Ages and of modern times, that the Biblical descriptions certainly flowed from living experiences.

<sup>2</sup> See Amos viii. 8, ix. 5, and the descriptions of modern travellers; it is no mere chance, that among the plagues of Egypt *earthquake* as well as *inundation* is absent.

<sup>3</sup> Job i. 18; Zech. ix. 14; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xvii. 10; xix. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Consider only the vivid descriptions in Amos iv. 6-11; Jer. xiv., and in the traditions of Patriarchal times in Gen. xii. 10, xxvi. 1, xl. sq.

<sup>5</sup> On this point it is sufficient to under-

stand rightly the Book of Joel. Spots almost uninhabitable on account of scorpions are still found in those parts; see Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> For although a 'plague like the plagues of Egypt' is a proverb in Palestine (Amos iv. 10), yet we know from both ancient and modern history, how much reason Palestine has to dread these very plagues.

<sup>7</sup> On this see the history itself, and for the laws respecting leprosy, see my *Altärthümer*, p. 179 sq.

<sup>8</sup> The earliest prophets, Joel and Amos, speak on this point as if wholly carried away by natural terror, and always just as immediate experience prompted; even Isaiah speaks only what time and place necessarily suggested; long and terrific descriptions of all possible plagues, wrought in one grand picture, as if one or few were insufficient, are first found in Levit. xxvi. 14-45 (see p. 118 sq.) and in Deut. xxviii. 15-58.

receiving a warning from the voice of the Invisible and Divine Being who permits no mockery of himself; and these voices, like all others, may be unheeded when there exists no firm basis of truth nor aspiration towards it. The Canaanites did not long allow these voices to terrify them out of their moral supineness and low views of life; and even Israel at the later period of its culture received no benefit from them. But when a nation, such as Israel was during the first period of its settlement in Canaan—already planted on an indestructible basis of spiritual truth, and as yet essentially uncorrupted and susceptible of all pure impressions, had before its eyes such incessant terrific warnings, we can well understand how powerfully these might tend to preserve the people from the entrance of the dissolving and corroding influences, and to give to its character that firmness in meeting danger, that readiness of apprehension and teachableness of spirit, the combination of which is the condition of all healthy progress.

## II. RELATIONS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES.

When we look round from the land itself to the position its population occupies relative to other lands more or less closely surrounding it, we must not fall into the error of imagining that its position in ancient times was the same as in these modern times, when the land, apparently for ever desolate and depopulated, attracts no eye beyond that of the distant pilgrim, or the booty-loving Bedouin, who soon hastens back to his desert, or of the Egyptian neighbour, scarcely less greedy for mere booty and for a good boundary; when, moreover, it has become a mere cypher in the system of large empires, and has long ceased to be a prize vigorously fought for and obstinately defended for its own sake. The land for which Israel journeyed and fought during forty years, and which the Decalogue, the earliest document of that time of wandering, exalts as the land of every hope, and the most beautiful into which Jahve will lead His people;<sup>1</sup> that too, in which after Moses, it was the constant desire of the people and the blessing promised from above that they might settle and dwell in peace;<sup>2</sup> that land must then have been not only far more cultivated and fruitful, but also more difficult to conquer and to hold, than it now is. The question then is, what causes combined to render this land so desirable

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16.

i. 19; Jer. xxv. 5; xxxv. 15; Ps. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. 8, &c.; Prov. x. 30; Isaiah 3 sq.

and so admired ; for it may be assumed that Israel was not the only one of its numerous populations which felt so towards it.

**I.** The first reason is doubtless that the whole broad southern slope of Lebanon is a district blessed with a fertility extraordinary of its kind. Between Egypt and the northern declivity of Lebanon, between the wide deserts to the south and east, and the 'unfruitful salt wave' (in the language of Homer) on the west, there is no spot which could so excite the lust of conquest as these mountains and valleys of inexhaustible fertility and spontaneous productiveness ; while these very mountains, together with the local position of the country, made its defence easy in those early days. But the rush of nations eager for the possession of such cynosures of the earth, circumscribed in size but inestimable in value, must have been greatest during the earliest ages. As the German nations of old no sooner heard distinct reports of the charms of the South than they steadily turned their eyes and desires thither, so in much earlier times the Semitic nations far and wide learned to look to this land as a garden planted on earth by heaven. The early Arabian history is full of stories of fierce and bloody contests urged for the possession of the smallest oasis, of a stream, or even of a well ; but here was an extensive garden of earth opened to the contest of mighty nations. Possibly also seafarers from the opposite European islands might assail the alluring land from the coast, and partially occupy it.

For besides the mere fruitfulness of its soil, this land affords other especial advantages to those who once obtain possession of the whole, or even of some portion of it. But these will be so often alluded to in various portions of the history, especially that of the conquest of Canaan, that a short notice of them will suffice here. The mountains, defiles, ravines, and caves in which the country abounds, afford the inhabitants excellent and various means of defence, so that a nation well prepared to employ such advantages may feel firm and secure in possession. While Egypt and other fruitful plains beside great rivers readily become the prey of every conqueror, the gracious deities who endowed this land with rich abundance, also appeared like fierce mountain gods guarding their heights with utmost jealousy, and beating back with fury the invading foe.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants probably seldom grew so effeminate throughout the land as not to hold themselves constantly in an attitude of military defence at many points especially favourable to warlike operations, or at least easily to resume warlike habits. Whereas Egypt was

<sup>1</sup> Kings xx. 23-28.

of old and is now a land of slaves, Lebanon, together with its southern slope, seems, despite of all other changes which time has wrought, still to produce the same indomitable lovers of freedom as it did thousands of years ago. Moreover a nation which kept strictly to the western side of the Jordan could secure its frontiers with tolerable efficiency, by defending the northern approaches and guarding the few fords of the Jordan, since in the south the desert afforded protection against an enemy.

**2.** But although separated from Egypt by an extensive desert, yet from the general position of surrounding nations, Canaan stands towards that country in a relation which has from the earliest times drawn upon it the weightiest consequences. For Egypt, an extraordinarily cultivated and highly fertile land, exercised upon the northern tribes a power of attraction greater, if possible, than that of Canaan, and, though the most distant, was the most alluring link in the chain of southern lands that attracted this migration. In prehistoric times a stream of nations poured down from the north upon Egypt, like those of Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks and Turks, who in later times approached it by the same route, and either tried to subjugate it or actually did subjugate it. This is proved in the prehistoric history of all these nations and languages,<sup>1</sup> and will presently be illustrated by an important instance occurring in the pre-Mosaic age. Palestine here lies in the way; and it is possible that many a tribe, intending to go to Egypt, may have remained in Palestine (as is said of Abraham, Gen. xx.), or may have been afterwards driven back upon Palestine (as happened to the Hyksos, and subsequently to Israel under Moses). As Palestine thus became the key of Egypt, it very early became necessary to the latter to keep her eyes on the former, and carefully watch her condition. A strong and united power in Palestine formed the best barrier between Egypt and the northern nations, and its friendship upon equal terms would be courted by Egypt, as actually took place during the reigns of David and Solomon. But when Palestine was weakened by internal discord, Egypt might for her own security begin to think of conquering either the whole of Palestine as far as Lebanon, or at least the fortresses and seaports on the south-west. This last case would especially occur when the ruling power in Egypt had its seat in the north of that country and practised navigation, as under Psammeti-

<sup>1</sup> See the second of my *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Göttingen, 1862), p. 74 sq.

chus and his successors, under the Tulunites, the Fatemites, Ajjubites, and the Mamelukes. Thus Palestine is always in some degree fettered to the fortunes of Egypt, and although Israel cherished against Egypt at times a deadly hatred, comparable only to the rancour of brother against brother, yet the inevitable tendencies of nations have always brought them back into a very intimate mutual relation. But when great empires were formed, too large to have their centre of gravity on this strip of coast, and obliged to fix it either in Africa or further towards the interior of Asia, Palestine was never able to maintain herself as a strong independent kingdom, and became a constant apple of discord between Asia and Africa.

3. It appears from all this, how by a combination of most various causes, this strip of coast became from the earliest times a meeting-place for the most diverse nationalities, and how one nation here pressed incessantly upon another, and not one, however small its territory might be, could long enjoy its power in peace. Let it not be supposed that this constant jostling of nations in and around Canaan ceased with the Israelite conquest, or even with the establishment of David's government. No doubt it was greater in the earlier times; but it continued after David, whenever the power of the dominant people was at all relaxed, and is traced down even into the Mohammedan times. The land also, notwithstanding its small extent, possesses such great diversities of aspect and site, and offers such numerous and manifold means of defence, that no one nation could ever easily root out all the others, as might happen in the valley of the Nile, or even reduce them to permanent subjection. Indeed the truth of this can be actually verified from observation of the perplexed relations of the different nationalities and faiths living there side by side at the present day. Any nation, therefore, which, amid this confusion within and danger without, tried to maintain its position with vigour, and compete with other civilised nations, would require the constant straining of all its resources both physical and mental, and even after its first victorious entrance into the land, would still have to pass through many various stages of development and elevation. Nowhere perhaps is the exhortation to constant watchfulness and improvement so powerfully prompted as here by the inexorable pressure of absolute want in the midst of abundance; and indeed the Prophets never hold out warnings of physical ills only, but of war and conquest too.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect Palestine might indeed be compared with the

<sup>1</sup> For the case of David also, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13.

Caucasus (also a region of continent), where the narrow space is not less crowded with a medley of nations; and as in the earliest times the Caucasus must have been the meeting-place especially of the various Aryan nations, so Palestine was the great crossing-point for those of the Semitic stock. But in reference to civilisation Palestine was incomparably more favourably placed than the Caucasus, inasmuch as it lay on the coast of that sea on whose innumerable promontories and islands all the higher and freer forms of the life of the western nations had from early times manifested themselves, as those of the east upon the Ganges. It is an absurd idea that the Hebrews from living in Palestine were cut off from all brisk intercourse with distant nations. Any inclination to keep aloof from such intercourse, which might be observed in them in early times, sprang rather from the nature of their religion than from deliberate intention, and it was only because the Phoenicians had anticipated them that they long kept aloof from the coasting trade of the Mediterranean. Either with or against their own wish, they must inevitably have been drawn into the busy whirl of life surging around the Mediterranean Sea, especially in its eastern division. We can measure the extent of the knowledge of the position of other nations, early gained in this centre of three continents, by the short sketch of them given in Gen. x. And during the later ages of antiquity, when nations from the most distant parts of the earth, from Persia and India, from Greece and Egypt, exchanged their respective arts and culture, Palestine still formed the central point of transition and communication.

To sum up: we now understand the possibility of the formation of nations forced by close contact with others, whether near or distant, constantly to carry on their own further development, and either soon to disappear, or else to conquer and perpetuate themselves. Such nations were not on this account necessarily remarkable for numbers. Even in our times multitude does not do so much as some fancy; but the earliest period of antiquity was an age when nations were not crowded together in such large loose masses, but lived one beside the other, like so many families, each retaining its own sharply defined character and distinct culture; and when even the smallest tribe shut itself up in its own individuality, and relied solely on its own resources to attain whatever appeared to be its highest good. In this respect the petty nations of ancient Palestine exactly resemble the ancient states of Greece and Italy, and the modern ones of Switzerland and the Netherlands;

and just as Athens and Rome, with the smallest possible territory, could gain a place in the history of the world, so also could a nation of Palestine. Now two nations of Palestine, we know, above all others that met there, bore away this palm,—two nations so different that it is hard to imagine a stronger contrast, and even acting upon each other in virtue of this very contrast to intensify their divergence, yet both of them so constituted that the results of their endeavours became permanent, and among the most conspicuous fruits of the world's history.

### III. MIXED NATIONALITY OF OLDEST INHABITANTS.

We must therefore now view the land in reference to its earliest medley of inhabitants living there before, and continuing there during the period immediately following the immigration of Israel. The inherent difficulty of surveying such remote events is, indeed, here increased by the fact that we are restricted to very few and scattered notices of them in the Old Testament and elsewhere, and possess scarcely any writings of the pre-Mosaic age, with the exception of the passage Gen. xiv., the original form of which has been shown to have probably belonged to that age (see p. 52). But at all events these notices are from very different and in part extremely early, ages; and besides, as the very essence of such great national relations is to change only by slow degrees, we may be justified in drawing from the conditions continuing at a later period certain conclusions respecting remote times.<sup>1</sup>

**1.** In cases like this, the first enquiry naturally refers to the ABORIGINES, tribes of whose immigration the later inhabitants retained neither proof nor even the faintest recollection. Before their subjugation or expulsion by other victorious invaders, these Aborigines may have passed through many stages of fortune, forgotten as layer after layer of population flowed over this lowest and broadest stratum. Total expulsion, however, can rarely have befallen the original inhabitants: upon a strip of coast like Palestine,—the exit from whence was not easy to

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of this entire question are not removed by the method adopted by Movers (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, i. p. 1–82, 1849), as will be hereafter pointed out in some important instances; see also *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, ii. p. 37 sqq. For a more accurate enquiry into the state of the Canaanites and other early races of the same region, we must await the com-

pletion of the excavations now begun, since investigations on every spot promise greater thoroughness and certainty. See my *Erklärung der grossen Phönizischen Inschrift von Sidon*, Göttingen, 1856; and the results of E. Renan's Phœnician Journey of Discovery, which are gradually being made public.

a settled population, whether on account of the great attractions of its soil, or because its boundaries were formed by deserts, seas, the easily defended fords of the Jordan, and the mountain-glenes of the north. We are therefore justified in assuming that many relics of the primitive inhabitants must have been spared, consisting not merely in enslaved persons, but also in manners and traditions. For us, indeed, all such traces are almost erased, because the Israelitish invasion (as will soon be shown) belonged to a later time, when the earlier strata of population were so intermixed that it was no longer easy always to discriminate the earlier and the later inhabitants.

That in the very earliest age, long before the ancient migrations into Egypt (i.e. long before the time of the Hyksos), a more homogeneous group of nations established themselves in this land, is not only probable from the general relations among nations, but to be inferred also from more definite indications. A change in the name of a country, such as Seir, Edom or Esau, itself points to the successive rule of three distinct nations, whose chronological sequence we can in this case distinguish with certainty, as will soon be shown. What these names prove to have happened to the land on the south-eastern border of the Holy Land, and is most easy of demonstration in that instance, is evidently true of other cases occurring within the land itself. Further, all the nations which were settled in the land in historical times, some of which are known even from Biblical testimony to have come in from foreign parts, though differing widely in other respects, possessed a Semitic language, of which amid considerable dialectic varieties the fundamental elements were closely related. Now this is not conceivable, unless one original nation, possessing a distinctly marked character, had lived there, perhaps for a thousand years before the immigration of others, to whose language after-comers had more or less to conform. This original nation, moreover, doubtless already had its peculiar ideas, religious ceremonies, and customs, which more or less powerfully influenced subsequent immigrants; as the worship of the horned Astarte is known to have existed here from the earliest ages, and quite independently of the later Phœnicians.<sup>1</sup> All these points will however be more fully discussed as we proceed.

At the time of the Israelite occupation these Aborigines had for many centuries been so completely subjugated, dispersed, and ground down, that but few remains of them were still

<sup>1</sup> *Ashteroth Karnaim*, Gen. xiv. 5.

visible. But then the immigrants were so various, so divided, and in some points even so weak, that it must have been very difficult to comprise such numerous and disconnected nations under any one fitting appellation. The Israelites called them Canaanites, Amorites, or otherwise, according as one or the other of them seemed the more important at the time, or they preferred to name several together. When a nation had been long resident in the land, no one thought of investigating the antiquity of its settlement there. So much the more remarkable is it that some few tribes are nevertheless described in the Old Testament as 'ancient inhabitants of the land.'<sup>1</sup> This declaration is the more impartial and weighty because quite incidental. The nations thus described are very small and scattered tribes, but on this account the more likely to be the remains of the aboriginal inhabitants. We are hereby entitled to prosecute further this question of the Aborigines.

1) In the northern and more fruitful portions of the land on this side Jordan the ABORIGINES must have been very early completely subjugated by the Canaanites and blended with them, as not even a distant allusion to them is anywhere to be found. The case is different with the country beyond the Jordan, especially towards the south. Here we come upon the traces of a people, strangers alike to the Hebrews with their cognate tribes, and to the Canaanites, who maintained some degree of independence until after the Mosaic age: the Horites (LXX. Χορῆαι, i.e. dwellers in caves, Troglodytes) in the cavernous land of Edom or Seir. The writer of the Book of Origins himself calls them 'the dwellers in the land,' as distinguished from the later immigrants, Israel, Esau, and Edom.<sup>2</sup> In that writer's time this people, though subjugated for centuries by Edom, must still have formed separate communities; since he thinks it worth while to enumerate their seven principal and subordinate tribes with their seven heads.<sup>3</sup> In the earliest narrative, Gen. xiv. 6, they appear in Abraham's time as still

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Amalek, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; Num. xxiv. 20; and in its neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Chron. vii. 21; as also Geshur, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. For the last passage the LXX. have a somewhat different reading, and translate very unintelligibly, as they generally do such passages as refer to the ancient Canaanite history; but the true reading has undoubtedly been preserved in the Hebrew. See above, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20. Among the ruins of the ancient *Bait-Gibrin* or *Eleutheropolis*, in

the south-west of the tribe of Judah, some singular subterranean works have been recently discovered; see Rey's *Étude historique et typographique de la Tribu de Juda*, Paris, 1843. As these cannot well be referred either to the Hebrews or to the Canaanites, they must be supposed to exhibit traces of the aboriginal inhabitants, or Horites; and the wonder is that the Horites should have settled so far to the south-west.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20-30.

independent ; and from this passage, as well as from the Book of Origins, we see that the name Seir, for the mountain-range occupied by them, was peculiar to them. The Deuteronomist evidently follows an ancient authority in saying that they were expelled by Esau (or Edom).<sup>1</sup> It further appears from the careful distinction made in the Book of Origins between them and the Canaanitish tribes, that they were not of Canaanitish blood, although the Amorites, also dwelling far to the south, were. It happens very fortunately, in fine, that we gain some knowledge of the subsequent fate of these Aborigines from a wholly different source, the Book of Job,<sup>2</sup> which pictures vividly the pitiable condition to which they were reduced in the writer's age (the eighth or seventh century). Then, houseless and outlawed, they were thrust forth by their conquerors into dreary and barren wildernesses, in which they dragged out in misery a feeble existence, despised and abhorred by all, but ready on occasion of any disaster happening to their old oppressors to burst suddenly forth from their miserable hiding-places,<sup>3</sup> full of pent-up bitterness and destructiveness, and thus even in their ruin to remind their conquerors that they had once been masters of the land. This reads like a scene in the history of the Coolies or other aboriginal tribes of India, or (to take an instance nearer home), of the Irish peasantry not more than thirty years ago ; but we must remember that the Hebrews do not seem anywhere to have treated their subject tribes for centuries with such severity as the Edomites treated theirs.

2) So melancholy an end is inevitable when victorious invaders permanently withhold equal rights from the subjugated people, and keep them apart and in bondage. Very different, however, was the position these Aborigines, whom we have just seen sunk so low, once held ; as appears from the following important fact. At the time of the Israelitish conquest, as we learn from some perfectly reliable accounts, there still existed many remains of the Aborigines scattered through the land. They were then ordinarily designated by a name which suggests very different ideas—REPHAIM, or Giants.<sup>4</sup> Indeed primitive

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii. 12, 22 ; comp. above, p. 126. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Job xvii. 6, xxiv. 5-8, xxx. 1-10. The zeal and fulness with which in 1836 I gave a public interpretation of these passages in Job, prove that I then believed I had found in them a new fragment of historical truth, as it is not my habit to give voluminous explanations of things already disposed of. Even now, though I see that Isaac Vossius and J. D. Michaelis

were not wholly in error on the meaning of some passages in ch. xxx., I still think that I have understood all these passages and the history therewith connected more accurately than they.

<sup>3</sup> Alluded to also in Deuteronomy, whose author is well acquainted with all these circumstances ; vii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> In this general sense the name is used not unfrequently ; 2 Sam. xxi. 16-22 ; from the Chronicles of the Kingdom, Deut.

tribes remaining near to a state of nature, appear to possess gigantic stature more frequently than the more advanced and versatile nations. The latter appear to lose from the body what they gain in the mind ; and so the Hebrews at the time of Moses<sup>1</sup> must have possessed very much the same short slender stature which is now characteristic of the hardy and adroit Arab. It might indeed be argued from certain indications that only the ruling families of the Aborigines are here described.<sup>2</sup> If, as appears in various descriptions, especially of the early times, the ruling families were gorged with the fat of the land,<sup>3</sup> it is conceivable that the savage and warlike lords of a nation itself of high stature would appear absolutely gigantic in the eyes of the Canaanites and Hebrews. We should then have to suppose that a rough robber-clan of immense stature, belonging to the Aborigines, still maintained its power here and there, and that the Aborigines were compelled by necessity to become subject to them, in order to obtain their protection against invaders ; much as in Europe the aid of the last robber-knights was sought. The last king of this race was Og of Bashan, and his enormous iron sarcophagus served as a memento to after-times,<sup>4</sup> like the heavy coats of mail of the Middle Ages to ourselves. But this view, true as it is of the ages between Moses and David, is untrue of earlier times ; for in perfectly reliable

ii. 11, 20, iii. 11; and the name may be thus explained from its root, since נָפַל — נָפַל, stretched, may very well be equivalent to long, tall, like the German *recke*. The Hebrews applied the same name to the shadows of Hades; literally, the stretched out, i.e. the nerveless, prostrate, dead. It is evident that the language of a nation, which applied this name to the giants, though also Semitic, must have been originally very different.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 27-33.

<sup>2</sup> Because in the passages quoted they appear as quite exceptional instances, just as the three at Hebron, Num. xiii. 22; and as Og of Bashan is called the last of his race, Deut. iii. 11 : see i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> As Judges iii. 29, and in David's song, 2 Sam. i. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. iii. 11 ; without doubt a piece of genuine history, for the spot where the memorial was to be seen is accurately described. It seems surprising that even in the Middle Ages such strange stories should be still related of this old giant-king, who stands so isolated in the Old Testament : for instance, a Persian Mohammedan relates that a single bone of the gigantic body of the مُقْبَلْ بْنْ مُقْبَلْ وَجْهْ

had long served as a bridge over a river (*Journal Asiatique*, June 1841, p. 679-81); other Mohammedan writers relate that he took a fish just fresh from the sea, and burnt it to ashes in the sun's rays; Tabari has in his preliminary history a long passage respecting him (see *Chronique de Tabari traduit du Persan par Dubceur*, i. p. 48 sq.; also, *Qaravint*, حَارَفِينْ p. 449, 7 sq. ed. Wüstenfeld; Petermann's *Reisen*, ii. p. 106 sq.). But all these traditions are probably based on such Rabbinical legends as those in the *Liber de morte Mosis*, p. 84 *Gaulmin*; in Ben-Uziel on Num. xxi. 33 sq.; and in the Midrash Jalqút, fol. 14; and these again on an Apocryphal book upon Og, which appears in Decret. Gelasi, vi. 13, under a barely recognisable name. Here the few notices of him in the Old Testament were interwoven with divers giant-stories and the strangest fancies ; as that he saved himself through the Deluge by holding on to Noah's ark ; that he lived with Abraham, and so forth. He was thus brought into connection with Gen. vi. 4; and it was thought satisfactory thus to recover the name of one of the primeval giants there mentioned.

reports, such as Gen. xiv. 5, Deut. iii. 13, the whole of Bashan is called the 'land of the Rephaim,' and they appear as an unmixed race. It may indeed be said that on such points the Deuteronomist only speaks rhetorically and with a purpose, to magnify the conquest effected by Israel under a leader like Moses, over such powerful and terrific giant races. But even the Deuteronomist cannot be supposed to speak without some historical basis; and quite independently of him, we see from a very ancient passage, Gen. xiv. 5, that the name 'Rephaim' was originally borne only by a small people in Bashan beyond Jordan, having a capital Ashteroth Karnaim (a name which proves that thus early the horned Astarte was worshipped). But we may assume that at the time of Abraham nations of the same race ruled over extensive territories eastward of the Jordan;<sup>1</sup> in Moab they were specially designated Emim,<sup>2</sup> and in Ammon Zamzummim.<sup>3</sup> On the west of the Jordan, in the central districts, they lived at the time of Moses in more scattered settlements,—in parts of the later tribe of Joseph (as we learn from a very ancient record<sup>4</sup>), and near Jerusalem, where a valley was named after them as late as the eighth century;<sup>5</sup> but in the southern parts near Hebron (which must have been their old capital), and from thence towards the sea, they were more concentrated and powerful; and here in the south they bore the name of Sons of Anak,<sup>6</sup> with the mythological epithet of *Giants' sons*, given to them by their terrified enemies.<sup>7</sup> That Hebron was the ancient

<sup>1</sup> We learn this most distinctly from the invaluable accounts in Gen. xiv., where places and names are given which are otherwise wholly unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. ii. 11, and Gen. xiv. 5; compare *Heman* [Eng. version wrongly *Heman*], of similar sound, among the Horites, Gen. xxxvi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Since the ancient accounts used by the Deuteronomist in the former case agree with Gen. xiv., we may conclude that בָּשָׁן Gen. xiv. 5, is the same as אַמִּים, i. e. אֲמִים, and עֲנָקִים the same as עֲנָקִים, Deut. ii. 19 sq. Beyond this we have no means of explaining the names Emim and Zamzummim, since they do not, like the name Rephaim, occur in any more general sense, nor are made intelligible by any clear context, and we therefore are wholly ignorant what associations were connected with the words; the merely rhetorical use of the appellation *Sons of Anak* in Deuteronomy does not warrant any such assumption respecting even these. The name Rephaim alone came gradually to be used in a wider sense.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xvii. 15; comp. above, p. 66 sq.  
<sup>5</sup> Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16; 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13; Isaiah xvii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xiii. 22, 23; Josh. xi. 21 sq., xiv. 12, 15; comp. Deut. ii. 10 sq.; and the merely rhetorical allusion to them, ix. 1 sq.

<sup>7</sup> That this is the meaning of the names בְּנֵי גַּדְלִים and בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים, Num. xiii. 33, appears also from Gen. vi. 4. Movers, by taking these expressions of the Book of Origins, and others of the kind, in a perfectly literal sense, as if the Anakim, Rephaim, &c., were actually mythical Giants and Titans, mistakes the real meaning of all these passages of the Bible; as much so as he would in treating the Cimbri and Teutons, nay, even the Mecklenburghers of the present day, as mythical personages. It is the Deuteronomist who, by his rhetorical descriptions, first somewhat loosened the historical ground; but it was not till much later when actual historical names were looked for in Gen. vi. 4, that Og (mentioned p. 228) could be imagined to be a Titan, and even identified with the Greek Ogyges.

seat of their kings, appears not merely from the permanent importance of that city to the entire south, but also from knowledge that we have of a considerable portion of the history of the dynasty ruling there. This dynasty boasted of an ancient hero Arba,<sup>1</sup> as founder of their city, hence called by them City of Arba (and the time of its building was still well known, see p. 52), and also as founder of their dynasty, and therefore entitled Father of Anak.<sup>2</sup> But at the time of the Israelite conquest their power must have been divided, and thereby weakened, since three sons of Anak—Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai—are mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

But a part of the population which from its locality can hardly be anything else than the Rephaim, is very curiously also called by a perfectly distinct name, AMORITES. Amos speaks of the gigantic stature of the Amorites, just as other writers of the Rephaim;<sup>4</sup> and the Book of Origins itself calls both the above-mentioned king Og and a similar king Sihon Amorites.<sup>5</sup> But the diversity of name is at once explained, when we discover that Amorite only means mountaineer, and is therefore originally a topographical, not an ethnological or national designation. How these Amorites could be brought into a certain connection even with the Canaanites will be considered presently.

3) Again in the south-west of the land we find more traces of the Aborigines. On one occasion in the life of David it is stated by an ancient narrator, in order to explain how David, then a vassal of the Philistines, could be constantly engaged in expeditions against the south-west country, without attacking Israel, that the objects of their hostilities were ‘the ancient inhabitants of the land,’ whom, it appears, neither a Philistine nor an Israelite leader would think it necessary to spare.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wherever this name occurs—Gen. xxiii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, 54, xx. 7, xxi. 11; Judges i. 10—the LXX. pronounce the last syllable somewhat harder, 'Αρβόν. But Movers' idea that the name answers to the Greek 'Αρβηλος, and is in fact identical with the Babylonian *Bel*, is without foundation. The article (יְהוָה) is only found attached to it later, Neh. xi. 25; but in the older writers the article is found with פְּנַיִם.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. xv. 13; xxi. 11; ‘that is the great man among the Anakim,’ in xiv. 15, is plainly only a periphrasis hazarded by some later reader or copyist. Whether the LXX., who in all these passages translate by μυτρόπολις, did not

possess this reading, is indeed doubtful, because they have here 'Ανάκη and not 'Ανάξ; but the later periphrasis is a fact, and has nothing in common with the Kabbalistic *Adam gadmrn* which Movers chooses to see here. Nor can Onka, the name of the Phœnician Athene (see Steph. Byz. s.v.) be brought into connection with *Anak*, at least until we know how it was written in Phœnician.

<sup>3</sup> Judges i. 10; Numb. xiii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Amos ii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua ix. 10; see later Deut. iv. 47; xxxi. 4.

<sup>6</sup> This is namely the true meaning of the words already referred to—1 Sam. xxvii. 8; the words בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל—יְהוָה form a

Two such aboriginal kingdoms are mentioned here. The first is that of the Amalekites. These appear from other indications also to have been such, and indeed originally to have overspread the whole land; so that no name was found more fitting than theirs to become the common designation of all the Aborigines; as will be further explained hereafter. Besides this small kingdom, which then still existed in the far south, there was another, occupying a narrow strip extending westwards from Judah about to Joppa; this was called from its chief city Geshur, with which Gezar seems to be synonymous. This kingdom, though sorely harassed by both Philistines and Israelites, maintained its existence until the reign of Solomon. From the special tribe which occupied this district from primeval times, the land was called the land of the Avites or Avim;<sup>1</sup> but from what has been said above, it need not surprise us that this name is sometimes exchanged for that of Amorites. But in David's reign there was another small kingdom of the same name Geshur, at the very opposite point, on the north-east on the other side Jordan, and distinguished by the epithet *Aramean*, as being surrounded by tribes speaking Aramaic.<sup>2</sup> As such identity of name cannot be accidental, we must regard it as a displaced member of the same original people, the main part of which was driven to the extreme south and south-west. The personal name Talmai already noticed, p. 230, recurs again here,<sup>3</sup> although it is quite foreign to ancient Israel, and only appears as an Israelitish name in the New Testament in the form Bartholomew.

It is clear from all these signs that there was here a primitive people which once extended over the whole land of the Jordan to the left, and to the Euphrates on the right, and to the Red Sea on the south; and that, as in many districts it was still disputing dominion with the Canaanites, it was completely subjugated only by the fresh incursion of the Hebrews under Moses. Whether they were of Semitic race hardly admits of doubt even on a first glance. The few names preserved<sup>4</sup> have a Semitic form and complexion;

parenthetic clause, and those following describe merely how far David ranged southwards (even to Egypt). We might conjecture פְלִימָן for פְלִימָן, from 1 Sam. xv. 7; but I consider every change of the Hebrew construction as unnecessary, or rather false.

<sup>1</sup> From Josh. xiii. 3, compared with verse 2, it appears that the Geshuri and the Avites are one and the same people; according to Deut. ii. 23 they dwelt even unto Azzah

[Gaza]; that is (the speaker being north of Gaza), that Gaza was the most southerly region to which they ever extended. [The name is properly Avvim, Heb. אַבִים.]

<sup>2</sup> According to 2 Sam. xv. 8; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 13; 1 Chron. ii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37.

<sup>4</sup> These are the five names of chiefs already mentioned, and some names of tribes and places; such as the above-

and when we consider that the chiefs who would not become subject to the Hebrews, at last retreated to the coast-towns of the Philistines,<sup>1</sup> and that in later times the Philistines led the descendants of these terrible giants into battle,<sup>2</sup> and that from the earliest period Semites were settled on many of the neighbouring islands and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (as will soon be shown in the case of the Philistines), we may assume it to be highly probable that this entire stratum of nations was connected with the Semitic peoples, who were driven still further westward beyond the sea.<sup>3</sup>

**2.** The land occupied by these Aborigines was, both long before and long after the Hebrew conquest, invaded by various widely differing Semitic nations, who wholly subdued some portions and obtained partial possession of others.

1) Of these the CANAANITES must be regarded as the most important. At first sight it seems doubtful whether they were invaders or not. Fortunately, however, we possess in a passage of the Book of Origins, Gen. x. 15-20, a record by means of which we can measure with great accuracy the extent of the early dominion of this important people, and without which many perplexed points of the history of these ancient tribes would be far more difficult to unravel. Here the separate tribes of the Canaanites are enumerated as sons of Canaan, and the boundaries of the territory of each described. Their number is eleven. Sidon is mentioned as the first-born; which means that Sidon had from time immemorial been the greatest Canaanitish power. Next come three nations living towards the south, Heth, the Jebusites, and the Amorites; then two in the most northerly country conquered by Israel, the Gergashites<sup>4</sup> and the Hivites; then four in Phoenicia, and lastly the most northern of all, the well-known kingdom of Hamath on the Orontes. The description then given of the Canaanite boundaries makes it still more evident that the writer here intends to describe their territories as they were prior to the Israelitish conquest. They embrace the entire land, as far as Gaza on the south-west; so that the Aborigines still existing there (the

quoted בָּנֵי, Gen. xiv. 5; and יִשְׂרָאֵל, Deut. ii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xxi. 16-22; 1 Sam. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> For the proof that the whole country here was inhabited by Semites, see also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Their locality is nowhere defined in the Old Testament, except that in Josh. xxiv. 11, they are placed on this side Jor-

dan. But since Γέργεσα, known from Matt. viii. 28, was, according to Euseb. *Onom.*, a place on a hill on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, the name probably designated the same Canaanite kingdom which is named in Josh. xi. Ηάζωρ (חַזֹּר, *fortress, mountain-fortress, citadel*); corresponding in so far with the name Jebusite, which, according to Josh. x., is in a similar case.

Philistines were not then yet in the same force on that coast as later) must have been regarded as a protected and subject population.

But this story of the eleven sons of Canaan implies no more than a clear recollection that at some time, it might be even centuries before the Israelitish conquest, a dominant people named Canaan created and preserved some degree of unity among the various tribes. The question of the age of each separate tribe, whether they were all aboriginal or not, did not come under consideration here : we only learn that the influence of the Canaanites had been firmly established in the land long before the time of Moses. But as these Canaanites appear in so many passages as only one among many ancient nations inhabiting this land, there is no intrinsic absurdity in supposing that even if their immigration had preceded that of Moses by more than five centuries, they were distinct from the Aborigines already mentioned. In fact it is nowhere said in the Old Testament that they were aborigines ; for the Fourth Narrator of the primeval history, in saying incidentally that the Canaanites were in the land before Abraham,<sup>1</sup> only means that the land was even then already thickly peopled, and names the Canaanites simply as the best known inhabitants. And when we further reflect how very widely they must have differed both in mental and in physical culture from the Aborigines already described, and how utterly shattered and dispersed these Aborigines were even before Moses, a later immigration appears on these grounds also the more probable. Many signs conspire to prove that a powerful invasion must at a very early time have everywhere split up the first deep stratum of population, an older and very different invasion from those of the Philistines and the Hebrews, which will afterwards come under consideration ; and we can imagine no other such than this of the Canaanites.

So far we are guided by the Old Testament accounts of the Canaanites. But other independent traditions of the immigration of the Phœnicians reached Herodotus and other Greek writers. Independent again of these is the genuine Phœnician tradition given by Sanchoniathon<sup>2</sup> of the constant enmity between the two Tyrian brothers Hypsuranius and Usôus. The

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7 ; and see also such passages as Num. xxii. 4. The later descriptions by the Fathers of the Church, as collected by Moses Choronensis (*Hist.* i. 5), appear to be derived from the *Book of Jubilees* and similar works.

<sup>2</sup> In Orelli's edition, p. 16 sq.; see also on this legend my *Abhandlung über die Phönischen Ansichten von der Welt-schöpfung und Sanchoniathon* (Göttingen, 1851), p. 44 sq.

first, as his name indicates, is the heavenly progenitor of the Phoenicians; the other a wild hunter, a savage 'hairy' man (as his name expresses), and the true type of the earliest inhabitants. Indeed the name Usô, by the Phœnician phonetic laws, is actually identical with the Hebrew Esau:<sup>1</sup> not that the Tyrian Usô derived his name from that nation which the Hebrews named Esau, but that the contrast expressed in the Phœnician tradition between two related tribes of which the younger formed a later immigration into the land, is repeated in the history of Israel.

At the time of Moses, indeed, the immigration of the Canaanites was so completely a bygone event, and had given rise to so many new arrangements and changes, that the very name of the principal nation, the Canaanites, is only to be explained from these. For on reviewing the names of the eleven tribes and of others elsewhere named as connected with them, we find some to be derived from corresponding cities or kingdoms; namely, the Phœnician nations and Hamath; also the Jebusites, so called from Jebus an ancient name of Jerusalem, evidently because they preserved their independence and a considerable territory long after the Israelite invasion;<sup>2</sup> also the Gergashites, already mentioned p. 232. These small kingdoms, seven in all, maintained their existence with firmness generally till long after Moses. But the case is very different with the four or five names remaining. None of the nations bearing these can be so called from a city or kingdom; and four of them are besides mentioned with such disproportionate frequency, and as spreading over such an extent of country, as is incompatible with the idea that they constituted compact and localised kingdoms. Many indications show that these names describe the inhabitants by certain differences of locality and occupation in the different parts of the country.<sup>3</sup>

a.) The AMORITES. These were Highlanders, as their name<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the Phœnician Οὐλαος answers to the Hebrew עַלְיָה, so Οὐσως to a Hebr. עִזּוֹת; but this last might, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 108 c.) easily pass into עִזּוֹ.

<sup>2</sup> That they had at first a wider territory appears not only from Josh. x. but from the added clause 'in the mountains,' Josh. xi. 3; if this is not transposed from Num. xiii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> As now in the Soudan the population is divided into the towns - بلدي, the desert - بدوى, and the hill - جبلي.

people (see *Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 22, 1839, p. 1337); as among the Northern Slavonians, the Polanians take their name from the field, the Drevianians from the wood, the Livonian from the sand (Scharafrik, *Slavische Alterthimer*, i. p. 199); and as in Attica there were the Τρεπάκριοι, Πεδίοις, and Πιδράλοι; and still in Uri a valley- and a mountain- Ammann are distinguished.

<sup>4</sup> This is chiefly seen from the passage Is. xvii. 9, where there is an historical allusion to רֵיחָן, summit; the Canaanite language must have employed this word not merely of the summit of trees, but

indicates, and as the chief passage about them, Num. xiii. 29, (belonging to the Book of Origins) shows. Whenever any indication is given of their locality, they always appear as dwelling upon or ruling from high places.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, expressly stated by the earliest narrator, that they dwelt originally beyond the Scorpion Range<sup>2</sup> ('the going up to Akrabbim'), on the southern boundary of the subsequent Judah, and further still to the south-east as far as the Rock-city (Petra) of Idumæa; and even as late as the Israelite conquest they must have held extensive sway throughout the southern regions on this side of the Jordan; besides this they occupied wide regions on the other side, and had made fresh conquests there just before the arrival of Moses.<sup>3</sup> Hence the earliest narrator not unnaturally applies the name Amorite to all the ancient settlers in the south, on the western, as well as to the entire population on the eastern side of the Jordan; and other writers in Judah also employ the name in this larger sense.<sup>4</sup> But we have seen already, p. 230, that these very Amorites, described as warlike and savage, were mainly relics of the aboriginal population; and their connection with the Canaanites, strictly so called, must therefore have been very loose. In fact, in careful delineations, they were clearly distinguished from these, and only gradually and in later times thrown into the same category with them.<sup>5</sup> We possess also one proof that the language of the Amorites was by no means identical with that of the Canaanites.<sup>6</sup>

b.) The contrast to these Highlanders with their strong castles is furnished by the HITTITES,<sup>7</sup> as dwellers in the valley,

also of that of mountains with their castles. In 1840 I published this remark on Is. xvii. 9. In Syriac **لُجَادُو** still signifies *hero*; Knös. Chrest p. 31. 3 from below, 70.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 7, of the district near Jericho where mountains lie to the west; Deut. i. 7, 29 sq. 44, according to old authorities; Josh. x. 5 sq., where mention is made of their five kings who ruled the country on this side.

<sup>2</sup> Judges i. 36; see Josh. xiii. 4; on the Scorpion Range, which stretched from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea in a south-westerly direction, see Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> As we are told not only by the earliest narrator, but by national songs: Num. xxi. 29, compared with Gen. xiv. 5; according to which the Amorites were here not aboriginal.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 72. That the Book of Origins, however, already used the name

Canaanite in a wider sense, is plain from Num. xiv. 43-45 (Judges i. 17), compared with Deut. i. In like manner the narrator of 2 Sam. xxi. 2, puts *Amorites* in the place of those whom the Book of Origins (in Josh. ix.) properly calls *Hivites*.

<sup>5</sup> As in the often retouched passage, Judges i.; compare verse 10 with Josh. xv. 13 sq., xi. 21 sq.

<sup>6</sup> In the remarkable passage Deut. iii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> They are called also *Sons of Heth*, from which we learn only that their territory was formerly larger. It is an obvious conjecture that the name of the Phœnician *Kition* in Cyprus is related to the word **חִתָּה**; these Kittites were, indeed, always

written in Hebrew, and almost always in Phœnician, with **ח**, never with **חַ**; yet there are found coins with the inscription *οἰ Σεβῶνι Κίττιοις*, so that at least in Sidon Heth seems to be employed in the sense of Canaan; see the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iii. p. 20<sup>o</sup>. On

who had different employments and manners, and lived, wherever possible, in distinct and independent communities. We are not therefore surprised to find them living near the mountains wherever they could find room, as for instance in the south near Hebron, and extending from thence as far as Bethel<sup>1</sup> in the centre of the land. They nowhere appear as warlike as the Amorites, but rather (according to the noteworthy description of them in the Book of Origins),<sup>2</sup> lovers of refinement at an early period, and living in well-ordered communities possessing national assemblies. Abraham's allies in war are Amorites;<sup>3</sup> but when he desires to obtain a possession peaceably he turns to the Hittites.<sup>4</sup> More in the middle of the land on the western side of the Jordan, the name Hittite seems to have been exchanged for one of similar import, namely Perizzite:<sup>5</sup> for this also designates dwellers in an open country, containing villages rather than fortresses.<sup>6</sup> Upon the supposition that this name is synonymous with, and only dialectically different from, the other, its omission from the list of tribes given in Gen. x. is easily explained.

c.) Very little difference exists between these dwellers in the valley and the people originally called CANAANITE. The latter, however, according to the earliest and most reliable accounts,<sup>7</sup> inhabited the littoral regions, which lie still lower, and possess a totally different character from the valleys just described; viz. the western bank of the sultry and teeming valley of the Jordan, probably as high up as the sea of Galilee, and likewise the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. As possessors of these choicest parts of the country, and especially as masters of the sea, successful

the Egyptian monuments *Amar* and *Cheta* frequently appear as names of nations, the latter especially; and its relation to the Biblical name is pointed out in Bunsen's *Ägypten*, i. p. 480; Rouge's *Poème de Penta-out* in the *Revue Contemp.* 1856, p. 391 sq.; Brugsch's *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, ii. p. 20 sq., iii. p. 73. Champollion considered the Cheta to be Scythians. But, according to the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, the Chatti must be sought much farther to the north; see Rawlinson's *Inscription of Tiglath Pileser* (London, 1857), p. 46 sq., 54 sq. The *Xerrada kələj* in Africa, mentioned in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* iv. 5, can have been at most only a very early settlement of this people.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxiii., xxvi. 34, xxvii. 46; Judges i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> According to Gen. xiv. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> This name first appears Josh. xvii. 15; together with the Canaanites, as if those districts had been then under subjection to the latter people. Judges i. 4 sq.; Gen. xxxiv. 30, xiii. 7, comp. xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> As is clear from the similar Hebrew word in 1 Sam. vi. 18, and from the remarks in Deut. iii. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 11; Zech. ii. 8. <sup>נָהָר</sup> is properly *open*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Book of Origins, Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 25; and in Josh. xi. 13, probably from the same source; on the other hand, they are already restricted to the sea-coast in Josh. v. 1. The name <sup>כְּנָסִים</sup> undoubtedly signifies *lowland*; but the true antithesis to this is not found in Aram, but rather in the other names met with in this same region. Not till after the time of Solomon does the name Canaanite assume in the Old Testament the force of *merchant*, *trader*, and even then not in common parlance. This can by no means have been the original meaning of the word.

navigators, and founders of colonies both near and distant, they early obtained such a preeminence above all other nations of the land, that their name as the most widely known easily came to be used as a compendious designation of the entire country. Where the various parts of the country were to be distinguished, the name was extended so as in the first instance to embrace all the northern tribes only, and then by degrees to include all the southern ones also; although the southern inhabitants themselves generally employed the name Amorite in this general sense. When the north coast alone remained unsubdued by Israel, the name Canaan was ultimately more and more restricted to that. It was not unknown to the Greeks as synonymous with Phoenician;<sup>1</sup> and the Hebrews possessed no other general name for the open land on the sea-coast, unless it be 'Sidonia.'

d.) Lastly, different from all the above were the Hivites or Midlanders, who dwelt in the true middle of the land, having on the east and west the Lowlanders, on the south the Highlanders and valley-dwellers, and on the north the borderers of Hamath.<sup>2</sup> They, like the Canaanites, loved peaceful occupations and trading pursuits in well-ordered communities and fortified cities, and located themselves principally in districts the most suitable for peaceful civil life, which from the earliest times possessed the most flourishing inland cities. One of these was Gibeon; this important central city was the earliest to submit to Israel, to secure the peace which an inland mercantile city especially requires.<sup>3</sup>

The Hebrews became acquainted with the numerous tribes of various nationality that occupied the land, at a time when they were living quite isolated from each other, and becoming increasingly so. This explains why they often mentioned several conquered nations together as a periphrasis for the entire land. With rhetorical amplification the earliest narrator names six,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Χνᾶ as synonymous with Φοίνιξ, see Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 40; and even Hecateus of Miletus, according to El. Herodian, *περὶ μαρτυρ. λεξ.*, i. p. 8; comp. Chaeroboscus in Bekkeri *Anecd.* p. 1181; and Stephanus Byz. on the word; comp. Buttmann's *Mythologus*, i. p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Judges they were driven back from Antilibanon to Hamath, that is, quite to the north-east (Judges iii. 3; Josh. xi. 3; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7); but earlier we find them settled in the centre of the land (Gen. xxxiv. 2; Josh. ix.). We must observe, also, that the ancient copyists often mistook יְהֻנָּה for the entirely different יְהֻנָּה. In Josh. ix. 7 this mistake

has crept into almost all the MSS. of the LXX.; and in Gen. xxvi. 2, even into the present Hebrew text. [The name is properly *Hivite*, Heb. הִבִּית.]

<sup>3</sup> Josh. ix. 11, 19. The name חִבּוֹת may have signified in the Canaanite language *the inner* (literally, that which withdraws itself); comp. several derivatives from חִבּוֹת. But חִבּוֹת may perhaps have signified *the community*, in which case the Hivites meant those who lived in free communities (republics).

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxiii. 23.

and again, more briefly but without any change of meaning, only three,<sup>1</sup> and even one only (according to p. 72). The Book of Origins sometimes mentions five,<sup>2</sup> but generally Canaan only. The Fourth and Fifth Narrators choose the same six nations which the earliest narrator had selected.<sup>3</sup> The Deuteronomist, by adding the Gergashites from Gen. x., brings the number up to the favourite round number seven.<sup>4</sup> In one important passage, where the largest extent of the land was to be indicated<sup>5</sup> the Fifth Narrator counts up as many as ten nations, by adding a few fresh ones, of which we shall speak presently. But in most cases where a shorter description suffices, either two names are given, as Canaanite and Perizzite, or still more frequently one only, and then the name Canaanite is preferred, although sometimes exchanged for Amorite (see p. 235), and far less frequently for Hittite.<sup>6</sup>

If the name Canaanite thus designates originally only one nation, dwelling apart from the others, it is possible that the Canaanites belonged to the same immigration with the Hivites and Hittites, who most resembled them in their form of civilisation; but this does not enable us to discover the name by which they called themselves at the time of their migration. But there is no reason to doubt that all these immigrations belonged to the primeval race which the Israelites called Ham. Of this we shall have to speak further hereafter; for the present it suffices to notice that Canaan always appears as a son of Ham, and that according to the ancient Hebrew conception, the two names were interchangeable terms.<sup>7</sup>

Observing on the one hand that the Aborigines maintained their position in the south more than in the north, and on the other that Sidon, even in pre-Mosaic times, was the principal seat of the world-renowned Canaanites, we might imagine that the latter had burst into the land from the north-east, and driven back the Aborigines eastwards over the Jordan as well as to the south, taking a similar direction to Abraham's migra-

<sup>1</sup> V. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xiii. 5; in most MSS. of the LXX. the Perizzites are added at the end of the list; but this very position at the end is opposed to ordinary custom.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. iii. 8, 17, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11, comp. Josh. xii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. vii. 1 (xx. 17; according to the LXX.) Josh. iii. 10, xxxiv. 11; comp. Acts xiii. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xv. 19-21.

<sup>6</sup> This is found only in 1 Kings x. 29; 2 Kings vii. 6, and here probably from

some special cause. But in Josh. i. 4, a rhetorical passage, very unusually, the Hittites alone are mentioned in a more general sense; and the LXX. omit the entire passage. **כָּל אֶרְץ הַחֲתִים**. In Judith v. 16, following Gen. xxxiv., Sichem is reckoned especially among the Canaanite nations; but this is explicable by the special object and age of the book. Comp. iv. p. 546. (Germ.)

<sup>7</sup> As we see from the entire complexion of the narrative in Gen. ix. 18-27.

tion. But according to the earliest narrative this people were originally settled much further to the south, as far as Petra,<sup>1</sup> at least when mingled with the Amorites; and their entire history, so far as it is known to us, shows that they were driven from the south and east further and further towards the north-west and the sea, where for the first time they concentrated their strength in impregnable seaports. For the hypothesis that they had pushed forwards from the south, like Israel at the Exodus, speaks their derivation from Ham in the Book of Origins, Gen. x. 6, and the tradition preserved by Greek writers of their immigration from the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup> They are therefore to be reckoned among those Arabian nations which, according to Gen. x. 7, were also derived from Ham, some of which even in very early times were no less devoted to mercantile pursuits.

To the fact of a cognate people living far to the south we also possess another remarkable testimony, which when correctly understood perfectly agrees with the statement of the earliest narrator. There now exist somewhat to the east of Petra, ruins of an ancient city called Maân, which the Israelites would have pronounced Ma'ôn; here the Maonites must have had their seat, who in post-Mosaic or rather post-Davidical times appear on the stage of history as widely spread in the south of Palestine, and endeavouring occasionally, in conjunction with Arabian and other nations, to enter the Holy Land from the south.<sup>3</sup> From the accounts preserved 1 Chron. iv. 39-41, we learn that being

<sup>1</sup> Judges i. 36; but the Book of Origins already takes another view, Gen. x. 19, and fixes the boundary at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, i. 1, vii. 89; the Red Sea is here to be understood in the wider sense which Herodotus himself assigns to it, ii. 11. According to Justin, xviii. 2, on abandoning their own country they first settled down on the shore of the Assyrian (Syrian) lake, by which we must understand the Sea of Tiberias (the Dead Sea being expressly distinguished from this, xxxvi. 3). Movers explains these Greek accounts contrary to their simple and obvious sense, because he wishes to prove that the Canaanites were not immigrants, but had always dwelt on the coast of the Mediterranean. But in the first place, this hypothesis is entirely opposed to the sense of the Old Testament. The tradition respecting their derivation from the shore of the Persian Gulf sounds too indefinite in Strabo, *Geog.* xvi. 3; yet the doubts of Quatremère (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xv. 2, 1845, p. 364 sqq.) are nevertheless very unfounded. We here

take no immediate notice of the accounts respecting the Canaanites in the Nabataic books; comp. Chwolson's *Ueberreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur*, p. 49 sq. and the *Gött. Gelehrte. Anz.*, 1852, p. 1121 sq.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 39-41; 2 Chron. xxvi. 7; in both passages the LXX. have *Μαϊάνη*, a pronunciation also found in the Chetib, 1 Chron. iv. 41, and which forms the transition to the Massoretic punctuation, מָעָן (which is to be understood according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 36, b. c.). In both passages the eighth century is spoken of; even in the first half of the period of the Judges the people would be mentioned once under this name, Judges, x. 12, if it were not better to read here with the LXX. פְּרִין for פְּנִין. On the other hand, in 2 Chron. xx. 1, לְעַמְּגִים is evidently to be read for לְעַמְּנִים according to the LXX. (who also interchange these words in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8); whence follows, that the nation was already in existence in the time of Johoshaphat.

descended from Ham, they were really quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the land ; but towards the close of the eighth century some Israelites of the tribe of Simeon made an incursion into the rich pasture lands of Gerar<sup>1</sup> occupied by them and slaughtered the inhabitants. The characteristics ascribed to this people point to a connection with the Canaanites. The quiet peaceable life is peculiar to the Canaanites ; and the description of its occurrence here amid the restless tribes of the south sounds identical with what is said in Judges xviii. 7 of the northern Canaanites. The fact of their descent from Ham raises to a certainty the probable conjecture that they were a species of Canaanites. We must accordingly regard them as a remnant of the Amorites, which in later times under the name Maonites spread to the west of Petra ; and this view is also favoured by the words of Joshua xiii. 4.

It is a peculiar trait of the early civilisation of this people that they were in a constant state of disintegration, produced by the pride which led every city of any importance to assert its independence and set up a separate king or legislature of its own ; whilst federal unions among those communities were never more than transient. The eleven sons of Canaan, whose names the Book of Origins collects together, clearly designate only the principal historical groups still discernible after the long-continued breaking up of the great mass ; for during the wars with Israel, the various separate kingdoms of the Amorites,

<sup>1</sup> For גֵּרֶר 1 Chron. iv. 39, we should, according to the LXX., read גְּרָרָה; and thus we should have here the pasture-land to the extreme south known from the Patriarchal history. Gerar is, however, elsewhere called Philistine, and this may be quite true before the eighth century ; for it is clear that the Israelites did not possess it at that time, as it is not mentioned in the register in Josh. xv. ; nor can this be disproved by 2 Chron. xiv. 12 [13.] But in the eighth century the Maonites may have taken it from the Philistines. The reading Gedôr would lead us to the גֵּדֹר (written with י), named Josh. xv. 58 ; and then under the Maonites we must understand, not the inhabitants of the large and important city near Petra, but the small town (mentioned Josh. xv. 55), in the mountains of Judah, not far south of Hebron and Carmel ; whose inhabitants, however, were so truly Jewish that their ancestor was entered in the pedigree of Judah as father of the neighbouring Beth-zur, which according to this was subject to it, 1 Chron. ii. 45 ; comp.

Josh. xv. 58. But Gedôr, according to Robinson's Map, lies still more to the north of this little Maôn ; and this latter certainly did not in the eighth century constitute a separate state, nor does it answer to the description, in 1 Chron. iv. 39–41. Maôn was rather a genuine Canaanite name for a city, given to many cities inhabited by that people ; as for instance אַיִלְלָה בְּעֵדָה or חַתְמָה בְּעֵדָה is met with even on the further side of Jordan, Josh. xiii. 17.

The *Mervâoî* or *Mivâoî*, celebrated as dealers in incense, dwelt (according to Strabo, xvi. 4, beginning and middle, comp. Agatharchid. xliv.) somewhere towards the Red Sea, but too far south to be the same as those mentioned above. The repetition of the same national name in different parts of a large country like Arabia might however be viewed in the same light as in the case of the more familiar names Saba and Dedân ; (on which see Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 225 sq.), only we should have to suppose the southern Mîneïtes to be a colony from the northern nation mentioned in the Chronicles.

Hittites, and others by no means form a complete whole. It is also to be taken into account, that through these divisions into separate nations and kingdoms, their modes of life and government must have become increasingly dissimilar. Of this we have one very good example. Many of the Hivite states, not unlike the German Free Cities, must early have adopted a pure republican constitution without a king. This was the case with the inventive but timid Gibeonites, who are so graphically described in the Book of Origins ; their elders and burghers decide every thing,<sup>1</sup> and no king of Gibeon is mentioned in the catalogue of the thirty-one conquered kings of Canaan, Josh. xii. 9-24 : yet Gibeon was a powerful city, having three subject towns in its territory,<sup>2</sup> and able to decide on peace and war. Similar to this must have been the condition of the quiet, industrious city of Laish or Leshem, which was surprised by a party of Danites.<sup>3</sup> The influence which such precursors necessarily exerted upon the Israelites when they were once firmly established in the land, will be noticed in the history of the Judges.

The high degree of civilisation attained by this race in primeval times, is attested by the whole following course of history, even where fortune did not favour them.<sup>4</sup> In the interior, where they succumbed to the youthful force of the Israelites, the spirit of the conquered was avenged by the extent to which their civilisation and social habits passed over to the conquerors, as will be shown presently. What they achieved on the sea under the name Phoenicians, is known to all the world. From the often-quoted document Gen. xiv. we are justified in inferring that in the earliest times, when the Canaanites themselves were new to the land and the Aborigines hardly subdued, a purer religion was still preserved amongst them, so that even Abraham could implore a blessing from one of their Priest-kings. But at the time of Moses this energetic and skilful people had obviously reached a sort of over-ripeness in their beautiful land, which may probably have been largely due to their never-ceas-

<sup>1</sup> Josh. ix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim; Josh. ix. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Judges xviii. 7, 10, 27, 28 ; Josh. xix. 47, the customs of the city were only like those of Sidon ; it therefore by no means belonged to the Sidonians. We must consequently look upon it as a city of the Hivites.

<sup>4</sup> Whether the pre-Mosaic Canaanites had already a *University-city* (celebrated somewhat in the same way as Byblos was

afterwards, Ezek. xxvii. 9), might admit of much better proof than that adduced by Bochart and some modern commentators, based on the mere name of a city in the mountain-region of Judah (which moreover admits of various interpretations) : קְרִירָה, 'Book-city,' Judges i. 11 sq., Josh. xv. 15 sq. It is however in verse 49 exchanged for קְרִירַת סֻנָּה which has been explained by the Arabic word *sunnah*, as 'City of the Law.' The LXX. however write for both names πόλις γραμμάτων.

ing divisions, through which every petty town could manufacture its own laws—the worse the better. The earliest accounts show a mass of moral depravity and unnatural crimes raising its head among them;<sup>1</sup> and the grosser pictures of the same drawn by the later tradition on occasion of the destruction of Sodom,<sup>2</sup> must rest on such a basis, and in so far be not destitute of historical truth. Thus then, despite all the misery it poured upon the people, the Israelitish conquest, which was rendered possible by this moral rottenness and national disunion, proved an excellent means of purification, in that the nobler part of the nation, unable longer to maintain themselves in the interior, gathered their forces together on the northern sea-coast for a new and more vigorous life, and thus the regenerated remnant of the people gained for themselves an honourable place in the history of the world.

2) The Canaanites, if immigrants, had entered the land at so early a period that the Old Testament records tell us nothing exact on the subject. Very different is the case of the PHILISTINES. These must have entered at a much later period, since a most distinct recollection of their immigration is everywhere preserved. This broad fact is elicited with perfect certainty from many brief traditions<sup>3</sup> which have come down to us; yet the details of the question present much that is obscure and difficult to understand.

The name of the original inhabitants of the south-west corner of the Jordan-land has come down to us.<sup>4</sup> It was the Avim that dwelt there as far as Gaza, i.e. nearly as far as the Egyptian frontier; living, however, not in fortified cities, but, as is expressly added, in villages, i.e. by agriculture. They were expelled by the Philistines, who came from Caphtor. Now nothing is so characteristic of the Philistines as their dwelling in fortified coast-cities. The agricultural habits of the Aborigines, therefore, show them to be perfectly different from the Philistines, and more resembling the inland tribes. Though said in the above-quoted passage to have been annihilated or expelled by the Philistines, they cannot have been at once wholly exterminated. An ancient tradition<sup>5</sup> shows that for a considerable period they asserted a certain degree of independence alongside of the five ruling Philistine cities, being

<sup>1</sup> As Levit. xviii. 3–30.

<sup>2</sup> On the passages Gen. xiii. 13, xixii. and xix. we have already spoken p. 104, and elsewhere. Genesis xiv. leaves it uncertain whether they were Aborigines or Canaanites; but the mode of expression in Gen. x. 20 distinctly implies the

latter, and we have no reason to doubt the fact.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. x. 14 (1 Chron. i. 12); Amos ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; comp. Rougé in the *Athènes, Fr.* 1855, p. 958.

<sup>4</sup> Through the Deuteronomist, ii. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xiii. 3.

doubtless reduced to a kind of vassalage. Indeed, vague expressions such as we often find, of the annihilation and expulsion of one people through the victorious invasion of another, ought never without further evidence to be taken so literally as to exclude the idea of any remnant of the vanquished being left, especially in a state of vassalage.

This land, then, must originally have been called Avim from these its early inhabitants; yet as early as the time of the Judges it was always called Philistia. When occurred the Philistine invasion which produced this change of name? Here we must regret the short and fragmentary form in which the ancient accounts of the migration of the Philistines have come down to us; for the passages just quoted show that the ancients knew far more of this and other migrations not too remote in antiquity than they happen to have incidentally expressed there. We must therefore give careful attention to all extant traces of the tradition, if we wish to obtain any degree of certainty upon this question.

Whether the Philistines were already in possession of the land during the Patriarchal age, might, from the nature of the extant stories concerning that age, be considered very doubtful. For the expressions there met with describe nothing characteristic of this people, as known to us from other sources and especially during the period of its highest power; and we might fancy that the narrators had transferred the name of a Philistine king and people of a later time into the very earliest age,<sup>1</sup> merely to give its usual designation to the southwest country. Indeed, many still more weighty reasons might be found even against the idea that the Philistines occupied a part of the land at the time of the Israelite conquest. For throughout all the descriptions of assaults upon the country and conquests of parts of it, the Philistines are never mentioned, which would appear impossible if they already possessed a part of it. According to the very remarkable statement of the Book of Covenants<sup>2</sup> (which will be further discussed hereafter), Israel during the earliest period of the invasion conquered the three cities Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, of which, however, it cannot long have retained possession. But though these cities were soon lost again, yet the whole land as far as the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Abimelech, king of Gerar, is not called king of the Philistines either in Gen. xx. or xxi. 22-34, but only in xxvi. As this last chapter has throughout been more entirely recast than the others, it is not improbable that this change may have

been introduced by a later hand. Elsewhere the expression is found only applied to the country, xxi. 32, and to the people dwelling there, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Judges i. 18.

boundary was constantly claimed by the Israelites as their possession. As, according to the most trustworthy traditions, the Canaanites had formerly extended their dominion thus far,<sup>1</sup> and as down to the latest period the name Canaan still comprised the entire extent of country as far as Egypt, thus including the Philistine territory;<sup>2</sup> therefore these five chief cities of the Philistines were always to be considered as belonging to Canaan, and therefore properly speaking subject to Israel.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it at all necessary to suppose that these five cities—Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, and Ekron (as enumerated Josh. xiii. 3)—were built by the Philistines, but rather the contrary, as in other parts of the country the name Gath is given to genuine Canaanite cities, which cannot have been founded by the Philistines.<sup>4</sup>

Hence it might seem that the Philistines cannot have come to this coast as conquerors and subjugated the original inhabitants till after the Israelitish conquest. In fact, they do not appear as active agents on the theatre of this history until about the latter half of the period of the Judges; but they then exhibit such youthful force, and despite all obstacles maintain unbroken for centuries such national energy, as proves them, in contradistinction to the Canaanites, to retain all their pristine vigour, and not to have reached the period of degeneracy.

But there are clear indications that the name Philistia was very early given to the sea-coast north-east of Egypt, and was in common use long before the latter half of the period of the Judges. According to the oldest and most reliable records it was so called at the time of the Exodus, and had even then strong fortresses and warlike inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> Some immigration of Philistines therefore must after all have occurred before the time of Moses. And, dissimilar as the Philistines of the Patriarchal age are to those of the time of the Judges, yet one unmistakable bond of union is found in the similarity of their proper names.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As 'unto Gaza,' Gen. x. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Zeph. ii. 5. The general name of Canaan must obviously be defined by the addition of an epithet wherever without it the sense is not quite clear, as in the passage Is. xix. 18.

<sup>3</sup> This is the sense of the passage Josh. xiii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> As Gath-Hepher in the tribe of Zebulon on the north, and Gittah or Gittan in the central portion of the land. How it was that the Hellenists could also say *Geth*, *Gitta*, is shown in my *Lehrbuch*, § 33 b.

<sup>5</sup> This follows namely from the words of the earliest narrator, Ex. xiii. 17, 18; as

well as from the ancient Paschal song, Ex. xv. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Besides the well-known *Abimelech*, the following examples occur: פָּנָא Gen. xxvi. 26, formed as to its termination like the familiar name Goliath (but there is also *Genubat* of the Idumœans in 1 Kings xi. 20); בְּלִי Gen. xxi. 22; xxvi. 26; בְּנֵי אֶשְׁתַּחֲוָה 1 Sam. xxi. 11 [10]; xxvii. 2; 1 Kings ii. 39; בְּנֵי 1 Sam. xxvii. 2; 2 Sam. xv. 19, 22; xviii. 2 (though this name is also given to an Israelite in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29; 1 Chron. xi. 31); בְּנֵי

We must therefore conceive the primeval history of this people to have been as follows:—The same aboriginal people which formerly covered the whole Lebanon and Jordan valley, spread also, as many traces show, over some distant coast-lands of the Mediterranean, as for instance Crete,<sup>1</sup> where there was in the earliest times a tribe of Philistines. From thence, unquestionably as early as the Patriarchal age, they invaded the coast which has ever since borne their name. The cause and mode of their invasion we can never know, but may perhaps conjecture that in the first instance they were called in to the assistance of the Aborigines against an invasion of the Canaanites, or migration of the Hyksos. They then (as it seems) spread out mainly towards the extreme south, where lies Gerar, a place of note in the history of Abraham and Isaac, which, so far as we know, they never held after the Mosaic age. But just before the time of Moses and Joshua they must have submitted to the rule of the Canaanites,<sup>2</sup> if only as allies (see on this point p. 248). Conquered together with their Canaanite allies, and for a while held in subjection by the Israelites, they seem next to have sought help from their old home in Crete. This second and greater immigration it was which made them a nation, and gave them those characteristics which we know through the Old Testament.

This view also accords with the mutual relation of the two or three names by which the nation is known in the Old Testament. It was the generally-received opinion<sup>3</sup> that the Philistines came from *Caphtor*. This now obsolete name probably designated either the whole or a part of the island of Crete.<sup>4</sup> For we find the name Cretan alternating with Philistine in the

<sup>2</sup> Sam. xxi. 18 (in 1 MS. of the LXX. Σερφ) for which occurs the possibly old form 'Ερφ 1 Chron. xx. 4 (the LXX. partly Σερφι, partly Σαφούτ). All these are peculiar, partly because they do not naturally occur in other Canaanite languages, partly on account of the uniform and remarkable formation of men's names in *ath.*

<sup>1</sup> It is for instance remarkable that the name of the river Jordan, "Ιαπάνως, reappears in Crete, Hom. *Od.* iii. 292; also in Lydia, Herod. i. 7; and even in Greece, Hom. *Il.* vii. 135; Apollodorus, ii. 6, 3. Pherecydes in the *Scholia to Il.* vii. 135. Pausanias' *Perieg.* v. 5, 5, 18. 2. A Lydian noble Jardanus is mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus, in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> At this time 'one of the fugitives from the Red Sea,' i.e. a Phœnician, may have

founded Ashdod, according to an ancient tradition handed down, with an attempt at explaining the meaning of the name of the city under its Greek form 'Ασέρος, by an old antiquarian in Stephanus Byz. s.v. 'Ασέρος.

<sup>3</sup> In Gen. x. 14 even Vater and Tuch correctly assumed a transposition of the words.

<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly the sound of the word itself leads to the idea that Caphtor might be the island of Cyprus; but nothing else can be adduced to decide us in favour of this opinion. And though the name of copper was first derived from this island, the island itself was probably so called from the plant ἄρπα which grows there, and was much used by the ancients (the *Alhennā* of the Arabs).

parallelism of the poetic verse,<sup>1</sup> and even sometimes in common discourse, as for instance in the mouth of one who is neither Israelite nor Philistine;<sup>2</sup> and in speaking of the mercenary soldiers maintained by the kings after David, Philistines and Cretans are mentioned together.<sup>3</sup> Now as the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor, we may assume that they had already borne the same name in Crete. And in fact the names of some of the Cretan cities<sup>4</sup> show that a Philistine nation may formerly have dwelt there, of which the later Greeks knew nothing, because after those primeval times, as Homer says,<sup>5</sup> very various tribes jostled each other in that island, but the Greek elements ultimately preponderated. Moreover they can only have been one of the smaller nations in Crete, since the land Caphtor whence they came, and from which they were sometimes<sup>6</sup> called Caphtorim, must have been larger than their own special territory; and this Caphtor can scarcely be identified with any other part of Crete but that called by the Greeks Cydonia, inasmuch as the name exhibits some similarity,<sup>7</sup> and the Cydonians were neither aboriginal inhabitants of Crete ('Ετεοκρῆτες), nor of the Greek race.<sup>8</sup> But the names Philistine and Caphtor are evidently extremely ancient, and appear so throughout the Old Testament, whereas the name Cretan as applied to the same people does not appear of equal antiquity or dignity. Moreover the combination 'Cerethites and Pelethites' of itself leads us to assume several kinds of inhabitants,

<sup>1</sup> Zeph. ii. 5; Ez. xxv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xxx. 14.

<sup>3</sup> In the well-known conjunction *Creti* and *Plethi*, retained by Luther. That here Κρήτη is shortened from Κρητίδη merely for the rhyme, was as far as I know first asserted in my *Kritische Grammatik*, p. 297. But others have since observed, what was not known to me, that Lakemacher had conjectured something similar; but his view had remained completely unnoticed.

<sup>4</sup> Τὰ Φάλαρα in Strabo x. 4. beg.; η Φαλαρόν *ibid.*, middle. Stephanus Byzantinus distinguishes from the latter two cities of Crete called Φάλαρα and Φαλιναία. Such traces are sufficient, so long as we are unable to explain a proper name exactly by its meaning in the native language. The LXX. translate the word first, in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, by Φιλιστίαι, keeping strictly to the Hebrew pronunciation, though from Herod. i. 105, vii. 89 it is evident that in Egypt the name had long been pronounced *Palaestina*; for

where else could Herodotus have heard it? In the later-translated books the name is very singularly rendered by Ἀλλόφυοι, i.e. Barbarians, Foreigners; perhaps only by an easy, half-jesting play upon that same Φιλιστίαι, induced by early hatred, which survived even the Captivity. But modern writers who quote the Ethiopic word *falasa*, to migrate, as furnishing the explanation, are certainly cleverer than these translators were.

<sup>5</sup> *Odys.* xix. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvi. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek abbreviation Κυδών from Kaftor is not much greater than that of Κόλχια, from Kaslúch (Gen. x. 14), in a perfectly analogous case.

<sup>8</sup> Hom. *Od.* xix. 173–177; comp. Strabo, x. 4. But the question how Caphtor came to be entitled a son of Egypt in Gen. x. 14 is not closely connected with that respecting the Philistines, but ought to be answered from the earliest history of Egypt. Rougé believes he finds the name in Egyptian as *Kefti* (*Revue Archéologique*, 1841, ii. p. 218).

earlier and later settlers; in David's time the Cretans and Philistines were perfectly distinguishable, and the name Cretans may have been given to those who still continued to arrive from the Greek islands. Thus all these circumstances point to a twofold immigration.

Of the causes which induced the Philistines first to migrate to the coast destined to perpetuate their name, we know nothing from actual tradition; of their second immigration, too, we learn nothing directly from the ancient authorities. But the causes of this second can be approximately conjectured from other facts of history which are clear to us. The Philistines, so far as we can follow them historically as masters of a part of Canaan, exhibit two very different phases of activity and power; and if it is ever permissible to draw inferences from the gradually developed system of the present respecting its hidden source in the past, this ought certainly to be conceded to us here. On the one hand, the Philistines were very warlike and valiant,<sup>1</sup> incomparably more expert than the Israelites in the arts of war, and the only inhabitants of Canaan who opposed any effectual resistance to them, and for many centuries contested with them the dominion of the entire land. The difference from the Canaanites which they exhibit under this aspect is apparent also in their language, which although Semitic varied much from that spoken in Canaan generally.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand they resemble the Canaanite settlers on the coast in making seaports the strongholds of their power, and not only holding the strongest of these, but carrying on from them a lucrative foreign commerce, which indeed furnishes the only satisfactory explanation of the greatness and power of their cities.<sup>3</sup> But the union of such violent antitheses of character

<sup>1</sup> The Targum 2 Sam. xx. 7, gives for the above *Creti* and *Plethi*—*archers* and *slingers*; which agrees with the Greek tradition of Rhadamanthys and Minos as inventors of the bow.

<sup>2</sup> שָׁׂרֵן is undoubtedly a genuine Philistine word, for it is the name given to their five princes. It is interchanged with the synonymous Hebrew שְׁׂרֵן (1 Sam. vi. 4, 16, 17, comp. with xviii. 30, xxix. 2-9), and is certainly derived from the same root, as an abbreviation from *Sarrān*; but how much shortened, and how peculiar a form! See also p. 245 note. Hitzig (*Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer*, Leipzig, 1845, and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft*, 1848, p. 359) endeavours to prove that the very name of

the Philistines identifies them with the Pelasgi, and that their language was not Semitic, but Indo-Germanic; but the argument seems to me not correctly conducted, even supposing it to be an open question. Equally unfounded is Quatremère's opinion that the Philistines were Berbers (comp. also the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, v. p. 226 sq.). The light colour of their skin on the Egyptian monuments (as described by Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 85 sq.) deserves attention; this suits well their connection with Crete and Caria.

<sup>3</sup> Askelon had much intercourse with Cyprus, and possessed the oldest and richest temple of the Οἰναύλα Ἀφροδίτην, Herod. i. 105; Strabo (xvi. 2), calls Gaza Ἰδοξός πόλε. Medieval as well as modern

is inconceivable in one undivided small people, and in so early an age. The Avim whom the Philistines dispossessed were tillers of the soil and unwarlike. The Israelites were both tillers and warlike, for the union of the two is perfectly conceivable. The Canaanites, who even thus early were distinguished for their handicrafts, trades, and all the higher arts, including especially marvellous architectural skill,<sup>1</sup> were by no means fond of war for war's sake, nor pertinacious in self-defence, any more than the Carthaginians at a later period and on a larger field, when abandoned by the succour or the fortune of their mercenaries. We are led by these considerations to expect in the five small Philistine kingdoms which here took root and flourished for centuries, a confluence of very various elements of nationality and culture. And the possibility of such confluence appears at once as the conclusion to which the historical consideration of the prevailing circumstances naturally tends. We may assume (according to p. 243 sq.), that at the time of the Israelitish conquest of Cauaan, the Philistines of the first immigration were greatly reduced in power, and their chief cities already held by the commercial Canaanites, whilst the Avim maintained a still higher degree of independence; and that then, delivered by the Israelitish invasion from the Canaanite yoke, but at the same time hard-pressed and partially conquered by the Israelites themselves, they probably sought assistance from the only quarter where it was to be had, namely, from the Semites of the seaboard, as for instance of Crete; an application which was often repeated in later times. We find both the Cretans and their relatives the Carians<sup>2</sup> (the similarity of whose names is not accidental) very often taken into pay by the ancient Asiatic and African kings, as brave soldiers and body-guards, and their remarkable fitness and desire for such service must have been generally known;<sup>3</sup> even David formed his body-guard of the so-called Cerethites and Pelethites. But if once a body of these mercenaries seeking employment had gone to these maritime cities, a stronger body may then once or more have repeated the venture, and made themselves masters of the whole coast, protecting the commerce and trades already settled there, and subjugating the agricultural Avim. One of the forces that drove

writers speak of the magnificent ruins of these cities.

<sup>1</sup> See for instance Guérin's *Voyage Archéologique* (Paris, 1862), ii. p. 226 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Their actual connection is shown by Herodotus, i. 171–173; Thucydides, i. 8; Strabo, xiv. 2 in the Old Testament also,

(2 Kings xi. 4, 19) is interchanged with the פָּרָשׁ mentioned above as the name for the body-guard.

<sup>3</sup> As early as Homer the Cretans served thus; as to later times see Herodotus, ii 152.

them to emigrate may perhaps have been a famine such as sometimes occurred in the much-divided Crete,—for example during the internal strife of the different nationalities of the island at the time of Minos, the mythical organiser of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that the surviving Rephaim mingled with the Philistines and made common cause with them against Israel (p. 246 sqq.); that the Amorites during the period of the Judges fought with them against Israel;<sup>2</sup> and that the help of these warriors was sought by the Sidonians in far later times;<sup>3</sup> while the Askelonian king, who is said to have conquered the Sidonians, and induced them to found the new city of Tyre,<sup>4</sup> a year before the fall of Troy, may very probably have been a Philistine.

Lastly, though for ever driven back by Israel upon a narrow strip of sea-coast, the Philistines nevertheless, through their fortified cities on the confines of Africa, always possessed such importance in the eyes of the Egyptians that the latter called the whole land of Canaan from them Palestine;<sup>5</sup> and this designation gradually superseded the older name Canaan, and became prevalent everywhere, through the spread of Hellenic culture under the successors of Alexander.

3) We have yet to notice the incursions of wandering tribes living in tents, on the southern and eastern borders—the ARABIAN tribes, as they may conveniently be called. Their incursions must have been quite as frequent in the pre-Mosaic age as in that of the Judges and subsequently, in which we can trace their recurrence in greater or less force. None of these attacks made by tent-tribes upon tribes long domiciled in the land ever had any great or enduring result. The new genius of Mohammed was required to make of them anything more than freebooting expeditions, followed by occasional settlements. Still at times they exerted so much influence over the country, and left such evidences of their occurrence scattered about, that we must here briefly review those of the pre-Mosaic period.

<sup>1</sup> According to Stephanus Byzantinus, under Ρέα, this city was once named Μίνωα, as if Minos himself, with Æacus and Rhadamanthys, had founded it. To this time may belong that migration from Crete spoken of by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2, mixing up the Jews with the ancient Idaeans of Crete; because it is generally assigned to the period of the downfall of Kronos and the commencement of the reign of Zeus, i.e. the beginning of the historical age associated with the name of Minos.

<sup>2</sup> This is the meaning of the passage 1 Sam. vii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xlvi. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, xviii. 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> In Philo, *Opera*, ii. p. 20, where, according to the present reading, the name Palestine is derived from the Syrians, we must read according to one MS. Συπλιᾱ for Σύροι. In our own day the conjecture has been hazarded, that the name of the city Pelusium is identical with Philistine; but this is improbable in itself (Pelusium being only the Greek name of the city), and cannot be proved from the words of Plutarch, Παλαιστινὴ ή Πηλοβόιον (*de Is. et Os.* ch. xvii.).

The **AMALEKITES**, in primeval times, must have been one of the strongest and most warlike nations of north-western Arabia. They endeavoured repeatedly to force their way into Canaan from the south, and form a settlement there. From the fact that they are not mentioned in the list of nations in Gen. x., no more can be inferred than that at the time of the composition of the Book of Origins they had already lost their ancient importance. In the earliest age known to us, according to a story of extreme antiquity,<sup>1</sup> they possessed the entire tract stretching southwards from Canaan to Egypt; but before this they must have been settled actually in the middle of Canaan, where a 'Mountain of the Amalekites' in Ephraim long preserved their name;<sup>2</sup> indeed we have good reason (from p. 231 sq.) to suppose that it was chiefly they who constituted the aboriginal population of the entire valley of the Jordan.<sup>3</sup> They may, moreover, formerly have really been a settled people. The Kenites, their allies in Moses's time and subsequently, were indeed a nomadic race, and the **Amalekites** themselves, when finally expelled into the desert, would of necessity adopt more and more the nomadic tent-life. Nevertheless, their appearance in historical times is exactly that of a nation which, having been driven back into the desert successively by Canaanites, Philistines, and Israelites, could never forget that it had for centuries possessed the beautiful land of Canaan and been its first colonists, and which therefore repeatedly made the greatest exertions to regain its former possession. At the time of Moses and afterwards they still held many posts in the extreme south, remnants of their ancient power, and in conjunction with the Canaanites often defended them bravely against Israel.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the hostility which they manifested towards the Israelites at the Exodus—in harassing them on the march and cutting off the lagging, weak, or weary, in true Bedouin fashion<sup>5</sup>—was quite pertinacious and bitter enough to account for the strong national animosity which existed for centuries between Amalek and Israel. It was the hatred of two

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 7; comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The fuller name of the mountain is found Judges xii. 15; the shorter *Amalek* in poetic language, Judges v. 14; and it is clear from both passages that a region of great extent must have been intended; possibly the centre of the mountain strongholds of Ephraim, where first Amalek and afterwards Ephraim dwelt in large numbers, and held their national assemblages.

<sup>3</sup> Very curiously the LXX. (at least according to most MSS.) treat the king of Maacah in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8 as a king of

the Amalekites; whence it would follow that in the north-east of the land a remnant of this nation had maintained itself up to the time of David. It should be observed that this small territory of Maacah appears always closely bound up with Geshur, already mentioned p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Book of Origins; Numb. xiii. 29; xiv. 25, 43, 45.

<sup>5</sup> The clearer and earlier tradition on this point is found in Deut. xxv. 17, 18. The Fourth Narrator treats this reminiscence after his own fashion, Ex. xvii. 8-16.

rivals disputing a splendid prize which the one had previously possessed and still partially possessed, and the other was trying to get for himself by ousting him ; and to this was added the antipathy constantly existing between nomadic and settled nations, to which latter class Israel even at this early period belonged. One short saying<sup>1</sup> preserved from that primeval time, shows very distinctly how deeply-rooted was this aversion in Israel ; it ascribes to Moses these words,

‘ Yea, the hand to the throne of Jah :  
Jahve makes war against Amalek  
From generation to generation ! ’

And in fact the eternal war against Amalek and his gods, vowed by Israel in these words of glowing indignation, must have contributed much to the gradual complete dissolution and annihilation of this once-powerful people. The commencement of this decline is visible even before the Mosaic age. Firstly, we are informed of the important fact that the Kenites, named Gen. xv. 19, many of whom accompanied the Israelites to Canaan, originally constituted a sub-tribe of Amalek,<sup>2</sup> from which however the greater part seceded at the time of Moses and joined the Israelites; but this stands in too close connection with the history of Israel under Moses to be fittingly discussed here. Secondly, the Kenizzites, who in Gen. xv. 19 are near to the Kenites, must, according to all indications, have occupied a similar position. At the time when the Israelites conquered Canaan some of these Kenizzites, doubtless consisting of a few ruling families, were dispersed over the land at the extreme south. Othniel, Caleb’s younger brother and likewise son-in-law, is called a son of Kenaz,<sup>3</sup> and Caleb himself, the son of Jephunneh, has the appellation Kenizzite.<sup>4</sup> The original meaning of Keniz-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xvii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. ‘ I swear, raising my hand heavenwards,’ Gen. xiv. 22. The great antiquity of this saying is seen also from its peculiar language ; neither the expression about the hand, nor كنائس, which must be a dialectic variety of كنائس, being found elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 6, and the account 1 Sam. xxx. 29, is not opposed to this. The name of such a desert tribe has been preserved

down to Christian times : بلقين shortened from بنو القين Ham. p. 228, 3, 8 ; 263, 9 sq. &c., القين Tahari i. p. 80, comp. also بيتونقاع in Mohammed’s history ; it is however hardly possible to ascertain

whether any or what kind of connection existed between the ancient and the modern tribe. We must not be misled by mere similarity of name, without further indication of relationship, on the extensive subject of the affinities of primeval tribes ; else we might think, for example, that the locality الكنعان in Upper Egypt (*Description de l’Égypte. État Moderne*, xviii. 3, p. 49), and near the modern Debir (*Ztsch. der Deut. Morgen. Ges.* 1857, p. 59), had some connection with the Canaanites.

<sup>4</sup> Judges i. 13, iii. 9 ; Josh. xv. 17 ; 1 Chron. iv. 13 ; the LXX. indeed interpret the three first passages as if Kenaz were Caleb’s younger brother.

<sup>5</sup> In the Book of Origins, Num. xxxii. 12 ; Josh. iv. 6, 14 ; comp. verse 13.

zite being fully established, this can evidently only mean that Caleb and his adherents had connected themselves with the Kenizzites dwelling in southern Canaan, and were acknowledged by them as possessing all the privileges of their tribe. When at a later time these Kenizzites were forced into a position of dependence upon Caleb's posterity, Kenaz might be called his grandson.<sup>1</sup> Another section dwelt in Edom, and appears there as one of Esau's grandsons through Eliphaz.<sup>2</sup> This therefore must, through a sacrifice of perfect independence, have entered into the union of the Edomite tribes, exactly as Caleb and his confederates into that of the Israelites. Now since Amalek and Kenaz are both described as grandsons of Edom through Eliphaz, but the former was the son of a concubine, which marks him as a subordinate or servile member of the kingdom,<sup>3</sup> it is evident that the Edomites, though making no difficulty (as the Israelites did) about receiving Amalekites into their confederacy, yet held the Kenizzites, who must before this time have renounced their connection with the Amalekites, in far higher esteem, as did the Israelites also.

But for many centuries after Moses this indomitable people continued its struggle for independence as opportunity offered. Their enmity towards Israel remained unchanged; and when they could do nothing greater, they could at least make plundering expeditions<sup>4</sup> in company with other tribes who made incursions from the south-east; for which they were repeatedly made to feel the vengeance of Israel.<sup>5</sup> After the severe castigations they received from Saul and David,<sup>6</sup> they disappear for a time from history, but are mentioned as late as the second half of the eighth century (p. 109 sq.), and again towards its close, when 500 Simeonites, as if to revive the old animosity, hunted up in the mountains of Edom their old prey, 'the rest of the Amalekites who were escaped,' and exterminated them and occupied their territory.<sup>7</sup>

The position assigned in the Old Testament records to this

<sup>1</sup> As is found in 1 Chron. iv. 15; undoubtedly from a genuine ancient authority.

<sup>2</sup> In the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxvi.

11, 15, 42.

<sup>3</sup> In the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16; therefore he is closely connected with the Horites, i.e. the Aborigines (comp. Gen. xxxvi. 12 with 22). Curiously he is not named in vv. 40-43; but perhaps this admits of explanation; for if the meaning of vv. 40-43 has been correctly given on p. 76, it is intelligible why the Hebrews here also did not like to recognise the sovereignty of Amalek.

<sup>4</sup> As is expressly stated 1 Sam. xiv. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Judges iii. 13, vi. 3, 33; see x. 12, and above, p. 109 sq.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 48; xv. 27, 8; comp. xxx. 13; 2 Sam. i. 8.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43. The subsequent poetic mention of this nation in Ps. lxxxiii. among many others with which Israel had to contend from a very early period, has hardly any more historical significance than that Haman is called in the Book of Esther an Agagite, i. e. (see 1 Sam. xv.). a chief of the original enemies (the Amalekites); so at least Josephus explains.

once widespread and powerful people ought especially to be studied by any one who wishes to form a correct judgment upon the later accounts of them given by Arabic writers.<sup>1</sup>

As the Amalekites in historical times made inroads from the south, so did the Kadmonites, who are mentioned next to them in Gen. xv. 19, from the east. These are undoubtedly what their name expresses, Orientals, Saracens,<sup>2</sup> otherwise *B'ne Kedem* or Sons of the East; a name restricted in practice to the east contiguous to Palestine, and comprising only the Arabian nations dwelling between Palestine and the Euphrates. Among these the Midianites alone gained historical celebrity, as a powerful conquering nation,<sup>3</sup> the others being in fact mentioned only

<sup>1</sup> Among the numerous accounts of this people, there is much which has originated in a careless intermingling of Biblical stories (see the Introduction to the ancient work of Abdalhakam upon Egypt [which I possess in manuscript, see *Zeitsch. für d. Morgenland*, iii. 3], now edited by Karle, Göttingen, 1856; Masudi's *Golden Meadows*, London, 1841, i. pp. 76, 93, 94, 97, 98; de Sacy's *Abdallatîf*, p. 519; the *Kitâb Alaghâni* in the *Jour. As.* 1838, ii. p. 206 sq.; Tabari edited by Dubœuf, i. p. 47-55 (but comp. pp. 113, 121), 209, 210, 261, 262; also Ibn-Chaldûn in the *Jour. As.* 1844, i. p. 306); but they cannot all have had such an origin. These accounts assert in substance: 1. that Amâlîk or Amlîk (both derived from *Amîlîk*) was neither allied to Ishmael nor to Qach-tan (Joktan); i. e. was one of the few aboriginal Arabian tribes which dwelt first in Yemen, and then spread beyond Mecca and Medina to Syria, where it had powerful rulers (Abulfida's *Pre-Islamite Annals*, pp. 16, 178; the proverb of عرقوب in de Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 139 sq.); this cannot rest merely on Num. xxiv. 20; on the contrary, Amalek is thereby placed in a list of Arabian tribes (named in Gen. x. 7) which stand in no sort of connection with Abraham. 2. That it at one time gave kings to Egypt; on which point more will be said afterwards in the history of Joseph. 3. That even as late as the kingdom of Alifra it had powerful princes, whose subjects had peculiar obligations, *Hamdeâ*, p. 253, v. 1 and 254, cf. Lekri in Wüstenfeld's *Genealogische Tabellen der Araber Rg.* p. 405; Abulfida, p. 122. In the ancient work ملوك (Cod. Mediol. Ambros. 100 according to Hammer), which also elsewhere mentions frequent invasions of Syria and Palestine by the ancient Arabs, there

is a notice of mighty kings of Amalek at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and of their invasion of Syria (according to an abstract kindly communicated to me by Earl Munster and Dr. Sprenger in their journey through Tübingen, in the autumn of 1841). In many cases the name Amalekite may have signified among the later Arabs merely an aboriginal race; as in the case of the oblong Amalekite tombs similar in form to those of the ancient Egyptians, which Captain Newbold found near Jerusalem in 1846, and described in the *Trans. As. Soc. London*. But the pronunciation פָלַיְה is quite Hebrew, according to my *Lehrbuch*, 87 d.

It is clear from these and similar passages, that I nowhere overestimate the Moslim tales of the Amalekites and other nations of antiquity, or draw conclusions from them alone as reliable sources. But besides the Bedouin, Arabia had in certain parts settled races, among whom writing and literature, though gradually degenerating, flourished from the earliest times (for it is not true that these were first introduced by Mohammed). Moreover, the early Moslim, as has been shown in *Fihrist*, had at their command a mass of works since wholly lost. These considerations are not sufficiently kept in view by Th. Nöldeke in his treatise *Über die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten*, Göttingen, 1864.

\* still designates among the Mo-hammedans chiefly the districts to the east of Palestine, on the Euphrates (as in Freytag's *Chrestomathy* s.v. *Kemâleddin*, p. 119, 17), and the name *Saraceni* was in use among the Romans long before Islam, apparently from the time of Trajan's and Hadrian's wars.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxv. sq.; Judges vi.-viii.

in connection with them.<sup>1</sup> But as the Book of Origins<sup>2</sup> describes them as Abraham's descendants, they find their proper place in the primeval history of the Hebrews, as is also the case with the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, who settled near or else in the very midst of the Hebrews. Of the Hebrews, then, we now propose to give a connected account.

**3.** A strong contrast to all the migrations already noticed is furnished by that of the Hebrews, of whom the Israelites originally formed but one small branch. Here we have a people which, according to its own clear memories, had entered the land from the north-east—the quarter whence, on pre-historic, i.e. philological and physical grounds, perhaps all the nations already described may be thought to have originally come, although in every case in which we can trace their steps backward in actual history, we always find that they had already been either settled down or leading a wandering life somewhere else first. From the same quarter other nations were in later ages seen to issue—Assyrians, Scythians, Turks, and Mongols, whose advance was chiefly marked by the use of mere physical force, coming and going without leaving any intellectual creation to witness of its existence. The ancient Hebrews, on the contrary, effected a revolution in these favoured lands, the force of which was felt for centuries by the nations previously settled there, and generated a new spiritual life, whose noblest fruit still remained, nay rather first became truly known and valued, as the nation itself perished. We here enter upon a fresh region, of which we could never have had the faintest idea from any of the nations already described. This it is which constitutes the proper subject of the present history.

The memory of this Hebrew immigration, however, as preserved in the historical books written after the establishment of the Mosaic religion, is so closely bound up with the whole history of primeval times preserved by Israel, that it will be best treated of in that connection.

An ancient nation, which had already played some part and reaped some laurels on the great theatre of nations, on gazing backwards, inspired by a new desire to form a clear picture of its own remote antiquity, would discover very various but scattered and indistinct remembrances, which ultimately lost themselves in an obscurity impenetrable to memory alone. But where memory fails, hypothesis always steps in; and in the varied

<sup>1</sup> Judges vi. 3; comp. Isaiah xi. 14; assigned to קְרִים v. 6, deserves especial attention.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxv. 1-6; where the prominence

mass of traditional matter preserved by an imaginative people, much is always to be found that springs from mere hypothesis and a busy fancy. The combination of these two essentially different elements may then continue for a further period, even after the awakening of the desire to look back into the distant past and gain a clearer conception of it.<sup>1</sup> These mixed memories of its primitive state, which each nation thus forms and preserves in a manner characteristic of its intellectual stage, we here designate its Preliminary History. A complete separation is thereby effected between the Preliminary and the properly so called National History. Indeed the mere aspect of the subject constrains us to admit that the history of the Israelites as a nation can only properly commence with the Twelve Tribes; and that whatever is told of the Patriarchs and of still earlier times, belongs to an essentially different region of history.

<sup>1</sup> As shown more fully pp. 26 sqq.

# HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

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## BOOK I.

### PRELIMINARY HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

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#### SECTION I.

##### ISRAEL BEFORE THE MIGRATION TO EGYPT.

###### A. GENERAL NOTIONS.

THIS Preliminary History embraces partly historical matter concerning the earliest times, treasured in the memory of the people at a later day, or received by them into their traditions from other nations ; but partly also their own ideas and imaginings respecting those primeval ages, their connection with the other nations of the earth, with the first members of the human race and with God Himself. It is evident therefore that, ascending from the period which I call here the historical, the accounts which we possess divide themselves into various stages which were clearly enough distinguished in the national consciousness. On the lowest stage, nearest to the historical period, stand the traditions of the abode of the people when but little civilised, in Canaan, of their emigration thither from the north-east, and of the grand forms of the Fathers, alike of the people of Israel and of the other kindred Hebrew tribes. The dim remembrance of this migration which the Hebrew race preserved in their later position far to the south-west, together with their tradition of an original connection with other nations dwelling in the north and east, forms the boundary-line of this stage of the preliminary history. But behind this there arises a remoter question which no cultivated people can forbear to ask : in what relation they stand not only towards a few kindred nations, but towards all the peoples of the earth : a question the answer to which goes beyond the traditions of all existing nations, and leads into a cloud-land which can be reached only by means of linguistic and physical investigations, or (where these are untried or incomplete) by imagination merely, and never embraces

more than the origin of the existing nations and men. But historical questions and imaginings logically stretch beyond these ; nor can the ascending movement, once excited, again be laid to rest before, upon the third and last stage, and apart from all existing nations and living men, it has brought into view under an historical form the original condition of humanity, and the connection of mankind, and of the whole creation with the Creator ; establishing on this subject a truth from which as from a first cause every further impulse of human history—that is of man's development—may be traced at leisure.

These are the three stages of primeval history, which the Book of Origins distinguishes by the Creation, by the renovation of the human race after the great Flood, by Abraham's entrance into Canaan, as the commencement of so many great turning-points (or epochs), describing each characteristically and in detail with equal simplicity and precision ; while the later narrators introduce from other sources many fuller or varying accounts. When to this we add, that the time after the close of the Patriarchal world is in the Book of Origins regarded as the properly historical age, continuing little changed in character, in comparison with the primeval age, to the author's own day, then we see here before us four great Ages, into which the author regarded the entire domain of the world's history as falling, and according to the succession of which he arranged his work, as has been further explained above, p. 79 sq. But the Book of Origins evidently did not originate this conception of Four Ages of the world, since it does not explain the ground on which it rests, but rather tells its whole story briefly according to that idea, as if it were already long established and well known.

Unquestionably, then, we must recognise here the same Four Ages of the world of which the old legends both of the Greeks and of the Hindus speak. Nor is it the number four alone in which a striking agreement is found among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Hindus—nations widely separated in character as in locality : they have all likewise worked out the conception of a gradual decline of the human race from the primitive perfection of the first age to the second, third, and fourth. These facts force us to recognise the traces of a primary tradition which was given before the separate existence of such nation ; as the Hebrews, Greeks, and Hindus, and from which they all drank in common. We may be certain also that with the tradition of the four gradually declining ages were handed down various particulars concerning them : for example, an account of the Creation of the visible world in all its parts : another of

the great Flood at the end of the first age : partly because the conception of the four ages could become clear and fixed only by means of such minute details respecting the commencement, course, and nature of each ; and partly also because the accounts of the Creation and the Flood given in the Book of Origins recur among the Greeks, Hindus, and some other nations of antiquity, with so close a resemblance in essential portions, that we must assume for them also a common original source.

Much indeed of that which the later narrators add to the representations of the Book of Origins respecting the first two Ages (see p. 38 sq.), appears on a closer examination to have been first imported from Eastern Asia through the brisker intercourse with foreign countries which especially marked the period after the tenth century ; and then to have been so penetrated and leavened with the spirit of the Mosaic religion that it could find a place amid the ancient sacred traditions and ideas. But the case is quite different with those narratives of the Book of Origins which in their essential basis are found also among foreign and remote nations. Their importation can in no way be proved or rendered probable ; yet while they manifest in every feature an extreme simplicity and primitive purity, though already tinged by the spirit of the Mosaic religion, we find them again not only in Eastern Asia but also in ancient Europe. Moreover, the composition of the Book of Origins dates from a time when the great influx of fresh stories and ideas from the east had not begun, and the people of Israel retained essentially their ancient condition. Their source must therefore reach back beyond the histories of the separate nations then existing into that obscure primeval period of the existence of one unknown, but early civilised nation, which was afterwards dissolved into the nations of that day, but left many wonderful relics as traces of its former existence. One such relic of the culture of this prehistoric people is the language of the historical nations, which clearly points to a common basis ; and the Semitic group of languages is connected, at least remotely, with the Mediterranean or Aryan group.<sup>1</sup> Another relic of this primeval nation are these old traditions : for where a cultivated language is found, there must be also a groundwork of peculiar institutions, traditions, and historical ideas ; and if nations, while diverging widely from their original unity, preserve the essential elements of the primeval language, each in its own way, and according to its special development, we can see no reason why

<sup>1</sup> This subject is treated in detail in *Sprachlehre*, and more at length in the various editions of my *Hebräische Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*.

they should not similarly have retained from the same period a common basis of traditions, laws, and customs.<sup>1</sup>

But a comparison of the different forms which this primeval tradition of the Four Ages has assumed among each of these nations according to its peculiar history and culture, brings us to the conclusion that the Hebrew story presents the most conspicuous fragments of it, and lends us the most aid in inferring its original shape. For the Greek tradition, even in its oldest extant version,<sup>2</sup> only presents conceptions beautiful as poetry, but utterly barren of historical matter and tone, and not even conveying an idea of the reason for this division of all past time into four ages: for it would be manifestly absurd to suppose the reason for a four-fold division to have been that only four metals —gold, silver, brass, and iron—were known, and so only four ages corresponding to these could be affirmed. Clearly the thought of comparing the constant degeneration of the four ages with four metals similarly sinking in value is simply the Greek addition; but the fact that this merely poetical thought was required to revive and recast the whole idea of the four ages, proves satisfactorily that the original conceptions of the details were already lost.

In the Hindu accounts the original form of the tradition is much more clearly recognisable; especially if we compare the various modifications of the story presented by different writers, and draw our picture of the original from them all combined.<sup>3</sup> Some points are then even more plainly to be recognised in these than in the Hebrew tradition, of which indeed we have only the one single version given in the Book of Origins. For

<sup>1</sup> While I have been careful to avoid combining what is really heterogeneous, or making any unwarrantable assumption, I have always in this sense maintained the possibility of a certain original similarity among all the above-mentioned nations, not merely in language, but in myths and customs also. (See *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.*, 1831, pp. 1012–13). K. O. Müller, in the introduction to his *History of Greek Literature*, made a similar admission.

<sup>2</sup> In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, v. 103–119: Hesiod's introduction of the Heroic Age (making really five ages) is obviously his own innovation; and an attentive perusal makes it evident that he had received the series of four ages only, corresponding to the four metals, with a few uncertain fragmentary details, and that his own imagination added all the rest. In Mexico, the four ages of the world were

graduated according to the four elements. Even among the Arabs was preserved a tradition (according to Sur. vi. 6; compare x. 14) of a series of ages (فَرِن) commencing with one supremely blest.

<sup>3</sup> A number of ancient Hindu traditions are given very briefly by Manu, i. 68–86; later and more highly developed ones are found in Wilson's *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 23–26, 259–271; compare p. 622. The Bhâgavata Purâna, iii. 11. 18 sqq., furnishes little that is characteristic. The Buddhist notion, given by Schiefner in the St. Petersburg *Bulletin de l'Académie*, 193, is peculiar but not very ancient. In the Veda no detailed account of the Four Ages of the world has as yet been found; but this does not prove that the whole conception was unknown among the Hindus till a late period.

example, it is certain from them that the original idea of the Four Ages was formed by looking from below upwards, or in other words by looking from the present further and further back into the distant strata of primeval time, somewhat as conjectured above, see p. 256 sq.<sup>1</sup> The regular proportion which was conceived to subsist among the Four Ages and to be expressed in numbers is another instance: for though it might indeed be presumed that in the endeavour to form anything like a complete conception of these four ages the scanty historical reminiscences of primeval times would be eked out by the assumption of mutual numerical relations yielding four terms of a proportion, yet this is first visibly confirmed by the Hindu traditions.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew tradition, on the other hand, possesses high excellence, in that it accurately distinguishes and bounds the four ages according to their intrinsic nature, so that we see clearly why four—neither more or less—are assumed, how each of them differs intrinsically from the rest, and has its meaning only in its own place and order. Their succession is not determined by a mere change in general mutual relations—each containing merely its definite space, its numbers and its greater or less degree of virtue: but each possesses, independently of its relation to the others, an external boundary and an internal life and character of its own, which make its existence in this particular form possible only this once; and together they include the whole domain of historical traditions. The non-Hebrew legends, by tearing the Great Flood away from its original position in the series of these four ages and setting it up as an independent event, have lost one clear distinction between the first two ages. And the Greek legend, by not assigning even to the third age any of the famous heroic names which approach the domain of strict history, fails to make any adequate distinction between the two middle ages.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proof of this is furnished by the names: *Kali-juga* is the fourth age, the sorrowful present; *Dvâpara-juga*, the third, has its name derived from the number two, as if counted from below; *Tréta-juga*, the second, from the number three; but both of these, now that the names and traditions are more minutely worked out, contain at the same time an allusion to the gradual decrease of the four pips on the dice, in the game of dice. This artificial, and, therefore, probably modern, image being once introduced, the *Krita-* or *Satja-juga*, the first age, signifying that of Perfection or Truth, is represented by the four pipe, the best throw of the dice. Other figures were suggested by the various kinds of living

beings; thus arose the Egyptian conception (one similar to which is still prevalent in Japan), half apparent even in Hesiod, of the successive rule of *Gods*, *Demigods*, *Manes*, and *Men*.

<sup>2</sup> The progression of the four ages is exactly in the proportion of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4; but after starting with the simple conception that the length of human life was in the first age 400 years, in the second 300, in the third 200, and in the fourth 100 (Manu i. 83), they afterwards multiplied these numbers preposterously; the original numbers, however, being still discernible.

<sup>3</sup> I have gone at length into the subject of Primeval Biblical History in the *Jahrb.*

## B. THE FIRST TWO AGES.

Looking closer, after these general remarks, into each of the three Ages of the primeval history, we see at once that the first two Ages, as described in the Book of Origins, present a certain mutual resemblance, and consequent common contrast to the following age. It is true, indeed, that each is essentially sufficiently distinguished from the other : the first shows what man was at his creation, and how even in this primeval state the race sank gradually lower and lower, until the Flood swept them away ; the second, how the new human race, starting from that terrible time of purification and new-birth, developed itself into the great and wide-spread nations now existing. But at the time when the idea of the Four Ages was established, it was not possible to recall the memory of any individuals who had actually lived in the two first ages, as it was of those who had lived in the following third or fourth age. In this respect, these two ages, as representing only the great events of the creation, the Flood, and the development of the existing nations, but void of other interest, and lacking the history of individual men, necessarily formed a contrast to the two following, which are rich in contents, and present an ample supply of tradition respecting individual heroes of the older times.

But again even from the first there was something so repugnant to natural feeling in this emptiness of an entire age,<sup>1</sup> that tradition early sought to fill up the gaps as satisfactorily as possible. A continuous series of men and races must surely have lived even then (so it might fairly be argued), and occupied these wide spaces : and when the inclination of tradition to fill up the gaps was once aroused, material enough was soon presented to satisfy the demand. For tradition has in its boundless store no lack of names available to fill these voids. Some of these names originally expressed mere ideas, exhibiting the first man, and similar founders of new races or nationalities as conceived by the ancients, in the concrete form of individuals : as for instance among the Hindus, to whom Manu (or Man) is the first man, and the creator of all other beings. Other names

*der Bibl. Wiss.*, vol. i.-ix; and therefore need not repeat here much which is said there. Compare here also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 499 sq. Nothing is so convenient, but at the same time so perverse, as to assume a mere casual coincidence, even in cases where it is possible to pursue the scattered traces till we can reproduce the lost whole in its original

vividness; as has been done above in the case of the four ages.

<sup>1</sup> The Hindu tradition in the *Purânas* accordingly specifies the seven Rishis and other necessary personages, not only for all the past six *Manvantaras* (creations), but even for the seven that are yet to come (*Vishnu-Pur.*, 259-271).

denoted gods who had been formerly venerated, but were then regarded, not as utterly gone, but only as become powerless and lifeless and withdrawn into obscurity, and who therefore must have appeared especially suited to people the empty spaces of the remotest ages. Others, finally, were the surviving names of ancient heroes which, no longer possessing any real meaning among the living nations, were readily thrown back into the remote regions of the primeval times.

But tradition, in filling up the space of an entire age out of such materials, could not accept at random an unlimited number of names, because the very conception of a long past age, although allowing a certain necessary fullness, demanded limits and moderation in respect to numbers. Accordingly we find round numbers always employed; the more because names, which, being handed down from the remotest times, might easily be lost, tend to group themselves in round numbers (see p. 26 sq.). Among these numbers, seven and ten perpetually recur: the Hindus speak of the seven *Maharshis* (great saints) of the primeval period,<sup>1</sup> and of seven *Prajā-patis* (ancestors).<sup>2</sup> But even more than the number seven, the number ten<sup>3</sup> appears so constantly in the traditions of ancient nations respecting the primeval world, that we cannot but regard this sacred number of ancestors as an element of the one common original tradition. And if in the transmitted forms of this common tradition groups of seven or ten names were always assigned to fill up the space of that age, we must in this respect also hold the special form of the Hebrew tradition as the clearest and most ancient. For while the traditions of the other nations merely place seven or ten names as those of the original progenitors at the head of all history, and confine them to the first age,<sup>4</sup> the Hebrew tradition repeats the series in both the first two ages; it makes of the individual names in each a symmetrical series, following

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the *Mahābhārata* (*Matjopākhijānam*, v. 30), and numerous *Purānas*, compare Wilson's *Vishnu-Pur.* p. 23 sq., 270, and the observations on pp. 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> The appellation *Prajāpati* is often interchanged with *Maharshi*; but properly speaking there is a difference between them.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Hindus ten is the ruling number, *Manu* i. 34 sq. *Vishnu-Pur.* p. 49 sq. *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, iii. 12. 21, sqq., 20. 9, sqq., ix. 1. 12, sqq.; comp. also the statements in Kleuker's *Zendav.* i. 20, iii. 117; among the Babylonians there are ten kings, reckoned from Alōres to Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge, *Berosus*, ed. Richter (Leipsic 1825) p.

52 sqq.; Moses Choren. *Hist.* i. 3; among the Assyrians, ten kings from Ham to Ninus, and ten from Japhet to Aram, Moses Chor. i. 4 according to Abydenos; among the Egyptians, thirty Memphitic and ten Thinitic kings, who, according to Manetho, followed Menes. Even among the ancient Mongols, similar round numbers are found connected with national traditions of this character; see *Journal Asiat.*, 1842, i. p. 90-92; 1859, ii. p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> The Hindus, however, reckon twenty-one *Prajā-patis*, i.e. seven, multiplied by the three ages (*Mahābhārata*, 1, 33). The Babylonians appear also to have counted ten generations after as well as before the Deluge. *Berosus*, ed. Richter, p. 58.

each other from father to son like the members of a sovereign house. In like manner the close of each of these two ages, at which the tranquil succession of time ceases, and a broader development suddenly begins, is indicated by a device which might be compared to a knot in the thread—namely, by giving to every tenth Patriarch three sons instead of one, who separate and found the new world, each in his own way. Here we see a complete system of ideas, as antique in its simplicity as it is well connected in itself, of which the other nations have preserved mere fragments. There can be no question that we are approaching the origin of the tradition, when we discover the natural unfolding of a fundamental conception unabridged and unconfused in all its parts. This is especially the case here, inasmuch as it will soon appear that the materials of the filling-up reach far back before the time of Moses.

It nowhere appears, however, on closer investigation, that with these round numbers the primeval tradition transmitted definite names of persons, which might recur in recognisable varieties of the same sound in the traditions peculiar to each of these ancient nations. We find, on the contrary, that each nation which preserved that base of primeval tradition, had already arrived at a stage when its own memories of old times could furnish the names required by those round numbers. In the case of the Hebrew tradition, this leads directly to some very remarkable results. In the twenty names which come first in the narrative, we discover the relics of a cycle of traditions, which have indeed a Semitic colouring, but date from a primeval pre-Mosaic age ; and we thus gain admission to a region which except at this point is virtually entirely lost to us. Elsewhere the Mosaic religion unsparingly destroyed the older religion with all its traditions which happened not to relate to the three Patriarchs ; and even here these twenty names stand bare and lifeless, scarcely anything distinctive being recorded of any of them ; and it is a happy chance that the somewhat later narrator of Gen. iv. has rescued in a cycle of seven patriarchs a few more complete but deviating traditions from the same region. But when we regard these bare names somewhat more narrowly, a large part of the original Hebrew traditional history seems to revive before us from a sleep of thousands of years. Respecting times of what it might well seem presumptuous to expect any accurate information, we thus gain a considerable portion of assured knowledge, sufficient at least to give us a tolerably reliable insight into the most ancient religion and the earliest

dwelling-places of the Hebrews. And for this reanimation of the twenty Patriarchs mentioned in the Book of Origins (Gen. v. and xi. 10–26), the diverging account by the later writer of Gen. iv. concerning seven of the Patriarchs before the Flood is of great service, since we are prepared, after the foregoing remarks on the Hindu Patriarchs, to recognise in the number seven only an ancient substitute for the ten.

I. The names of the four earliest of the ten Patriarchs who lived before the Flood, must be first examined. They are in part easily intelligible, and really express only the ideas of ‘man’ and ‘child’ twice following in this order. The first name, Adam, and the third, Enos, are universally admitted to denote ‘man.’ The second name, Seth, the son of Adam, which properly signifies *scion* or *germ*, as well as the fourth, Cainan, which signifies *a created thing*, a *creature*,<sup>1</sup> yield the idea of a young man. The evidence for the latter case is strengthened by the fact that Cain, a shortened form of Cainan, appears in the other version (Gen. iv.) as the son of Adam himself. Thus we have here a combination of two expressions only for the first men—as father and son—as the old and the ever-young humanity. These double forms may perhaps at first have been only dialectic varieties,<sup>2</sup> until they were brought side by side by the necessity of making up a series of ten.

We must now compare with these the four earliest of the ten Patriarchs after the Flood. The names of the first two distinctly designate the special race which claimed them as its progenitors. Shem is itself the honourable designation of this race, and Arphaxad the name of one of its original seats. But the fourth name, Salah, again, plainly signifies nothing but infant, child,

<sup>1</sup> That סֵת can have the signification given above, is inferred from its own meaning, and that of the cognate לְנָשׁוֹן, and also indicated by the Fourth Narrator n a happy play upon the word in Gen. iv. 25. סֵת might be a dialectic variety of נָחַד, and thence mean to *create*, as the Fourth Narrator again seems to intimate by hitting upon the signification *child*, obtained by a play on words in iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As is known to be the case with בָּנָה and אֶנוֹשׁ. According to my *Sprachkri*, § 153 d, this word is formed in intentional opposition to בָּנָה God, as its contrasted idea. Both words have been preserved in the most various Semitic languages (though singularly enough not in the Ethiopic). What Semitic nation originated this expression of the two

contrasted ideas—of *God* as the absolutely *powerful*, and of *man*, matched with *God*, as the absolutely *weak*? It can scarcely have been Israel, because נָכָר became almost obsolete in Hebrew, as also in Arabic. The history of these two words, therefore, takes us to a primeval people far to the north. The writer of Gen. iv. 26 retained a correct feeling of the origin of these ideas. It is to be hoped that no one will fancy a connection between *Seth* and the Egyptian *Seth* for *Typhon*. (But this has since actually occurred; Bunsen and the Dutch scholar W. Pleyte have really attempted this combination; the result is shown in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, pp. 2022–28. But see also Sujuthi's مختار الحكموم in Dr. Lee's *Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 16).

youth;<sup>1</sup> and the third, Cainan,<sup>2</sup> is actually identical with the fourth of the first series. Thus this group is laid out upon essentially the same plan as the former,—the only difference being that instead of the more general names, Adam and Enos, those peculiar to the Semites are here chosen, and are both promoted into the first two places.

II. As the first four of each series, and in analogy with these the first two of the shorter series of seven, stand in close connection together, and constitute a special portion of the original Semitic tradition, so also the five following of each series form another similar group, naturally separated through their close mutual connection from the former. But the first group of five, chosen for the first age, is derived from quite a different sphere from the second, appropriated to the second age.

With the five names which the Book of Origins placed in the first series (Gen. v. 15–28) the five names adduced by the subsequent narrator (Gen. iv. 17–24) essentially agree, as even a slight comparison shows. Their arrangement is but little different; and with respect to the variation in the spelling of three of them, it should be borne in mind that the later writer obtained the names by a comparatively learned method, probably after they had passed through a long series of transcriptions;<sup>3</sup> for according to every indication the original sounds are those given in the Book of Origins. This being presupposed, the first and most evident result at which we arrive from indications scattered through both books, is that in the original tradition Enoch and Lamech must have figured as demigods or even as

<sup>1</sup> פֶלַח, as in Solomon's Song iv. 13; Isaiah xvi. 8: from which passages we infer that the word bore this signification especially in northern Palestine. We might fancy Shelach to be identical with the ancient Arabian prophet Ssalich (see Tabari, according to Dubeux, p. 121–127; *Journal Asiatique*, 1845, ii. p. 532). But his history is so essentially Arabian, with only the faintest tinge of Biblical colouring, that no such combination can be entertained; as I have already shown in the Tübingen *Theolog. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 572 sq. Caussin de Perceval's views respecting this شـلـاـخ, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. p. 25, 26, are quite inadmissible.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that the LXX. have assigned to this name its proper place; although it is somewhat singular that Selah has just the same number of years, 130 and 330, yet the reasons for regarding it as

genuine are too numerous to be slighted. The learned Demetrius in his work on Chronology found the name in this series (according to Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21), as also the author of the Book of Enoch, but not Josephus.

<sup>3</sup> The reading מְהֻלָּאֵל for מְהֻלָּא has exactly the appearance of originating in careless reading or writing of the text; also, for מְתוּשָׁלָה may have arisen from a similar oversight; only רִיעֵי for רִיעַ may pass as a real change of pronunciation, and would then (according to my *Sprachlehre*, § 53a) point to an older form רִיעַ. The pronunciation *Methusalem*, which must also have been found, though rarely, in ancient documents (compare Tabari, ed. Dubeux, i. p. 91), is referable on the other hand to the phonetic law explained in the *Lehrbuch*, p. 71, of 7th ed.

gods. The former appears from his name to be the Inaugurator, the Beginner, and thence a good spirit, who like the Latin Janus and the Hindu Ganēça,<sup>1</sup> was invoked on any new or difficult undertaking. Thence, probably, he became the god of the new year, which recurs every 365 days, and for this reason the existing tradition, Gen. v., assigns to him a lifetime of 365 years. If he was regarded as preeminently, and more than all others a *good* spirit, this fact serves to explain how tradition, which, being tinged with the Mosaic feeling, could recognise in him only a man, was induced to depict him as realising the ideal of goodness of life, in the beautiful words of Gen. v. 21–24. His name is also the only one of which, apart from the Old Testament, a dim remembrance seems to have been preserved to later times. In the apocryphal book which bears his name,<sup>2</sup> he appears as a Prophet; but this may be only an inference from his position as greatgrandfather of Noah, and from his having been distinguished as the last pious man before the Flood (Gen. v.). That the later writers praise him as a patron of knowledge and as the inventor of writing, agrees well with his character; and Stephanus of Byzantium,<sup>3</sup> in naming Iconium on Mount Taurus as the seat of his worship, and making this consist in lamentation for his death as that of the good spirit (as is also said of the worship of the Syrian Adonis), unquestionably quotes a genuine historical tradition. By the ancient city named after Enoch (Gen. iv. 17) this very city, Iconium in Phrygia, may be meant.

To this good spirit, Lamech,<sup>4</sup> who concludes the group,

<sup>1</sup> Or *Ganapatis*, which I note here to prevent a precipitate comparison between the Hindu and Hebrew names.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the Epistle of Jude 14, 15; compare also on this subject my large *Abhandlung über den Äthiopischen Buches Henokhs Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, Götts. 1854, and the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 1 sqq. I just remark in passing that the Persian goddess *Anāhid*, whose name the Greeks modified into *Nanaea*, is merely the feminine counterpart of this primitive *Anak*. In Zend literature the *Anāhita* has an inflexion which seems to show that in Zend its original meaning was the *The Immaculate*; but there seems to be no corresponding goddess in the Veda; and her worship appears first in history as an extraneous element interwoven with the Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) religion.

<sup>3</sup> Under the head *Ικόνιον*, where much is also related of the person here named

<sup>4</sup> *Anak*, which can hardly have had any but a Biblical origin: as that he lived above 300 years, and that the Deluge, predicted by an oracle, followed his death. It accords well with this, that *Anak* was a man's name among the Pagan Armenians; see Moses Chor. *Hist.*, ii. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *ئارا* is still found among the Arabs as a proper name (Wetzstein's *Hauran*, pp. 23, 40, 42, 70) as likewise *ئەرەت* among Abraham's descendants, Gen. xxv. 4, xlvi. 9. However, in the Sibylline books, i. 196, Phrygia is identified with Ararat; verse 260 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly in the original tradition Enoch stood first, as in Gen. iv.; certainly the contrast between the two could not be more sharply marked. Having thus recovered the city, we next recognise in the land of Nod, opposite Eden, v. 16, whither Cain goes, and where his posterity must

evidently forms the counterpart. His very name may denote a predatory savage;<sup>1</sup> and so, according to Gen. iv. 19–24, he was taken as the gloomy symbol of a race degenerated into savage selfishness, the accepted type of the heroes of a revengeful age. For in joy over the sword invented by one of his sons, he exclaims in the old song :

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice !  
 Ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech !  
 For the man I slew for my own wound,  
 The child I struck dead on account of my own hurt !  
 Was Cain avenged seven times ?<sup>2</sup>  
 Lamech will be seven and seventy times !

In this song the names of two demigoddesses also of this group are accidentally preserved.<sup>3</sup>

If then these two out of the five names have certainly had the significance of typical beings, the three others also must have had the same. And Methuselah, who stands immediately before Lamech, is evidently, as his name implies, the Warrior who stands nearest to the implacable avenger Death —a sort of Mars : Mahalal-el is the god of Light—a Sun-god, like Apollo ; and Jared, who stands by his side, on the other hand, is the god of the Lowland or the Water.<sup>4</sup> And when we consider that the number five is the simplest of the round and sacred numbers, we may well suppose that we have here a complete group of ancient Gods and Demigods, who were banished into this distant age, only because (like Kronos and Saturn with their fellows, in the European legends) they were supplanted by other deities.

be sought for, the *Lud* mentioned Gen. x. 22—Lydia in the extensive sense in which it was probably understood by the Hebrews. More on this point hereafter. The proverb (v. 12) may very possibly have had an influence in changing the *l* into *n*. לְעֵד here, and ii. 14, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, can hardly have any other mean-

ing than *opposite*, as قَدَمْ سِنْ, *towards*; the LXX. give Gen. ii. 14, correctly καρτ-ναρι Ἀσσυρίαν, as is also the reading of Theophilus, to *Autolycus*, ii. 30.

<sup>1</sup> The root קָדַח, though obsolete, must

be connected with لَمَّا, حَصَّلَ, حَصَّلَ—all which express the idea of snatching or robbing. The proper name Λάθυαχος certainly existed in Attica (Rangabe's *Antiqu. Hell.*, ii. p. 864); but this can scarcely be a contraction of Λαθυαχος.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also my *Lehrbuch*, § 362 b.

<sup>3</sup> The names, not only of the five heroes but also of these two women, belong clearly to a very early pre-Mosaic age; and it is obvious that these verses furnish the real basis of the whole narrative, Gen. iv.; for what is there related of Cain's vengeance, ver. 13–18, evidently rests upon this song, ver. 24. And as this kind of wild revenge is essentially un-Mosaic, being directed against personal enemies only, not against the enemies of Jehovah and his people, it follows from every indication that this song is actually pre-Mosaic, and therefore the most ancient contained in the Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup> Compare نَهْرٌ 'river,' which might be the Indian Varuha. Masudi, according to Sprenger i. p. 71, always says لَدَد instead of Jared, probably only through a false reading, لَوْدَد for يَرَد.

Among the corresponding names in the second series Eber stands at the head,—a sign that from this point the thread of the genealogy is to be carried on only in respect to the Hebrews, one branch of the Semites. The four following, in all probability, refer to cities situated at various points, from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris to the southern part of Mesopotamia. Till something more certain is discovered, Peleg may be identified with Palu, or rather Palude, high up at the source of the Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> Reu<sup>2</sup> with Arghana, somewhat more to the south near the source of the Tigris;<sup>3</sup>—places which have long since sunk into insignificance, only sharing the fate of many other almost extinct cities of those parts whose former greatness can be more clearly proved. Serug<sup>4</sup> is the city between Bira on the Euphrates, Haran and Edessa, which was well known as late as the Middle Ages. Lastly, Nahor seems still to attest his ancient power in many local names in those regions, as for example, to the south, below Ana, in Haditha (i.e. New City) which bears the epithet Elnaura, probably a remnant of the ancient name;<sup>5</sup> to the north in el-Na'ûra, whose name has undergone an Arabic transformation;<sup>6</sup> and in various others.<sup>7</sup> In these five names we evidently do not meet with

<sup>1</sup> The place is found for instance in Wâkidi's *Conquest of Mesopotamia*, last edited by Mordtmann after Niebuhr, Hamburg, 1847; and in the *Armenian History* of Matthias of Edessa, p. 234 in Dulaurier. A cuneiform inscription has now been discovered there; see Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. p. 172. On the other hand, the Φάλαγα of Stephanus Byz. seems to have lain too far west, Paphlagonia (as also Phryges, Bebrykes) too far north; but possibly Paghesh (i.e. Palest) may be what we seek, *Journ. Asiat.* 1855, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the LXX., περγα, for the Masoretic פְּרָגָן. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the play upon words in the explanation of the name Peleg, Gen. x. 25 (which moreover is an interpolation by the Fifth Narrator), need not prevent our regarding it as the name of a place, and seeking for it accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> See Berghaus's map, and Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 362; this name Arghana is doubtless connected with that of the mountain-range running to the north of it from the Argaeus (now Arjisch), in Cappadocia (Strabo xii. 2.8) to the Arghi range on the south of Ararat, and extending to the lake of Urumis: (see Ainsworth, ii. p. 292, Badger's *Nestorian*, i. p. 35 sq.)

<sup>4</sup> Although both the LXX. and the

Masora pronounce it Σερούχ, we may yet return to the true pronunciation. Some modern travellers, however, write Seruj (see Ainsworth, i. p. 306, 310, ii. p. 102-103).

<sup>5</sup> Abulfida's *Geography*, the Arabic text, Paris, 1840, p. 287, 3. The name Nausa in Büsching p. 234 seems a false reading of نورا. Reiske read نورا, and translated it *lime*; but d'Anville interprets it as the city Nahardea. The position of the city on an island in the Euphrates accords well with the description of the Nahoreans, inasmuch as they spread themselves out on both sides of the Euphrates, Gen. xxii. 20-24. But compare also the لُهْلَقْمَانْ, in Chamchean, i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Kemâeldin's *History of Haleb* (Aleppo), ed. Freytag, p. 8 and 13, Arab.

<sup>7</sup> As نَوْرَى Nachrein, near Maredin, (though farther to the east) in Wâkidi's *Conquest of Mesopotamia*, ed. Mordtmann, p. 176. We might be tempted to identify the name פַּלְגָּה (already otherwise explained at p. 264 sq.), with Salach in Adiabene, often incidentally mentioned by Assemani (*Sûcî* in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30). But in the first place it is too far to the east for the other places mentioned

references to gods or heroes, as in those of the first series. If here any firm ground is to be reached, it must be that of locality ; and the fact that these four cities lie not far from one another gives us a presumption that they have been truly identified. If we add to this that they stretch down in the same order from the north-east towards the south-west into the fruitful lands of Mesopotamia, we may perhaps discern in them four kingdoms which the Hebrews founded in succession as they pressed forward towards the south, or four capitals from which they may have exercised dominion in the remotest times. And the fact that Nahor, who here appears first as the grandfather of Abraham, is again introduced as his brother, is another proof that these names, so far from owing their origin to chance or caprice, are probably the designations of ancient Hebrew kingdoms, of which Nahor maintained itself longer than the rest. In the existing form of the narrative they have become mere lifeless designations of ancestors or forefathers, of whom however nothing characteristic is reported except the name ; but through them we are visibly brought into contact with definite regions and epochs.

III. But the case is very different with the tenth name, with which each of the two series closes. Noah,<sup>1</sup> both in name and in fact, is the impersonation of the idea of a renovated and better world. For all the more aspiring nations of antiquity, in spite of their conception of a decline in the duration and external happiness of human life, cherished also the opposite sentiment, that a multitude of old and pernicious errors were discovered and destroyed, and that then upon the ruins of a fearful depravity a new purer and wiser life was built. These

with it, being on the farther bank of the Tigris, and in the second, the orthography opposes it ; for Assemani, though writing נָחֶם in the Bibl. Orient. T. ii. p. 115, subsequently, at T. iii. p. ii. p. 709, 710, 777, evidently corrects himself and writes נָחַם (see Ainsworth, ii. p. 241). He is also in error in supposing the name to be derived from Seleucia : this is ~~נָחָם~~, different from ~~נָחָם~~ ~~אֲשֵׁם~~, Assemani iii. i. p. 391 sqq., and Badger's *Nestorianus*, i. p. 159.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that only later writers write נָחָם, in imitation of the Old Testament, yet that the Old Testament itself (even in Isaiah liv. 9), has always נָחַם, which points to a root נָחַם. This root is not found in ordinary He-

brew ; but this only entitles us to suppose the name to belong to the primeval age of the Semites. It must have had the meaning *new, fresh*, to judge from the cognate roots נָחַם, Ex. xii. 9 and נָחַם Num. vi. 3. Even in the existing narrative as given in the Book of Origins, it was after the lapse of one year, and at the beginning of a new one, that Noah left the ark. The explanation of the name by the Fifth Narrator in Gen. v. 29 hits the sense correctly, at least in so far as it represents Noah as the inaugurator of a better age ; following this idea, the later writers generally explain the name by *Autolycus*, as Theoph. Ant. *Ad Autolyc.* iii. ch. 18. The name of the city Nokh, south-east of Mûsh, and west of Van (Ainsworth, ii. p. 380), perhaps indicates that Noah was once actually worshipped in those parts as a demigod.

are the two contrasted feelings which constantly penetrate and mould the better life of every nation, and of which the one generates the other; youthful and aspiring nations, as the Hebrews and others of antiquity, could feel them more vividly and pursue them farther than others. When therefore there came before such nations dim pictures and traditions of a mighty flood, which had once covered the earth and destroyed all life,<sup>1</sup> this naturally generated the idea that its purpose must have been to wash clean the sin-stained world, to sweep away the first hopelessly degraded race of men, and produce upon a purified and renovated earth a new race, stimulated by that warning voice to become both purer and wiser. This alone is the essential and necessary element in the conception of the Flood, more or less discernible through all varieties in the story.<sup>2</sup> The comparison afterwards made in the first ages of Christianity between Noah's Flood and Baptism exactly and happily recalled the original meaning of the story. In Noah, as the new Adam, the initiator of the still existing race of men, Hebrew antiquity embodied this truth. The ascription of the first culture of the vine to Noah only expresses the honour paid to him as the introducer of a joyous age, since the growth of the vine was justly esteemed the sign of a higher civilisation, with arts and cares, but also with joys of its own.<sup>3</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> These widely scattered traditions have not as yet been accurately examined and explained. The most remarkable fact in them is perhaps that the Egyptians, at least according to Manetho, had no tradition of a primeval Flood, although (or rather because) they were so accustomed to yearly inundations—for those spoken of so late as the 17th and 18th dynasties (Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* ii., p. 86; Georgius Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 118, 119, 130–132, Dind.) were only inserted by the Fathers of the Church, and those mentioned by Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 20 (iv. 2), are only what Egyptian philosophers spoke of. How much earlier the notion of such a deluge prevailed throughout Syria, is evident even from Lucian's book on the Goddess of Hierapolis. But, as remarked in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, vii. p. 2, sqq., the very language of the oldest nations points to such primeval traditions (compare also the Ethiopic ኃይ, Enoch lxxxix. 23 sqq. with ﴿ Sur. 1. 13.

ሙኤል is related to ﴿ Sur. 1. 13. and ብ-ቤት Enoch, lxxxix. 6).

<sup>2</sup> The *Matyopādkhyānam* of the *Mukhārata*, which however introduces much

extraneous matter, and touches too briefly on what is essential, speaks nevertheless of the 'Washing period' of the worlds; cl. 28. The Hindus moreover have many accounts of floods, both in ancient (in the *Veda*) and in more recent times (Wilson's Pref. to the *Vishnu-Purāna*, p. li.; *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, i. 3. 15). Burnouf indeed doubted (in the preface to vol. iii. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, Paris, 1848, p. xxxiv. sq.) the mention of the Deluge in the *Veda*, and consequently questioned the antiquity of this tradition among the Hindus generally; and Fel. Nève agreed with him in the *Annales de la Philosophie chrétienne*, 1849, April, May; but that it is really mentioned in the *Veda* has now been distinctly shown by R. Roth, in the *Munich Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1849, pt. 26 sq. and 1850, pt. 72, and by Albert Weber in his *Indische Studien* No. 2. See *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, ii. p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that only the later narrator of Gen. ix. 18–29 mentions Noah as a vine-grower, does not prove the tradition itself to be of later origin, especially as it is noticed only incidentally and with reference to another object. And without wishing to ignore the difference between Noah and Dionysus the son of Zeus, we

fact that he was regarded as an instrument chosen by God to rescue the human race for a new and better development explains why the writer of the Book of Origins should depict him as in every respect a man after God's own heart, and on this basis design his picture of that wonderful revolution of humanity. In that picture, moreover, under all the complication of details, the few and simple ground-strokes of the original conception are still clearly discernible. The fact that Mount Ararat is the locality assigned to Noah's ark also proves a close connection of his story with those of Enoch (see above, p. 266 sq.) and of other similar personages.

If any doubt should still be felt whether the personality of Noah as the Adam of the new and historical epoch<sup>1</sup> had this origin, another proof of it might be adduced from the varying representation of the seven antediluvian Patriarchs put forward by the later narrator. In this shorter series not Noah but Lamech is evidently intended to close the first age: first on the general ground that he is the seventh, secondly (according to p. 267) as being the symbol of the degeneration of men into gross sensuality, which culminates in him and becomes ripe for destruction and death; and lastly, as the father of three sons, who here exhibit a knot in the continuous line of the race and a subsequent new commencement, precisely analogous to those exhibited by the three sons of Noah and the three of Terah in the Book of Origins. This last fact is very important and decisive. As in the case of the twenty Patriarchs in the Book of Origins only the father and the eldest son are named, and a plurality of sons only in the case of the tenth and twentieth, when their number is three; so with these seven Patriarchs the line continues direct and simple until the seventh, who has three sons. The appearance of Abel, who passes away like a breath,<sup>2</sup> alongside of Cain, although one of the most

may yet convince ourselves that among the Greeks in like manner Dionysus marks the commencement of a new era of civilisation. This idea, moreover, admirably suits Noah descending from Ararat; even now the vine grows wild in Eastern Pontus and other parts of Armenia more luxuriantly and ineradicably than anywhere else. That it was not the wild produce only, but the proper art of vine-growing that was originated by a primeval race, is shown by the remarkable circumstance that the word *wine* ַיְלָה, Ethiopic *vain*, Armenian *gini*, is common to very distant Semitic and Aryan languages, and is lost only in comparatively recent or remote

languages; as in modern Persian *mai* (from *mada*) and in Arabic *مَاء* (literally *the fermented*).

<sup>1</sup> As in the Hindu accounts of the Deluge Manu (i. e. Adam) himself reappears under a special appellation as son of Vivasvan (the Sun); and for a similar reason they reckon four Manus, obviously to correspond with the four ages of the world. *Bhagavad-Gita*, x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> But that this allusion to a word נֶבֶד meaning *breath* does not belong to the original story is shown in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, vi. p. 7 sq.

beautiful features of the story, is certainly its latest transformation, effected at the time of the Fourth Narrator, when the seven antediluvian Patriarchs were coming to be regarded as altogether evil, and Cainan or Cain, especially, to be held as the type of wicked men;<sup>1</sup> for when this was the case it was necessary (since evil always draws out its opposite) to place by the side of this Patriarch, who as the son of Adam was the type of the wicked child, a good brother, towards whom Cain showed himself in the same character as, according to the same narrator, the elder brother-nations, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, did towards the good but small nation of Israel.<sup>2</sup> But the three sons of Lamech, with all their difference from the three sons of Noah, have still one great intrinsic point of resemblance to them. All three bear names formed from one root, which may have originally denoted Sons of the Patriarch, or children of the new age.<sup>3</sup> In olden times brothers or sisters of one house often bore names differing only by minor variations in meaning or formation;<sup>4</sup> and so here the same fundamental word, when used as a personal name, was broken up into the three forms, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal. But the three sons of Lamech were also to be regarded as founders of the new age of civilisation, and therefore were required to express the three great classes into which every civilised nation of that age was divided. Thus Jabal (whose name also may signify the produce which the soil yields to manual labour) became the ancestor of the third class—the Viças as the Hindus would say—except that the Israelitish tradition, following the example of the Hebrew Patriarchs, prefers to speak of pastoral nomads rather than of tillers of the soil. Jubal (whose name readily suggests *Jobel* or *Jubel*, i. e. loud crashing music) became progenitor of musicians, or even (through the natural connection of all the fine arts) of artists and the learned class (the Brahmins) in general. Lastly, Tubal, the son of another mother, formed a contrast to both the former, and became progenitor of

<sup>1</sup> Some trace of a similar belief may perhaps be discovered among the Carthaginians; see *Zeitsch. für das Morgenland*, vol. iv. p. 410; vol. vii. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The early passage, Gen. iv. 24, regards Cain only as the first son of Adam in contrast to Lamech as later born; and the idea expressed in iv. 13–15, may have only been suggested in connection with that ancient saying.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, *production, fruit*, as נָתַן.

<sup>4</sup> In Ezek. xxxiii. 2. So in the ancient Arabian legend the two sons of 'Ad are

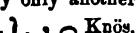
named *Shaddad* and *Shiddid* (see Baidhavi on Sur. lxxxix. 5); in the Koran هارون

قَارُونَ are associated together; and even in late Arabic Cain is changed into *Qâbil* to form a counterpart to his brother *Hâbil*; just as Φρένι Enoch xxii. 7. In ancient Hindu tradition also similar phenomena are found, as appears from Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, i. p. 360, and many other proofs.

the arm-bearer or warrior-class (the Kshatrijas); retaining, however, the full name Tubal-Cain,<sup>1</sup> which, as Cain in one dialect may denote a spear,<sup>2</sup> would signify Son of a Spear, or Warrior. As therefore in the Book of Origins the three sons of Noah designate the new world with reference to the broad distinctions of nationality still existing, so these sons of Lamech describe it with reference to the three classes into which the nations were divided at their more advanced stage of development. The threefold partition therefore must in this case, as in that of Noah and Terah, manifestly have a meaning that shall embrace the whole of the new age: and brief as is the existing account (Gen. iv. 20-22) this meaning visibly shines through it. That these traditions were once much richer and more detailed we see also from the bare mention made of the sister of this Tubal-Cain, Naamah, who, as her name *Grace* justifies us in presuming, may originally have held a place beside that rough warrior, similar to that of the Greek Aphrodite as the beloved of Ares.<sup>3</sup>

Of Terah, who concludes the second series, the Book of Origins (apart from the years of his life, which will be spoken of presently) really tells us nothing except that he had three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran, and that while journeying with them from the land of the Chaldeans, he died on his road at Haran in Mesopotamia; and the later narrators had nothing to add to this. Now as this can only be intended to indicate such ancient national migrations as had been retained in memory, we have every reason to regard the name of this concluder of the second age also as originally figurative. The three children of this twentieth Patriarch refer to the historically known nations of the Third Age, and specially to Abraham as the historic hero of the period; he himself floats over them as the personification of the National Migration,<sup>4</sup> from the lap of

<sup>1</sup> Some connection with Cain or Cainan must originally have existed here, since he belongs evidently to the same group, and Tubal-Cain may have originally signified 'Cain's descendant.' Perhaps the name of the nomad tribe Cain (Kenites), which after the time of Moses played a part in the history of Israel (see above, p. 251) caused the early contraction of Cainan into Cain; and may have even contributed to the impression of Cain's restless wanderings; Gen. iv. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> כָּנָה as 'spear' is clearly only another form of כָּנָה *canna* = *hasta*,  Knös,

*Chrest.* p. 23, 5; ψ. <sup>3</sup> on the contrary is

artisan in general (Lat. *faber*) Zohair M. v. 15, and entirely different from the former.

<sup>3</sup> It has been preserved as *Neme* in the Punic (see *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* 1860, p. 1369); as also the proper names *Lamech* and *Adah* in Asia Minor (see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, vi. p. 2; Strabo's *Geography*, xiv. 2. 17; C. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte Karicens* (Göttingen, 1861, p. 13).

<sup>4</sup> It is quite as natural to suppose חֶרְבָּה connected with חֶרְבָּה to *wander*, to *journey*, as חֶרְבָּה with חֶרְבָּה; which last analogy was for the first time asserted in 1826, in my *Song of Solomon*, iii. 6. It seems however

which issued the luminous forms of the following age ; and as all the nations of the modern earth discovered their original unity in Noah, so the Hebrews who had moved towards the south-west found in him a unity demanded alike by tradition and imagination.

IV. The two series of ten Patriarchs are therefore each made up of three smaller groups of four, five and one individuals. Each of these groups has a distinct meaning of its own. Every name which enters into them certainly existed with a living meaning long before they were thus ranked together ; but in this very grouping, so as twice to make up the number ten, they betray the same arranging hand. We know not whose hand this was ; it is only manifest that he lived long before the writer of the Book of Origins.

These twice ten names, however, were made to extend over the space of two ages, much in the same manner as more recent and better known ages were described by the succession and pedigree of those rulers who had held the chief power in them. And since, in times when chronology had attained the importance which we know was the case among the most ancient Egyptians and Phoenicians, it was always endeavoured to append to such historical lists of rulers the number of years that each had lived or reigned (as e.g. Manetho's Egyptian dynasties show), it was but natural that here also a definite number of years should be assigned to each Patriarch. Another essential feature of the idea of the Four Ages (see p. 256 sqq.) was that they exhibited a continuous lapse from an original condition richer in divine blessings. But this lapse may also be conceived as referring to length of life ; since the more complex and bewildering the higher strivings of a nation become, the life of the individual threatens to be more rapidly worn out, and the transient life of the men of the eager hurrying modern age might well be regarded as progressively diminished from an original duration of far greater length. And thus in ancient Israel the idea became prevalent, that the duration of human life had diminished step by step through the great periods of the past.<sup>1</sup>

The form into which the details were cast by the force of general assumptions such as these is even now very clearly discernible in the main. On looking through the data concerning the lives of persons in the four ages down to the time of Moses and the Con-

that in the present instance, **נ** is radical, **ר** softened from it.

<sup>1</sup> This feeling is expressed in general terms in the words assigned to the Patriarch Jacob himself in the Book of Ori-

gins, Gen. xlvi. 8, 9, and poetically in those put into the mouth of a contemporary of the Patriarchs, in Job viii. 8, 9 ; compared with xlii. 16. Hence the Messianic hope expressed in Isaiah lxv. 20.

quest, we discover the prevailing view to be that which assumes from 120 to 140 years as the extreme limit of human life in the existing epoch; for just as the men of the third age were conceived as far outliving that term, in the fourth Joseph dies at 110, Levi at 137, Kehath at 133, Amram at 137, his sons Aaron and Moses at 120, Joshua, like his progenitor Joseph somewhat below the Levites, at 110;<sup>1</sup> with other indications of the same view.<sup>2</sup> Now from this fourth age to determine by successive proportionate augmentation the possible years of human life in the earlier ages, the number 125 was evidently taken as the basis of the fourth, from which by repeated doubling the number 1000 was reached as the ultimate limit: 125, 250, 500, 1000. Thus was prescribed to every historical personage, according to the age in which he lived, a maximum length of life which might not be exceeded. If the Hebrew conception went in this assumption somewhat beyond the most ancient Hindu, which (see p. 260) adopted the proportion 100, 200, 300, 400, on the other hand it always remained free from those extravagant extensions of these numbers into which the later Hindu traditions fell.

It would be expected then, from such a beginning, that the length of life of individuals also would be made greater or less on similar principles, tradition simply working out and developing any assumption that had once been accepted. Even at the commencement of the fourth age, the lives of the just-named heroes, though of different length, are manifestly determined on general principles; for the 120, 133, and 137 years of the Levite chiefs are really made up of mere round numbers, and exhibit, when contrasted with the 110 of the non-Levitical chiefs, an increase indicative of the higher dignity of Levi. Much more will this be the case with the twenty names of the first two ages. In fact these general principles are clearly discernible in many of the statements given in the Book of Origins respect-

<sup>1</sup> According to the passages, Gen. i. 26; Ex. vi. 16-20; Deut. xxiv. 7; Josh. xxiv. 29; all derived from the Book of Origins.

<sup>2</sup> These refer especially to the 120 years mentioned in Gen. vi. 3. These words are indeed obscure, inasmuch as they are put here out of the proper context, evidently because in this entire passage (Gen. vi. 1-4) the Fifth Narrator gives only very brief extracts from some written authority which he had before him. Nor does the term of 120 years for the life of man belong fitly to this passage, where the coming age is not the fourth, but the second; and the original tradition may very probably have assigned those giants to the second or third

age (see Gen. xi. 1-9); but still we can discern plainly the original meaning of the words to be, that the period of 120 years as the limit of human life was appointed by way of punishment for a new generation. With this is undoubtedly connected the ancient sanctity of the number 60 among certain nations: among the Hindus, who call the 60 years' cycle *Vr̄haspati-Cakra*; the Chinese, who still reckon time by this number; the Babylonians, who made it the standard number of their chronology, both practical and theoretical (Berossus, in Richter, p. 63); and the Latins. See also the *Qirq Vezir*, p. 60, 2.

ing the age of each Patriarch before and after the birth of the first son. In these the length of life, at least on the whole, diminishes by degrees: the 130 years of Adam before, and the 800 after, the birth of Seth are as transparent as Noah's 500 years before the birth of his three sons, and his subsequent 100 years before and 350 years after the flood; or as the 500 years that Shem lived after the flood (as if for a sign that the second age with its limit of 500 years had begun); or as the 70 years of Terah before and his 135 years after the birth of his three sons. In the case of Enoch we may besides (see p. 266) justly presume that his number 365 (which the Book of Origins divides into 65 and 300) had been fixed by earlier legends, which made it impossible to adopt a higher; the effect being, that in comparison to others of the same age, his death is made to appear an early one. If some points in these numbers are more obscure, it is to be considered first that the store of tradition on these earliest times, originally abundant and varied, has come down to us in too scanty measure to give us even an approximate insight into all the grounds which influenced the arrangers of the numbers; and secondly, that out of the many originally existing versions of the traditions respecting the ages of the twenty Patriarchs, only the single version followed by the Book of Origins has been preserved to us. Moreover, the great variations of the Seventy and the Samaritan text, both from the Masoretic text and between themselves, and even among various manuscripts of the same text, show that, as soon as ever we descend from the fixed bounds of an age to examine the numbers assigned to individuals within that age, the whole ground becomes unsteady beneath our feet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ancient and modern critics have so fully discussed these variations that I deem it unnecessary here to treat the subject fully, although I consider the Masoretic text by no means everywhere and without exception entitled to the preference which is now again accorded to it by most of the moderns. To take a striking instance, it shortens by one hundred years the age of each father between Shem and Terah before the birth of his eldest son. The great importance formerly attached to every statement which had a bearing on the general chronology of ancient history, is very properly diminished in modern estimation; yet it is to be regretted that even Oriental scholars can still produce treatises such as that of Rask (translated by Mohnike, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, vi. 2), which makes great

pretensions to judgment and caution, yet displays hardly any of either; see also Lesueur's *Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte*, p. 300 sqq. The subject is followed up, in an article by Bertheau, in the *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1846. To state briefly my own decided opinion, I consider that the first founders of these chronologies proceeded very systematically, taking (according to p. 275), as the duration of each generation in the four successive ages of the world, 30, 60, 120, 240 years respectively, which would give for the two first  $240 \times 10 = 2400$  and  $120 \times 10 = 1200$  years respectively, embracing together the whole period from Adam to the Deluge, and thence to Abram's entrance into Canaan. For both these periods it is the LXX. which approaches most nearly to the numbers just

In the history of the Flood, where the chronology goes still more into details, the working of the same general principles is easily recognisable, and the particular determinations flow very naturally from the assumption of one solar year as the duration of the Flood.<sup>1</sup>

#### *V. The Origin and Immigration of the Hebrews.*

But the most important result of the examination of these traditions respecting the remotest times will after all lie in their disclosures of the earliest fortunes of the Hebrew race; and in this respect it can scarcely be said how much valuable historical material still lies hidden here.

I. The Hebrews preserve, according to these traditions, the consciousness of an original connection with other nations, some of whom, speaking in relation to the higher antiquity, dwelt far removed from them. Their special ancestor Eber descends through Arphaxad from Shem, the father of Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram (Gen. x. 22). Now the five nations who collectively laid claim to the lofty name of Shem are not only perfectly historic, but also exactly defined in respect to their position. The circle began with Elam (Elymais) beyond the Tigris towards the south-east on the Persian gulf; proceeded northward to the Tigris with Asshur (the Assyrians); turned to the north-west with Arphaxad; stretched far westward to the Semitic nations of Asia Minor with Lud (the Lydians): and finally returned from thence in a south-easterly direction to the Euphrates with Aram. If now we ask why the Hebrews reckoned themselves to belong to this circle of nations, the reason cannot lie simply in relationship of language; for all the very different nations which (according to p. 224 sqq.) came into contact with Palestine in the earliest times—original inhabitants and migrating tribes alike—spoke the Semitic tongue, and in respect to language stood as close as possible to the Hebrews, and yet were never regarded as akin to them. As little could it be found in national partiality or aversion, since most of these nations, in the oldest times known to us, were quite estranged from them, and the Hebrews properly speaking are like a single branch pushed forward to an extreme distance on the south-west.

given, and which I therefore regard as the most authentic now existing: we only require to assign to Adam, Lamech, and Nahor at the birth of the eldest son of each, 268, 288, and 129 years respectively.

The variations of the Samaritan and the Hebrew text are thus generally arbitrary.

<sup>1</sup> See more on this subject in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. 8 sqq.

We must therefore assume that a primitive national consciousness preserved in the memory of the Hebrews their relationship with these distant northern and eastern nations. But if we inquire further what could have led the Hebrews to conceive those five remote nations, with whom they felt themselves to be related through one of their number, as having originally been brethren and sons of Shem, we are compelled to assume that a closer connection formerly united them to each other, a connection however which rested neither on contiguity of their external boundaries (for this palpably did not exist) nor merely upon their possession of a common language (for as we have seen, the so-called Semitic language extended much further), but upon firmer foundations. The bond which united these nations might possibly have been simply identity of religion; even as the Hindus, notwithstanding their division into an innumerable multitude of particular kingdoms, always conceived themselves as dwelling together in the Jambudvipa, the great centre of the earth, as their permanent home. But as it is certain that the Hindu religion proceeded ultimately from the Brahmans and the compact nucleus of a once ruling nation, so also the connection of those Semitic nations in the primeval ages when a religion did not extend itself, as now, by its own power, is to be traced to a nation that once ruled over all those countries. This nation afterwards parted into the five distinct nations which referred to Shem as their father; and to it the Hebrews, though dwelling so far to the south-west, always claimed to have belonged. The accounts contained in the primitive fragment (Gen. xiv.) concerning mighty confederate kings beyond the Euphrates, the traditions respecting a primeval Assyrian kingdom in Ctesias and others, the derivation of the most ancient Lydian dynasty from Ninus and Belus,<sup>1</sup> the claim of such cities as Damascus and Askelon to Semiramis as their original Queen,<sup>2</sup> these and other like indications refer in all probability to this original nation and the power that it once possessed. Indeed it may be unhesitatingly assumed that the renowned name of Semiramis, which occurs as a personal name even among the Hebrews,<sup>3</sup> stands in con-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 7. The city of Askalon also, according to the Lydian Xanthus and Nicolaus of Damascus, was founded by a Lydian, as is stated by Stephanus Byz. s.v. Ἀσκελών; and with this would curiously accord the derivation of Amalek, from אַמָּלֵךְ, in Arabic accounts (*Duhenz's Tabari*, i. 209; Abulfida's *Ann. Antisl.* pp. 76,

93 sq., 97 sq.; see above, p. 245). We have already (p. 267) hazarded the conjecture that נִינָּשׁ, Gen. x. 22, is probably identical with נִינָּשׁ, Gen. iv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. xxxvi. 2, 1; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 4; see Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, c. xiv. or p. 1061 Bourd.

<sup>3</sup> The name שֶׁמְרָמָתִין is an early form,

nection with Shem as the name of this original nation and its hero.

The same thing appears in another way if we consider the name Shem in its relations to the two other sons of Noah. Whatever the three names, Shem, Ham, and Japheth may have originally signified, it is at least evident, that the primeval nation which divided all the nations of the earth into three groups, and took to itself as one of these three the name of Shem, deemed itself established in a commanding position in a conspicuous centre of the world, and thence named all the alien nations northwards Japheth, and southwards Ham. The feeling that lay at the root of this idea we can easily conjecture from the subsequent description of such a 'Navel of the earth,' Ezek. v. But how should this name have come into use in Palestine, where the Hebrews found themselves dwelling in the midst of the Hamites, on the south-westerly border of the circle which included the Semitic nations? The name must rather have originated in a northern table-land, which was in fact situated in the middle of the five nations mentioned above, e.g. in Arphaxad. The three names also certainly descended together from the remotest antiquity, and were only traditionally known to the Hebrews; they are scarcely met with in their ordinary speech or narrative;<sup>1</sup> they have in Hebrew no manifest meaning,<sup>2</sup> and might seem, like many of the names of the twenty Patriarchs, to have their source in the traditions of the primitive nation in the north. As the Hindus apportion the south to Yama (the god of Death), and the north to Kuvaera (the god of Treasure<sup>3</sup>), so here the former might be assigned to Ham, the latter to Japheth; and the fact that in the Greek mythology also there is an Iapetus,<sup>4</sup> although little more than a mere name, derived probably from Asia Minor, where from the

belonging to the time of David (1 Chron. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5; 2 Chron. xvii. 8); formed like קָרְבָּן (1 Kings iv. 6), and probably of similar meaning.

<sup>1</sup> It is only once (1 Chron. iv. 40) that the name Ham appears in the narrative. The song in Gen. ix. 25–29, with the narrative to which it belongs, is derived from the Fifth Narrator; see above, p. 107, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> כֶּם in Hebrew would signify *name, fame*, which in itself gives here no appropriate meaning, and though כֶּמֶת (for which Eupolemus in *Eusebii Prep. Evang.* ix. 17 reads Χολμός) may, in the sense of *hot*, be an intelligible designation of the south, yet נָמֵן, in our present Hebrew, remains

quite obscure, since the play upon words in Gen. ix. 27 comes from the Fifth Narrator only.

<sup>3</sup> See Job xxxvii. 22, and Alex. von Humboldt in the *Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1838, pt. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod's *Theogony*, 134, 507–511; Apollodorus' *Bibl.* i. 1, 3, and i. 2, 3; Stephanus Byz. s. v. Ἀδάνα and Ἰκένων; see even Bochart's *Geographia*, p. 2, 13. In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (v. 985) he appears as an aged divinity, an easy subject of ridicule; see also the inscriptions in A. Conze's *Reise auf die Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hanover, 1860), p. 91. The phrase, the *boundaries of Japhet* (Judith ii. 15), probably refers to those on the north.

earliest times Greek and Semitic nations intermingled, might favour this origin of the name.

The latter idea finds strong support in a northern legend which some Armenian authors have preserved for us. We must in these researches generally look to the old traditions of more northern nations, because the oldest reminiscences of the people of Israel themselves carry us into these regions; and hitherto, in the absence of any copious supply of Assyrian or Babylonian documents, we possess no other aids so near at hand and so ancient as the Armenian writers, who often used much older books. Now according to this legend, Xisuthros (who among them answers to Noah among the Hebrews) had three sons who ruled over all mankind, each in his own domain;—Zervan, Titan and Japetosthe.<sup>1</sup> These three were regarded as gods, as the two latter were among the Greeks also. Zervan, so celebrated in the Zoroastrian religion,<sup>2</sup> was compared to the Greek Kronos. To Titan, as god of the Lower World,<sup>3</sup> the dominion of the South might be assigned, and to Japetosthe as god of Heaven, that of the North.<sup>4</sup> From this conception the Hebrew tradition has manifestly retained the idea of Japheth as ruler of the North; but it also lends force to the idea that Ham and Shem also were formerly regarded as gods. According to the Armenian authors, there was not only a hero (or god) Sim, son of Xisuthros,<sup>5</sup> but also a mountain bearing his name, near Taurus;<sup>6</sup> and this may have been regarded by the primitive Hebrews as the seat of a mighty dominion and religion—the sacred centre of a kingdom which included in itself all those five nations and countries. The name Ham remains hitherto the obscurest of those belonging to this period, and cannot yet be accurately traced.<sup>7</sup> We may however at least affirm that the combination

<sup>1</sup> Moses of Choren (*History*, i. 5) gives this account, following a work based on Berossus, and again (*ib.* ch. 8) following Mar-Iba Catinas; he also refers to some early Armenian popular songs.

<sup>2</sup> See Eliazeus, *History of Vardan*, ch. ii.; Eznik, *Against Heresies*, ii. 1. The latter explains *zirvān* as ‘fate,’ but says it might also mean ‘brilliance.’ The Sibylline verses (iii. 110 Fr.) render it by Κόρων. No one surely will seriously maintain that the Armenian *Japetosthē* originated in a misunderstanding of *lawerōr* γέ, found in the Greek verses just alluded to.

<sup>3</sup> On the assumption, namely, that the Titans are in origin the same as the Hindu *Daitja* and *Aura*. These, indeed, have their name from *Ditis* (i.e. *Tηθύς*), the opposite of *Aditis* and *Aditja*; but the

contrast to light and heaven is equally contained in them all.

<sup>4</sup> Very curiously, even the *Samaritan Chronicle* (ed. Juynboll, p. 271) attributes the lightning to his son.

<sup>5</sup> The words of Moses Chor., i. 5, who on this point follows Olympiodorus, do not sound as if they were only borrowed from the Bible.

<sup>6</sup> Moses Chor. i. 5, end; i. 22, ii. 7, 81. This tempts us to conjecture that the original meaning of the word *Ծիմ* was ‘height.’

<sup>7</sup> There is no reason for connecting him with the Egyptian god Amon or Hammon. According to Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, iv. p. 263) there was in Egypt an ancient god Khem, subsequently compared with Pan: and could it be shown that his worship existed in primitive times

of the three names Shem, Ham and Japheth among the Hebrews differs only by age and more primitive form from that of Zervan, Titan, and Japetos the.

Other scattered traces of the sacred traditions of the primitive nation also lead us back to those northern regions. We met with Enoch at Iconium on Taurus, under the name of Annakos (p. 266); and the well-known coins of the neighbouring Apamea Kibotos, with the Ark and other signs of the Flood, such as the name ΝΩ,<sup>1</sup> though dating only from the time of the Cæsars and the first half of the third century after Christ, can hardly have borrowed these signs exclusively from the Old Testament, since they represent one pair only as rescued, and not, like the Old Testament, the Patriarch's sons and sons' wives as well. The tradition of the Flood in the Book of Origins (Gen. viii. 4) points definitely to Ararat; there, according to this mythology, was the hallowed starting-point and centre of all the nations, but especially of that group of them which dwelt nearest to it, and called themselves Shem. And although the conception of the four Rivers of Paradise which the Fourth Narrator introduces (Gen ii. 10–14), seems to have its ultimate source in the remotest east, and after many transformations to have reached Palestine only in the time of the Kings,<sup>2</sup> yet even in its

in Canaan, we should here stand on firmer ground. Ancient writers speak also of a certain Chōm or Chōn and Chons, also Sēm, i.e. ΧΟΛΛ or ΧΕΛΛ, as the Egyptian Herakles (Jablonskii *Opuscula ed. te Water*, ii. 195 sq.; R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xvii. 2, p. 324 sq.; compare Σημφόρος καρνις, Eratosthenes in *Syneccllus* i. p. 205).

More important to the present subject is the fact that the Egyptians called their own country Χημέα, or in another dialect, *Kame* ΧΕΛΛΗ, i.e. black, as was noticed by Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* xxxiii. But by the Hebrews, especially in the earliest times, the term Ham was not applied to Egypt exclusively; and it only begins to be poetically so called in some of the latest of the Psalms (lxxviii., cv., cvi.) If however, as Euopolemus p. 400 says, the name Ham was interchangeable with Asbolos (i.e. *soot*), this must refer to the dark complexion of the Egyptians, who were in Greek also designated μελάγχη-χρόες and μελαμπώδες (see the commentators on Apollod. Bibl. ii. 1, 4). As the Egyptian meaning black is thus ultimately connected with that of the Hebrew דם,

דָם, the name in question may have originally been given by the nation which called itself Shem to the entire south, and subsequently been restricted to Egypt as the most important southern kingdom. See below, on Edom.

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum*, vol. iii. p. 132–139, treats this subject in detail, and shows a third letter to be wanting after ΝΩ. Undoubtedly the diffusion of the LXX. and the old Testament histories in that age contributed much to bring such local traditions to light: one decisive instance of this, from about this time, is found in the notice in the Sibylline Books, i. 268 sq. From Moses of Chorene, *Geographia*, xlili. we learn how constantly the Ark was located in Phrygia. From hence may probably have sprung Herodotus' well-known story of the origin of mankind in Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the story of Paradise, Gen. ii. 5 sq., is a question reserved for another place; but here I must observe that I do not believe the original form of that description of Paradise will be ever fully understood, or the four rivers be properly interpreted, till some of the names of rivers are allowed to have been changed during the migration of the

present form it clearly shows us the locality in which the Hebrews from early reminiscences imagined their Eden, a pure Semitic word. For as the Hebrews could only appropriate this tradition by making the Tigris and the Euphrates two of the rivers of Paradise, it is evident that Eden was supposed to have lain at the very sources of these streams, in the sacred neighbourhood of Ararat.

It has been customary in Germany during the last fifty years to call Semitic all the nations who spoke a language kindred with the Hebrew, and this usage may be maintained, in default of a better. But in the language of antiquity the Semites included only a portion of these nations ; and although nations such as the Phœnicians, Philistines, &c., related in speech, but otherwise alien to the ancient Semites may probably at an incalculably remote period have issued from the same northern birthplace, the Hebrews in Palestine no longer felt themselves akin, but entirely foreign to them. Thus it is certain that the Hebrews belonged to quite another order of nations, and kept up a lively remembrance of the north as the land of their descent.<sup>1</sup>

**2.** As the oldest reminiscences of the people refer to a mother land whose sanctuary was very different from that which they developed for themselves in Palestine, so also we find traces of a remembrance of the migration which brought them gradually nearer to the country which afterwards became their holy land. It is certainly no unimportant historical fact that the Hebrew nation does not claim an extreme antiquity. Their ancestor Eber descends from Shem through Arphaxad (for Canaan and Salah may be passed by, see p. 264). Now Arphaxad is without doubt the most northern country of Assyria, on the southern border of Armenia, which Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> alone among all the Greek and Roman authors mentions under the corresponding name of Arrapachitis, and describes, so insignificant had this once important and powerful land become. There lies however in the name itself a farther witness as to its situation and inhabitants; Arphaxad appears to denote ‘Stronghold of the Chaldeans,’<sup>3</sup> and was perhaps at first used of the chief city

legend. In my opinion the Pison and the Gihon are the Indus and the Ganges; to these were originally added two others belonging to the same region; but when the legend passed to the Hebrews in Palestine, the latter were exchanged for the familiar Tigris and Euphrates.

<sup>1</sup> It seems superfluous after these explanations to refute in detail the opinions of others on Noah's three sons and espe-

cially Shem; some of the most recent are noticed in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 208 sq., xi. p. 181 sq. It deserves notice, however, that Cappadocia is connected with Canaan and Ham in *Testamentum Simonis* vi. and in Chamchean's *Armenian History*, i. 3. Does this date from Herod's reign?

<sup>2</sup> *Geography*, vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Արք and Արք, as well as Արք!.

of the country; and Ur of the Chaldees, whence according to the very ancient author of Gen. xi. 28, 31 Abraham journeyed to Palestine, is probably only the name used of the same country in the time of that writer.<sup>1</sup> The Chaldeans, in name originally identical with the nation in this day called the Kurds, were even at a very early period widely scattered,<sup>2</sup> as the Kurds are now;<sup>3</sup> but we have every reason to believe their original seat to be the mountain country called Arrapachitis. After the seventh century before Christ, indeed, a new non-Semitic nation—essentially the same that has ever since retained the name Kurds—appears under this name. This is explained by the hypothesis that a northern people who had conquered the land gradually assumed its ancient name, as the Saxons beyond the sea appropriated the name of Britons.

signifies *to bind, to make fast*. Now as *Arapa* (Ptolemy's *Geog.* vi. 1), was the name of a city in Arrapachitis, still existing under the form **أَرَابَا** (*Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 169), and as several cities, and especially the well-known Arbelæ, which is not too far distant, are named **لَهْرَبَرْ** probably signifying 'God's stronghold,' and as also **كَرْدَ** alone is the name of some cities (see Josh. xv. 52, 1

Kings iv. 10; and the well-known **مارِبْ** (in Yemen), this name had probably the meaning of fortress. The use of **كَ** militates but little against the word being compounded with the name of the Chaldeans, because elsewhere this is written with **كَ**, but never with **كِ**. And we know from the general laws of sound that the Hebrew pronunciation *Chasd* is the earlier one, from which sprang *Chard* or *Kurd* (*Gord*), and then *Chald*.

That *Ur-Chasdim* was not regarded as a city, but as a country, is shown by the whole meaning and context of the passage in Gen. xi. 28 sq., and the LXX. are correct in rendering it by **χάρα τῶν Χαλδαίων**. A Zondic origin for the word **خَلْدَن** can hardly be sought in an age preceding the seventh and eighth centuries. But

اَرِي تَخْرِي تَارِي gives us at once the meaning, 'residence,' 'region.' Curiously, however, in Armenian, **զաւար** (*gavar*, or *kavar*), denotes **χάρα** (Faustus Byz. v. 7), and with this accords not only **بَارِقَ** (Bar-hebr. p. 105) but also **كُورِ** (sometimes

**كُورِي**), a name given by Abdolhakam to the Egyptian Nomes). *Ur* as a city has however been sought for in many places, both in ancient and modern times: Joscphus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5) says that the grave of Terah was still shown in Uré the town of the Chaldees, but he does not define its exact position; many of the Fathers took it for Edessa, because the proper name of this city was Urhoi (originally, however, Osroi, now Orfa). Later writers have often thought of the *Castellum Ur* mentioned by Amm. Marc. xxv. 8. Eusebius in *Eusebii Præp. Evang.* ix. 17, imagined it to be *Urie*, also called Camerine, between Babylon and Bosra. Just now, English travellers are identifying Abraham's Ur with a place there called Varka, where extensive ruins have been lately found and excavated, and cuneiform inscriptions have been discovered (see Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, London, 1857, pp. 131, 161, 162): but this place is much too far to the south. (See more on this subject in the *Göttinger G. L. Anz.* 1858, p. 182 sq.) Still stranger is the notion prevalent among the Moslim, that Abraham migrated from Kutha كُوٰثَة or كُوٰثَى in Southern Babylonia (see the *Märüssid*, ii. p. 519; Jeláddin's *History of the Temple at Jerusalem*, translated by Reynolds from the Arabic into English, 1836, pp. 16, 333, 427; Chwolson's *Saddier*, ii. p. 452 sq.), which was probably derived from the Samaritans.

<sup>1</sup> As is proved by the reception of one Chased among the Nahorites in Gen. xxii.

<sup>22</sup> See Rödiger in the *Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, iii. p. 3 sq.

That Eber is called a son of this Arphaxad means simply that the Hebrews remembered that they had in their earliest ages lived in this land, and from thence had journeyed to the south. Beyond this remembrance they manifestly retained nothing; but that their small nation had once dwelt in that great home of their race was still clear to them. Nothing is hereby really determined respecting the origin and connection of this name, HEBREW, which fills so eminent a place in history; we are at liberty to supply the void as we best can. It would be entirely erroneous to assume that the name was given to them only by foreigners after they had passed over the Euphrates, and that it originally signified *the people of the farther side*, that is, who had come from the farther side. This idea can hardly lie even in the name;<sup>1</sup> and while there is nothing to show that the name emanated from strangers, nothing is more manifest than that the nation called themselves by it and had done so as long as memory could reach; indeed this is the only one of their names that appears to have been current in the earliest times. The history of this name shows that it must have been most frequently used in the ancient times, before that branch of the Hebrews which took the name of Israel became dominant, but that after the time of the Kings it entirely disappeared from ordinary speech,<sup>2</sup> and was only revived in the period immediately before Christ, like many other names of the primeval times, through the prevalence of a learned mode of regarding antiquity, when it came afresh into esteem through the reverence then felt for Abraham.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three great epochs into which the history of this nation

<sup>1</sup> As the region beyond the Euphrates is always called אָמֹרְאַרְתָּה and never עֲבָרָה simply, we should have to assume an abbreviation found nowhere else, and devoid of intrinsic probability. The LXX. in translating קָרְבָּן Gen. xiv. 13 by διεπάρης may indeed have had some such idea. The sense of any such designation is however shown to be absolutely uncertain by the Fathers of the Church, who know not what to make of it; as we see from Origen on Numb. xxiv. 24, Matt. xiv. 22. See also Gött. Gel. Anz. 1837, p. 959, sq. The doubts which in 1826 I threw out in my *Kritische Grammatik* against this derivation, were only too well founded, though at the time misunderstood by many.

<sup>2</sup> This was likewise noticed in my *Kritische Grammatik* of 1826, but it can be now defined more exactly. The name

Hebrew is found in the ancient fragment Gen. xiv.; it is used also by the Earliest Historian, Ex. xxi. 2, and by the Third Narrator of the primeval history (Gen. xl. 15, xlivi. 32, probably also Ex. v. 3), and in the ancient Book of Kings in the earlier period preceding the death of Saul, 1 Sam. iv. 9, xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 21; hence it would seem to have been avoided in the Book of Origins, and already forgotten in the time of the great Prophets. Perhaps, however, a trace of this ancient national name is preserved in the compound word 'Ανθόπεδον in *Sanchoniathon* p. 42 (Orselli), if we may alter the reading to 'Αεβόπεδον and interpret it as עַיִן עֲבָרִית Hebrew fountain, i.e. Nymph.

<sup>3</sup> As we find for instance in the New Testament; John i. 9 is a mere imitation from Gen. xl. From such late writers as these is derived the modern designation of the language of Canaan as Hebrew.

falls, the name Hebrew strictly denotes the earliest, in which Israel with great toil struggled out as an independent nation from amid the crowd of kindred and alien peoples. In the second epoch, in which after the establishment of the kingly rule its native power reached the mightiest development, its name Israel became as sublime and glorious as the nation itself, and supplanted the older more general name. And as no notable period need want for a suitable sign and name, the third and last epoch of the history is distinguished by the name Jew, together with a resuscitation of the old name Hebrew. In like manner, in the sphere of religion these three epochs, which embrace the whole history, are distinguished by a change in the mode of speaking the Divine name Jahve (Jahve alone, Jahve Sabaoth, Jahve suppressed); for thus great national changes and revolutions generally leave their mark on words and names in daily use. Thus then the national name Hebrew, even more than the Divine name Jahve, reaches up into the earliest times; and the people, seeing in it nothing less than the token of their own origin, called their progenitor Eber.

But since Eber (as before observed) was conceived only as one son of Arphaxad, we are entitled to ask further whether these Hebrews, who could have inhabited but a small portion of the ancient land of the Chaldeans, had not a connection with any more distant region. And here the name of the Iberians, who dwelt somewhat farther to the north, forces itself upon us involuntarily, so that we can hardly help thinking of some connection with them. What language among the hundreds spoken in that medley of races in the Caucasus<sup>1</sup> that of the Iberians was, it is not possible for us to unriddle from the short description which Strabo gives of them;<sup>2</sup> but there is nothing to oppose the possibility that they and their language were originally of the Semitic stock. Up to this great parting of the nations we should then be enabled to trace back the stream of their national life to its source, though of the primary signification of their name it is as difficult to speak as of the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xi. 2, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo xi. 3. That the Iberians at the other end of the ancient world, in Spain, were related to them, was only a conjecture of some ancient writers; which S. F. W. Hoffmann (*die Ibérier im osten und im westen*, Lpz. 1838) supports, but with ineffectual arguments. The Armenian pronunciation, *Véra*, shows that the long vowel of the Greek form was not essential.

The original meaning of the name Hebrew is of course not determined thereby; and we may therefore conjecture that it is connected with the root *Ac* to explain, to speak plain, to expound, and thus designates the nation which was separated by its language from all non-Hebrews, and contrasts them with the *לָבִד* or *עַמְקָם* (Welsh, Barbarians).

names of the Arameans (except that this name seems to have been originally identical with that of the Armenians), or of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Lydians, and Elameans. And how easily a section of a nation might migrate southwards from the Caucasian Iberia, and then grow into historical greatness, is shown by the very similar case which Amos<sup>1</sup> briefly mentions. It was well known in the time of Amos that the Arameans (here used in the narrower sense of the Damascenes<sup>2</sup>) had emigrated from the Cyrus, the same river that, according to Strabo, flows through Iberia also; although Amos by a strange sport of destiny was compelled to threaten them with banishment to this same northern river, which had then become Assyrian.<sup>3</sup>

That the name of Hebrews originally included more nations than Israel alone follows not only from the position which the ancient tradition gives to Eber, but also from other indications. When the ancient fragment, Gen. xiv. 13, gives the epithet 'the Hebrew' to Abraham (though his name in itself by no means suggests the word Hebrew<sup>4</sup>), it evidently ascribes to the name Hebrew a much wider extension, and speaks just as we might expect from the primitive views of national relationships contained in the genealogical tables of the Book of Origins. In like manner speaks the Fifth Narrator, who had several very old accounts before his eyes, of 'all the sons of Eber,' in a place where he must have had in view many more nations than the one people of Israel.<sup>5</sup> The name Hebrew, indeed, belongs to all the nations who came over the Euphrates with Abraham. So also long before Abraham, according to ancient tradition, a powerful branch of the Hebrews, under the name Joktan,<sup>6</sup> had migrated into the south of Arabia and there founded flourishing kingdoms; for nothing else can be meant when Joktan (Gen. x. 25-30) is made the second son of Eber. And since in northern Arabia many tribes are placed in a close relation to Abraham, the name Hebrew might well be very predominant throughout the whole length of that country. But

<sup>1</sup> Amos ix. 7.

<sup>2</sup> According to Amos i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Amos i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Although Artapanus in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 18, derives the name Hebrew from Abraham.

<sup>5</sup> Because Gen. x. 21, a verse inserted by the Fifth Narrator, speaks in the style of the genealogies. The same narrator however in Numb. xxiv. 24 (where the context is very different), understands the name Eber, as used in poetry, to mean no

more than the whole of Canaan.

<sup>6</sup> The name יַקְנָתָא LXX. 'Ieknáy, as also

يَعْرَب, his son يَنْحَسَب, and all the names with י prefixed present a characteristic formation of the ancient Hebrew (see *Lekrbuch* § 162 a), which probably distinguished it from all other branches of the Semitic stock; the pronunciation of the later Arabs, يَهْرَب, seems by comparison therewith to be Arabised.

we must beware of fancying that the name Arab, which was gradually extended to all the nations of that immense country only after the seventh century before Christ, was produced only by a slight modification of the older name Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

The people who remained in the north on the far side of the Euphrates seem then to have founded several small kingdoms, the memory of which (see p. 268) has probably been retained in the names of the four direct descendants of Eber, and among whom the Nahoreans, who lived in Haran, have been somewhat more fully described for us because of Jacob's close connection with them. That Nahor is the name both of the father and of the second of the three sons of Terah (see p. 273), agrees well with this supposition; and the name of Haran, the third of the three sons of Terah and the father of Lot, is probably still preserved in that of a northern country, the situation of which agrees not ill with the idea.<sup>2</sup>

**3.** Accordingly, in the migration from Ur-Chasdim distinguished by the name of Abraham and his companions, as well as in the subsequent one of Jacob, who took the same direction from the more southerly Haran, we see only continuations of the migratory movements of this primitive people, which, after having struck out probably in many directions, now took its farthest course towards the south-west, and thus found its last goal in Egypt. But this leads us into a new region. Here rises into view the land which was destined to be to the children of Israel, when arrived at maturity and competing for the good places of the earth, infinitely more sacred than ever the fatherland of their childhood had been; and on which the plot was laid of all the rich history that follows. Yet so long as the migration reaches only the fore-land of Egypt, Canaan, and not that great centre and point of attraction of ancient civilisation itself, we remain still only in the Primeval History.

<sup>1</sup> This name undoubtedly may be traced back to the signification סְלָבָה, *Steppe* (Isaiah xxi. 13), as also according to the

Arabia, since סְלָבָה resembles the Hebrew سَلَبَة, but is foreign to ordinary Arabic.

Moslim only the أَرَابِ are genuine Bedouins, and these two names are interchangeable (Hamasa, p. 294, v. 2); but these very words of Isaiah (xxi. 13) show that in the ninth or eighth century it was not yet in use; and according to Jer. iii. 2, Ezek. xxvii. 21, and Isaiah xiii. 20, it was not current till the seventh century, when the name Hebrew had been long obsolete. But the usage of language shows that this name originated in Northern not Central

dāa. See Kemleddin in Freytag's *Chrestomathy*, p. 138, 8; Abulfida's *Geography*, p. 336, ed. Reinaud; and *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, i. p. 444; ii. p. 403; in Armenian probably Harkh (which is only a plural form); in Moses Chor. *History*, i. 9, 10, *Geography*, lxix. On another Arrān beyond the Tigris in Media, see Rawlinson in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, x. 81 sq. 139 sq.

## C. THE THIRD AGE.

## I. THE THREE PATRIARCHS OF THE NATION.

THE Third Age is properly (according to p. 275 sqq.) that of the Heroes.<sup>1</sup> Those only are strictly Heroes, whom every nation boasts of possessing in the time of its fresh energy and youth, and of whom the earliest and most powerful serves as the founder or father of the nation itself. For the conception of such prehistoric heroes afterwards spreads further, and the like grand forms are finally transferred even into the preceding ages; so that their collective image is constantly being removed farther and higher (of which we had an example at p. 275); but their proper place is unquestionably in this Third Age, immediately before the historic period. And they may be conceived as entirely filling the space of this age, the Book of Origins even placing the last remnants of the Hero-race in the earliest part of the age of Moses as enemies of Israel.<sup>2</sup> But since in the case of Israel their Egyptian period makes the boundary between the two last ages, all the persons who in the strict sense may be called their fathers fall before this time, especially those whom in the spirit of the tradition itself we must distinguish under the name of the three Patriarchs.

The region of these three Patriarchs is thus sharply defined on both sides. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob-Israel are, according to the true national feeling, the great names of the three sole founders and types of the Canaanite-Hebrew nation; the addition of Joseph to the number belongs to a much later view.<sup>3</sup> In the old tradition concerning them their sphere is separated from that which precedes it by the fact that they first tread the holy ground, and thus with them the narrative first acquires the true Mosaic expansion and warmth of tone. From the following it is separated by the fact that even Joseph's life sinks into the scale usual in the later age, while the three others all remain upon the higher scale of the as yet little enfeebled hero-life.

The exact investigation of this region is rendered difficult,

<sup>1</sup> חֶרְבָּן, or, according to the earlier more mythical appellation, חֶלְבָּן. See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 18 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xiii. 22, 28, 33. It is clear from the age of the passages Ps. lxxvii. 16 [15], lxxx. 2 [1], lxxi. 6 [5].

because (with a very few exceptions to be mentioned shortly) we have knowledge of it only from Biblical sources, since these three Patriarchs could not possibly be to other nations what they were to the Hebrews after Moses. But there is some compensation in the greater fulness and variety that are here to be observed for the first time in the specially Hebrew accounts. If we recognise in this far-off cloud-land comparatively little real history with the desirable certainty and completeness, we welcome the more gladly some important truths which are in the strictest sense historical, as soon as we are prepared to see them aright.

But the more narrowly we reinvestigate the multitude of primitive traditions and reminiscences united here, and which upon a closer view appear remarkably rich and varied, the more manifest it becomes that even in those ancient times when their foundation was laid there were two veins from which, by a kind of intermingling, they grew into their present form. One half only, though indeed by far the most important one, is so to speak purely Hebrew; and this carries us easily and securely back to the basis of the true history of that primeval period when the nation of Israel and those immediately related to it were formed. Of another kind are single scattered traditions, which in their essential substance and general bearing recur also among other ancient nations belonging to the same sphere of high civilisation, different as they may at the first glance appear in the names of places and of persons. The carrying off of Sarah and of Rebekah by a foreign king has unmistakable resemblance to the Greek legend of Helen and the Hindu story of Sita; and in the original meaning of these traditions unquestionably it was the honour and beauty of the kingdom itself of whose protection and recovery they spoke. In like manner, as will be shown below, many things narrated of Isaac and Jacob recur in the traditions of the most ancient neighbouring nations.<sup>1</sup> In fact, we have here only fragments of a primitive body of tradition existing in these regions long before the time of these Patriarchs, which early mingled itself with the remembrance of the grand patriarchal days, and adorned it with many flowers which then, bedewed by the spirit of the religion of Israel, shone again with a double radiance. How this might happen is shown by the case explained above (p. 275 sqq.), as well

<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly obvious that this extends much further, to later as well as to earlier times. Icarius, like Noah in Gen. ix. 2, meets with disaster through his discovery of wine. Athen. *D. ipn.* xv. 6, 8. Hygin. *Fab.* 130.

as by many other instances; and nothing else so clearly indicates the antiquity of all these traditions respecting the Patriarchs as the fact that through them we can look back farther into a still remoter sphere. As a third source of these traditions, the strictly Canaanitic stories may be named; that of Sodom, for example, Gen. xviii., xix., is unquestionably purely Canaanitic.

That which may still be recognised as belonging to the ancient accounts of the time of these Patriarchs, will be here explained with a careful distinction of its sources. At a later period the history of the Patriarchs, in common with the whole of the primeval history and even that of Moses, gradually became a field for arbitrary invention, as may be seen in the extant fragments of that literature;<sup>1</sup> but upon these no close attention need be bestowed.

## II. THE CYCLE OF THE TWELVE TYPES.

If we look simply at the prevailing character of the narratives and representations of this period given in the most ancient sources, we shall find little that is really historical to say of the three Patriarchs. For on a close view it is obvious that to the nation as we see it in the time of Moses they had not only long served as types, and therefore receded more and more into a prehistoric region, but also that they were members of a very large circle of national types.

When an ancient people occupied a position from which it could look back upon a previous period of grandeur and renown, in which its own foundations had been laid and its organisation advanced, the few indestructible personages of that past, its true Heroes, naturally formed in the imagination a circle, and were treated as so many members of a typical house. For the distinction of a Hero, as contrasted with a God, so long at least as they are not confounded with each other (which generally took place in the more refined heathen religions), is this: that the God is the type of all men, but the Hero of one special order, correspondent to his own character; the Hero being always conceived as the man of his age, stamped with all

<sup>1</sup> An instance of this sort of Egyptian-fictitious early history on Shem and his Abrahamic history, with a king Nekao, age. But the use of Abraham's and with Jerusalem, &c., is given by Josephus Isaac's names in adjuration by the in his *Jewish Wars*, v. 9. 4, but not repeated in his *Antiquities*. In an addendum, given by a Greek codex to Barnabas *Contra Celsum*, i. 5. 1, iv. 4. 3 sq., can only be referred to a later confusion of xii. ed. Dress., may be seen a piece of religions.

its peculiarities. Thus a limited type is involved in the very conception of the Hero. And since the family, especially in the wide sense of the Patriarchal world, is the primary sphere of the manifold interests and activities of man, and in antiquity, much more than at the present day, even a considerable nation considered itself to be living together in the domestic circle of a *house*,<sup>1</sup> we cannot wonder that a national hero was always regarded not as an individual only, but as a member of a typical house, who is distinctly remembered mainly by virtue of the definite position he held in it. The distant period when these Heroes lived is the sacred time, vanished but not to be forgotten and in spirit ever present, in which the nation as a house or family first gained the true feeling of a home. Around its hearth are ranged the historic forms to which the nation looks up as types of all the various members of its lower present house, while many subordinate persons of the same circle owe the vivid impression they have left merely to their connection with the rest. Heroes of every possible complexion are generally embraced in a certain definite circle; around one or two chief heroes others are ranked as counterparts, and fill their necessary place. If the *Iliad*, however, owing to special causes represents a scene of camps and battles, the *Odyssey*, like the *Rámáyana* and *Mahábharata*, exhibits the domestic life of Heroes and Heroines, and this view will ever tend to become the dominant one. Even when under peculiar circumstances the groups of Heroes and of Gods are intermingled, and produce that elaborate heathen mythology which we see in its completest form among the Greeks and the Hindus, the very heavens become the seat of a typical house, and Indra or Zeus is but the pre-eminent father and ruler of the organised circle of gods of the most varied qualities, who surround him.

Although the typical house of the people of Israel has come down to us incomplete in some of its members, we may by some attention see that it embraced a circle of exactly twelve members, who were again distributed according to the seven fundamental relations possible to an ancient Patriarchal house. At the head stand—

**1.** The three Patriarchs themselves as the *fathers* and most prominent forms of this typical house. The combination of these three may be compared with that of Agamemnon, Achilles and Ulysses, around whom the whole *Iliad* ranges

<sup>1</sup> It is not poets only who still perpetually speak of the house of Jacob (*Isaiah* i. 12, ii. 4–11, v. 6, 15, xii. 8, xv. 3; xxix. 22; *Amos* v. 1, 5, vi. 11), but also historians (*Ex. xvi. 31, xl. 38; Lev. x. 6*; *Josh. xxi. 43; 1 Sam. vii. 1 sq.; 2 Sam. xxix. 22; 1 Kings xiii. 21, 23, xx. 31*).

itself, or with Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius in the Trojan legends: what follows agrees still more exactly. In the Hindu legends, with the chief hero there is generally ranked a secondary one who reflects in a lower degree his exalted character, as if from an apprehension of the truth that an ideal type can only be seen in its right light by means of an inferior yet aspiring copy of itself, and from the desire to place before ordinary men who could not rise to the level of the ideal a lower yet still admirable model. In these legends the secondary hero appears as a younger brother of the chief: as Râma and Lakshmana, Krishna and Bala. And in the Mahâbhârata, where the idea of the chief hero assumes a threefold form in the persons of Judhishtira, Bhima, and Arjuna as representatives of the three kingly virtues of justice, valour, and wisdom,<sup>1</sup> there stand beside these three elder brothers at least two younger, bearing a like significance. So Isaac stands beside Abraham, lower, but resembling him, under the conception of a son who in all things faithfully follows his father. Jacob is then introduced as the third of this series, though in a different character. He also, as father of the nation, is a type, but under quite another aspect: so little can even the combination of the three Fathers in a typical house conceal the fact that the house on which in after years the nation looked back with pride as the home of its childhood, really grew out of two different houses; somewhat as in the heroic legends of Rome Numa was put beside Romulus and Remus<sup>2</sup> as worthy of no less reverence; or as in the Greek myth, Hercules was at length received into the house of Olympus. Standing side by side each has an equal claim to the honour of being a father in the typical house; yet with this equality a certain diversity of character may be perceived, even as the human relationships, whose types they are, amid a common excellence exhibit great variety. The nature of this variety will be more suitably explained hereafter: it is evident that the paternal, as the first of the seven fundamental relations of every house, admits most obviously of this internal variety, here presented in a threefold form.

**2.** As the type of the wife there appears Sarah, as that of the concubine Hagar, both standing by the side of the first of the three Fathers, and partaking of his higher dignity. Considering Sarah under this aspect, we can apprehend the full sig-

<sup>1</sup> But in this instance it is characteristically Hindu, that Arjuna, as the type of wisdom, has at least a spiritual supremacy over his two brothers, and accomplishes more than they.

<sup>2</sup> These two, curiously, form a similar pair to Râma and Lakshmana in the Hindu tradition; although Romulus, who from his name ought to be the younger, conquers Remus.

nificance of the story, undoubtedly popular in antiquity, of her rescue from the hands of a lascivious prince. This narrative as it stands in Gen. xx. is Canaanitic and primeval; with some modifications it is transferred by the Fourth Narrator to Egypt, Gen. xii. 10-20; and in Gen. xxvi. 7-11 is applied by others to Rebekah also. Like Sarah, her type, every chaste matron in times when wanton hands were everywhere, hoped to live in honour; and in so far nothing can be objected against the historical signification of the narrative. But the fact that it was deemed important to associate with the wife the concubine as her inferior counterpart, and to place them in a mutual relation, proves, quite as strongly as the marriage of two sisters at once to the same husband (to be presently mentioned),<sup>1</sup> that this conception of the Twelve Types had its origin before the time of Moses.

**3.** As type of the child there appears Isaac; exhibiting the same quiet and cheerful spirit also as father by the side of Abraham. As type of the true child, he serves in the Mosaic community for an example of circumcision, Gen. xxi. 4. How old the origin of this view is, is clear from the fact that all the existing stories of their long and anxious waiting for him, of his choice as the heir, of his childlike obedience and his trustful journey even to sacrifice at his father's will, refer essentially to this his typical significance.

**4.** The same Isaac in union with Rebekah stands as the type of true betrothal and marriage, represented in a charming idyl of unsurpassable beauty and true Mosaic spirit in the fragment Gen. xxiv., emanating from the Fourth Narrator.

**5.** But because the marriage-bond did not always retain this true and simple character, least of all in the early times, Leah and Rachel were admitted into the circle, as types of the position of one wife towards another equally legitimate, but less beloved: a frequent case, especially in the primitive times.<sup>2</sup> But, the frequency of this relation being presupposed, the type demanded an exactly equal original title on the part of each without favour or disfavour, and only in this sense can they (like the two knights of the Hindu and Greek mythology), be inseparably ranged together in the typical house.

**6.** To complete the number of female members of the typical household, we have Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, as type of the nurse of Heroes, to whom is assigned an elevated position

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Lev. xviii. 18. See my Academy's *Monatsberichte*, 1859, p. 340. *Altirthümer*, p. 227; and similar instances from Hindu antiquity in the Berlin

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxi. 15-17.

in the traditions of other nations also.<sup>1</sup> Much more mention must have been made of her originally, and her memory is almost lost in the existing traditions, which are certainly in part greatly curtailed. In Gen. xxiv. 59 she is meant, though not expressly named; but the few words respecting her death and the tree held sacred to her memory in Gen. xxxv. 8 sufficiently testify to the spirit of the earlier story. And the fact that the later judge of the same name (Judges iv. v.), who was also a kind of hero-nurse, had her seat under this same tree at Bethel,<sup>2</sup> is a fresh proof of the ancient spread of the tradition respecting her.

**7.** Finally, to close the circle, is added, as the twelfth type Abraham's upper servant and steward,<sup>3</sup> whose position according to the whole constitution of the ancient house is so far honourable and important that he could no more be omitted in the series of types, than in Olympus the doorkeeper and messenger. It is true his memory has suffered in what has come down to us, and only casually, in an antique phrase in Gen. xv. 2, has his name Eliezer of Damascus been preserved: but how dignified a part he played in the tradition in its living freshness may be plainly seen in the beautiful description of his service Gen. xxiv., where he is unquestionably intended, though not named.

In this manner we can still, on the whole with great certainty, understand this cycle of types of the national life, and see how complete it was.<sup>4</sup> The best proof of it is, farther, that all the traditions which do not rest upon one of these twelve types, or upon Lot, Ishmael or Esau, who are brought into prominence as contrasts to the three chief heroes, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have become quite lifeless and empty. The Nahoreans, Gen. xxii. 20-24, and the Ktureans or Saracens, Gen. xxv. 1-4, were related nations once as important as the others; but since they

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the *Panulus* of Plautus; Virgil's *Aeneid*, iv. 634, vii. 1 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As the same topographical position is assigned in either case, the discrepancy in the name of the tree, which in Gen. xxxv. 8 is called the *oak* of lamentation, and in Judges iv. 5 a *palm*, is not of essential importance.

<sup>3</sup> In order to prevent the dispersion of the family property in default of a male heir, such a one was often adopted as a son, or married to his master's daughter; as is also seen in the story of the powerful Jarha, in 1 Chr. ii. 34 sq. The Testament Levi, ch. vi., calls this Eliezer by the name *Jihai*, and contains a separate tradition respecting him.

<sup>4</sup> It is well known that the Greeks also had a cycle of twelve gods, or, in some districts of eight (see *Rheinisches Museum*, 1843, p. 489). In all ancient nations we find a tendency to the repetition of similar combinations and round numbers: as among the Egyptians, who grouped their deities as father, mother, and child (Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, iv. 231), and recognised eight great divinities (Lepsius, *Chronologie*, i. 253). Let it not, however, be supposed that the above idea of an ancient Hebrew cycle of twelve prototypes was suggested to me by these examples. On the contrary, it was forced upon me from the simple investigation of the subject, and I was myself surprised at the result.

had no place in that circle, their mere names were handed down, and no reminiscence is linked with them.

As to the age in which this circle of types became fixed in the mind of the people, every indication besides those already mentioned points to the last few centuries before Moses. For true as it may be that these types were among the wants of every aspiring nation (see pp. 29 sq.), still they generally sprang up to satisfy a felt need, which could only arise while such a nation moved in a very narrow and homelike sphere, and could picture to itself all that was lofty and noble only by looking back to its own past, to the exalted house from which it had issued. It is essentially the domestic and homely spirit that enfolds itself in this circle of paternal types; in later times as the nation enters into a wider sphere and attains a larger history, an infinite number of new types opens out before it. This consideration leads us to the pre-Mosaic time when Israel dwelt in Egypt, externally oppressed and without internal movement, yet with an elevating remembrance of its nobler past. This idea is further fortified by the consideration that the conception of such Heroes is opposed to the strict Mosaic religion, and at least could not have issued from it. For in the sense of antiquity the true Hero is a being intermediate between God and man, who, long after he has left the earth, retains a sort of mystic bond with later generations, knows those who look to him, regards them with deep sympathy, and even as a mediator hears their prayers. Thus he becomes the recipient of a kind of worship, which according to strict monotheism is due to One alone; and thus it is quite fitting that among the Prophets (at a time when the Mosaic doctrine was beginning with greatest vigour to unfold all the consequences involved in it) the Great Unnamed One, although speaking as usual of Abraham and Sarah as the venerable parents of the nation,<sup>1</sup> is yet driven to the new declaration that the people of Jahve must not regard Abraham and Israel as their fathers and protectors, nor address prayers to them, but that Jahve alone was their Father and Redeemer.<sup>2</sup> In this the Mosaic doctrine does but utter that which from the first lay within it, and which must logically sooner or later have come clearly into view.

But in the first centuries of the Mosaic religion all that characterised the Israelitish nationality in contrast to the other nations was too eagerly grasped to suffer this typical circle to lose much of its value to the popular heart. If the Mosaic

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah li. 1, 2; comp. xlviij. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah lxiii. 16; comp. lxiv. 7 [8].

religion absolutely forbade the dedication of a true worship (*a cultus*) to their persons, their memory, cherished above that of all other men, could cleave to sacred places, as the many traditions respecting the three Patriarchs, the pillar at Rachel's grave, Gen. xxxv. 20, and the mourning oak for Deborah (p. 294) show. And to how great an extent, at least in the height of poetical feeling, an enduring reciprocal action between them and the existing nation was affirmed, is shown not only by Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xl ix. comp. pp. 69 sq.) but by such extraordinary expressions as Jer. xxxi. 15.<sup>1</sup>

We may indeed easily understand that the need of such types would be felt afresh with every new direction of the national life: and accordingly later times set up Moses as the type for prophetical gifts, Samson for the Nazarite life, Joseph, Joshua and David for leadership and rule in different aspects, David for lyrical poetry, and Solomon for wisdom and poetic art. We have also an example which shows how types were set up for individual occupations, and which in age and form closely approaches the great typical circle of the Twelve, in the two Hebrew midwives whom Pharaoh could not induce by his threats to destroy the male infants, and of whom the Third Narrator says: ‘because they feared God rather than Pharaoh, they were blessed also by God in house and in possessions.’<sup>2</sup> The typical significance of these two midwives is indicated partly by the style of this short narrative, and partly by the fact that there are but two of them, like the two physicians of the Hindu heaven (Açvinau), since this number must have been practically quite insufficient. Even their names are probably only metaphorical.<sup>3</sup> But notwithstanding all this, the twelve primitive types maintained their preeminence during the centuries which succeeded Moses, the most brilliant period of the nation's history, nor could any other type force itself into equally high and general esteem.

In this mean between a vivid feeling of their continued spiritual activity, and the avoidance of any act of worship towards them, these sacred types of the spirit and the power of the higher religion gained an increasing hold upon the national

<sup>1</sup> Hosea, xii. 4 sqq., expresses very distinctly the feeling of such a living communion between the ancestral father and his people. The words in Isaiah xxix. 22 sqq., when closely examined, also admit of a signification which is appropriate here (ver. 23, ‘when he sees his sons, as the work of mine hands in him,’ i.e., according to xix. 28, ‘when he sees them amended and blessed [he will see how] they hallow my name’): similarly, Luke i. 51, 55, 72,

xvi. 22. With this was in fact connected the belief in a kind of continuous consciousness on the part of every deceased father of a tribe: 1 Sam. ii. 33; 2 Sam. vii. 16 (according to the common reading).

<sup>2</sup> Ex. i. 16–21.

<sup>3</sup> בָּשְׂרָה may be connected with בָּשַׂר (comp. Hos. xiii. 13; Is. xxxvii. 3, lxvi. 9); and בָּשַׁבֵּעַ, which has the same sense as the latter, with יִזְבֶּעַ, יִזְבַּעַ, to break forth.

mind, and grew into those beautiful forms which again became their most eloquent interpreters. Such a revival all those noble forms, so far as they hold an important place in the existing traditions, have visibly experienced ; but especially those which stand highest and gather the others round themselves, the three Patriarchs. As the conception of their spiritual character is developed in the Book of Origins and still more by the Third and Fourth Narrators, they give the pattern of a life which through ceaseless and triumphant aspiring to God receives from him its true strength and aid, and thus advances from blessing to blessing. There the heart meets those pure and noble forms on which it would gladly repose its faith, but which it cannot find in the present. In those bright regions it beholds, with a clearness nowhere else to be attained, the true God, whose mighty hand it seeks in vain beneath the veil of the real and the tediousnes of daily life, condescending to those who walk worthy of him. And since the Divine blessing on the life of the Patriarchs had been long inly felt by those who looked to them as their types, their contemplation, looking back to the primeval time when the foundation of all these blessings was laid, now took a higher flight, and ventured to regard in the reverse order the whole course of the past and present history, tracing it according to its Divine necessity.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect the three Patriarchs are entirely alike : they are all types of an exalted life, and instruments of the divine blessing for illimitable time. But besides this, which is common to all three, each possesses a very marked character ; for even the absolutely good when embodied in personal life must express itself in diverse modes, without thereby ceasing to be good, and the Patriarchs being thus different are the more fit types of life in its many-coloured reality. It is at the outset desirable and possible that the Mosaic life should be exhibited in an individual person perfect in power and in act ; and of this the first Patriarch Abraham is the type. Initiating as father, founder, and ruler a new era, and deriving neither his knowledge nor his power from another, he unites the most absolute dominion and original power of soul with the utmost purity, peacefulness, and energy of action ; perfectly irreproachable, and yet at the same time ruling and conquering

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 2-8 ; xxxv. 11, 12, from the Book of Origins ; xii. 2, 3, 7, xiii. 14-17, xv. 18 sqq., xxii. 17, 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, by the Fourth and Fifth Narrators. But that such glorious words were intended to excite in those of later days for whom

they were written, not only pride, but also eagerness to live not unworthily of such ancestors, and are therefore to be regarded as only theoretical and conditional, is seen from one clear and admirable hint, thrown out in Gen. xviii. 18, 19.

by his own godlike power, comparable at most to a ‘Prince of God’ (Gen. xxiii. 6 : comp. xxi. 22), or to a ‘Prophet’ (Gen. xx. 7.), and as the most generally perfect placed at the head of the triad. But there are not many who can equal or approach such a type. And after such an example has once been given, it is more than mere duty, it is excellence rather, not to fall behind him but to tread faithfully in his footsteps and inherit his blessing ; a life less highly pitched may also be a good one, and may be crowned with a blessing not inferior. Of this life the type is Isaac, living from his birth in possession of high worldly endowments, not of lofty independent power, but faithful, kind and gentle, preserving that which was already given, and thus at last blest like Abraham. And if few can emulate Abraham, it may be hoped that many or even all might be like this second Patriarch. But experience shows how few there are among the multitude even of those peaceful and upright souls whose type Isaac is ; uncertainty of will and its consequences, crafty designs or passion-guided actions, carry away so many even amid the light of truth. And the issue of such deviations must be a terrible strife, in which the struggler may indeed be finally victorious and return to the good, but only through long suffering and by the strenuous exertion of all his noblest powers, often bearing too for the rest of his life an outward mark as a memento of his perilous encounter. The type of this life, good and blest in the end but conquering only after severe strife and deserved sorrow, is Jacob-Israel, who for this very reason stands last and lowest in the series and bears a twofold name, Jacob, ‘the crafty,’ in his lower human aspect ; ‘Israel,’ ‘the God-striver,’ after his last divine victory ; though even then he remains at least in body ‘the halting,’ Gen. xxxii. 32 [31]. In this victorious end he stands as a type ; but it is manifestly in that double-sidedness that he corresponds most perfectly with the actual nation which also revered in him its immediate father. Among the three he was evidently the hero best known and most beloved in later ages ; and many traditions from the sphere of the lower life (which would not have accorded with the elevation and dignity of Abraham) have been retained in the series of legends, here very differently coloured, given by our chief narrator. Traditions such as that he lifted with ease a well-stone which all the other shepherds together could scarcely raise (Gen. xxix. 10) ; that he discovered the art of producing particular colours in lambs not yet born (xxx. 37 sqq.) ; even that he wrestled till morning with a spirit of the night that

attacked him (xxxii. 25 [24]), go back into the region of the primitive Palestinian traditions, and belong in their origin and nature to the same rank with those related of Ulysses, Apollo, or Krishna.<sup>1</sup>

But in every complete tradition, which exhibits an Heroic Pantheon, as the Iliad or the *Mahâbhârata* for example, the most prominent personages and types are confronted by an equal number of counterparts, as enemies: and here Lot, Ishmael, and Esau appear as the three counter-heroes. To furnish these contrasts, the traditions which were developed among the kindred nations around were unquestionably early blended with those of the Israelites. For although at the present day all independent accounts of the traditions of these nations are lost, we can plainly trace the intermixture. There can be no more genuinely Arabian tradition than that in which Hagar in the midst of the desert and utterly despairing of life suddenly discovers a well till then unknown, and meets as it were a visible messenger from heaven.<sup>2</sup> And as the Arabs who trace their descent from Ishmael were certainly at all times a far more numerous people than the Israelites, and the Idumeans much earlier civilised, the existing traditions speak of Ishmael and Esau as by nature the first born, giving them in this respect the same place as they held in the foreign traditions. But since the Israelites at the time of the chief narrator had become conscious of their intellectual if not political superiority over these kindred nations, these foreign traditions had already been transformed by them: the three ancestors of the other nations, though still eminent of their kind, and serving as types for lower classes of persons and spheres of life, being regarded as not reaching the same height of spiritual capacity and dignity as the three Israelite types, and therefore as quitting the Holy Land. They correspond also in the successive lowering of the three types, the most admirable counterpart being opposed to the sublimest type. The relation of Abraham to his nephew Lot (Moab-Ammon) is the delightful and reciprocally beneficent relation of a superior who rules solely by personal loftiness of character to an inferior who freely yields to it and is protected by it; a pattern of peaceful agreement and mutual blessing between two neighbouring persons or nations. Ishmael, who with his mother Hagar presents the image of the proud intractable temper of

<sup>1</sup> I here lay especial stress on this point, with reference to what has been already stated, p. 289. It is equally remarkable that nothing of this sort is found except in connection with this Patriarch, the nearest to the later nation, and never in connection with Abraham. Yet it does with Sarah, according to p. 292, compared with p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 15-19; comp. xvi. 7, 14.

the Arab of the desert, departs from Canaan not so easily and willingly as Lot indeed, but still without strife with the mild and loving Isaac; and he always holds his place as the first-born of Abraham, and is highly honoured in the tradition as the representative of a great and powerful nation, though descended from Abraham only as the son of a concubine. Esau, on the other hand, rightly the first-born, also loses at length his birthright, because he sinks back into barbarism from a state of culture previously attained, but only after a long and not inglorious struggle with Jacob, an adversary inferior in external strength but superior in craft and art: the true type of a nation which (like the Idumeans, the next of kin to the Hebrews) does not faithfully and carefully maintain the blessings it once possessed, and thus notwithstanding considerable external power and more truthful natural feeling, succumbs at last to the arts of a persevering and more highly aspiring brother-nation;<sup>1</sup> and also the representative of the historical struggles of the post-Mosaic nations. In this manner the three counterparts of the genuine Hebrew heroes also form a complete circle; so that when the primitive tradition had to tell of other related nations and ancestors, e.g. of the Nahoreans (Gen. xxii. 20-24) and the sons of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 1-4), these have maintained no vital connection with the already perfect story, but lie dead beside it, the demand for counterparts to the three great forms of the primeval Hebrew times having exhausted itself in these three foreign ancestors.

### III. THE HISTORY OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS.

If nothing more than the typical signification of each form in this Hero-Pantheon had been handed down to us, we might with justice insist that the three Patriarchs must at least have lived and performed extraordinary deeds, because otherwise there would be no accounting for the rise of the existing traditions respecting them; but we should be obliged to forego any inquiry into their significance as historical persons. The type, once set up with such decision, is with difficulty defined in the conception of those who cleave to it with their whole soul, except in so far as it defines itself by contact with its fellow types; and the endeavour to apprehend it introduces other views, which are incapable of strict historical proof, but without which it is supposed impossible to conceive it.

<sup>1</sup> In the same way as the ‘honest’ fore the Frenchman—deservedly, because German has always had to give way before him through his own fault.

But happily there is open to us, at least in respect to Abraham, a source of another kind hitherto little regarded by recent scholars, which at once introduces us into a very different region of historical contemplation, and affords us the clearest view into the reality of his history. This is the fragment in Gen. xiv., of small extent but inestimable value to the historian, of the general nature and significance of which we have spoken in pp. 52 sq.<sup>1</sup> Here we see Abraham in real life, often very different from the Abraham of the other writers. He wages war, of which, as not very befitting to a Prophet and Saint in the Mosaic sense, the other accounts nowhere give the remotest indication. With the Canaanites Aner, Eshcol and Mamre (of whom we have not the most distant knowledge from other sources, and whose names have a thoroughly historical sound) he stands in a mutual league which pledges them to help one another in war, and accordingly looks exactly like them as the head of a powerful house in Canaan. He receives a blessing from the Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek, and renders homage to him as it can be rendered only to a priest of high antiquity. But while all this, diverge as it may from the other representations, is historically so lucid and self-evident as to entitle us to say that here we have the true picture of the highest antiquity, and so Abraham must have acted in real life, he is at the same time endowed with so simple yet so exalted a greatness, so sympathetic in Lot's fate, so devoted and free from all self-seeking, nay, so nobly indignant at the very appearance of it (ver. 21-24), and so venerated by his contemporaries, that we can well comprehend how from such an Abraham of real life the Abraham of tradition could arise. Also in respect to the external condition and abode this primitive narration (ver. 18) agrees with the main contents of the prevailing tradition. To this it may be added that in this fragment Abraham is touched upon not deliberately, but rather incidentally, since its aim is evidently a much more general one than to describe the history of Abraham. And thus nothing remains for us, but to rejoice in the rare good fortune which has preserved to us this single instructive fragment: for he who after a careful study of it could still doubt the reality of the lives of Abraham and Lot, can scarcely be even beginning to see anything with certainty in this field of history.

Further, there glimmer also out of the prevalent traditions not a few scintillations of reality. Especially peculiar to

<sup>1</sup> I drew attention as early as 1831 to the extreme importance of the passage, Gen. xiv. On the localities there men-

tioned, see a full disquisition, by Tuch, in the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1847, p. 161-194.

the author of the Book of Origins is a very clear and firmly held conception of the difference between the primitive Patriarchal and the Mosaic times; and to one who in our day studies the history of that primeval period it gives a true pleasure to observe how simple and pure the fragmentary reminiscences of it, reduced in number as they even then were, remained. He has a clear consciousness that the art of writing, with all its consequences, was wanting in the Patriarchal times, as is further explained in p. 47. He well knows also the distinction of the Patriarchal religion, not only in respect to names (carefully avoiding for example, for those times, the name Jahve) but also in what relates to its objects. Thus, e.g., he never represents the Patriarchs as bringing the sacrifices which later became customary, but ascribes to them simple usages which were afterwards entirely lost. In this appreciation of the religion of antiquity, the Fourth and Fifth Narrators are very different (compare pp. 103 sq.); but all the narrators agree in describing the external life of the Patriarchs in Canaan as totally different from that which those who lived after Moses had before their eyes; not as settled and peacefully developed, but as somewhat unstable and migratory, without the restraints but also without the advantages of a well-ordered social system, which however, according to the same traditions, existed around them among the Canaanites. In this peculiar and fixed conception must surely be embodied a true remembrance of the general character of the period. The conception of this distinctive character is so strong in the author of the Book of Origins, that he constantly describes the life of the Patriarchs in Canaan as a *pilgrimage*.<sup>1</sup>

And there remained not only a consciousness of the difference of the periods: when the author of the Book of Origins wrote, there were still preserved a multitude of verbal traditions as well as of external objects and memorials, which pointed to an earlier and much simpler time. There were sacred trees and groves with which notable remembrances were linked; for the most part, solitary trees of centuries of growth, the terebinth-tree of Mamre (a Canaanite who must have first possessed the spot on which it stood),<sup>2</sup> the terebinth-tree of Moreh, so called for a

<sup>1</sup> מִגְרָיִם, Gen. xvii. 8, xxviii. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1, xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 4. The higher application of this idea to the transitory nature of human life in general (Heb. xi. 18; 1 Pet. i. 1, ii. 11; Ephes. ii. 19) is indeed already apparent in such poetical words as Ps. xxxix. 13 [12];

but this cannot have been the original meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1; comp. xiv. 24. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 10, 4; comp. *Jewish War*, iv. 9. 7), in calling such a tree *Oyygian*, means only *very old*, according to a well known Greek phrase.

similar reason,<sup>1</sup> the tamarisk at Beersheba,<sup>2</sup> the oak of mourning at Bethel;<sup>3</sup> places which in the period after Moses possessed in popular belief a deep-rooted sanctity. There were besides primeval altars, which were in later times open to the public gaze, standing free beneath the heavens, as the simplicity of the earliest times had erected them.<sup>4</sup> And the fact that according to the short narratives given respecting them, many of these altars and other holy places received at their origin particular names (brief and manifestly historical as 'God of Bethel,' like our church names St. James's, St. Mary's, and so on)<sup>5</sup> is but another proof for us that the circle of a definite and peculiar religion was formerly drawn around each such place: for the religions of these primitive times are even locally as various and manifold as is always found to be the case with natural religions. Still older and simpler, if possible, are the pillars or stone-memorials, which from the general tenor of the legends must be supposed to be set up without any inscription, without even the Egyptian picture-writing, some in commemoration of holy places or of covenants;<sup>6</sup> some as boundary-marks near which on account of their sacredness an altar might be frequently erected;<sup>7</sup> some as grave-stones, like those of Egypt and Phœnicia, of which many (though always provided with written characters) have been discovered.<sup>8</sup>

By such objects, which from their character or the descriptions given of them must have belonged to an early period, the contemporaries of Saul and David were largely surrounded; and we can easily conceive how firmly and permanently they maintained a vivid memory of that primitive time and of its difference from later days. The Patriarchal age had been entirely without writing or written records (p. 47); yet these permanent and visible remains were for the subsequent generations like a great natural book, in which to read the existence of the ancestors of whom early tradition spoke.

It is indeed possible that the remembrance which was sustained by such tokens had not remained correct in every detail; as for example, the sacred tree and altar at Shechem is attributed to Abraham by the Fourth Narrator of the Primitive history,<sup>9</sup> but not by the older ones. It is further possible, from

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 6; comp. Deut. xi. 30.

<sup>•</sup> Gen. xxxv. 14, 15; comp. Ex. xxiv. 4;

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 33.

<sup>•</sup> Josh. xxiv. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxv. 8.

<sup>•</sup> Gen. xxxi. 45-54; comp. Isaiah xix.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxv. 1, 3, 7, comp. xii. 7, xiii. 19.  
18, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20.

<sup>•</sup> Gen. xxxv. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, xxi. 33; comp. Ex. xvii. 15.

<sup>•</sup> Gen. xii. 6, 7.

the close contact of the Hebrews and the Canaanites at an early period, that the sacredness of a place that had first been deemed holy by the Canaanites, and afterwards by the Hebrews, might at the time of David be referred immediately to a Patriarch. This is very probable with respect to Bethel. For according to the oldest existing account (Gen. xxxv.) two ancient sanctuaries existed there, one of which, the memorial-stone erected in the open country remote from the city, appears to be the properly Hebrew one appropriated to Jacob and bearing the special name of Bethel;<sup>1</sup> while the other, the altar, is not only expressly distinguished from the former, but also held somewhat lower, and referred strictly to the ancient Canaanite city of Luz.<sup>2</sup> From this tone of the oldest tradition known to us, and from the statement that Luz was the older name, we may be disposed to recognise in Luz the more ancient Canaanite, and in Bethel the properly Hebrew sanctuary of the same place; but since in David's time the Canaanites had long been driven out of Luz, both the holy places could then be referred to Jacob, although a great difference was still made between them.

In fine, it is plain, on a closer examination, that even in David's time, and yet more in the following centuries, there was a tendency to represent every place which had been deemed holy for an immemorial time, as having been hallowed by one of the three Patriarchs. At the time of the chief narrators the prevailing view was, at least where possible, that a Patriarch had dwelt there, or visited the spot in passing, or consecrated it on account of a divine appearance there vouchsafed to him; and in the very considerable series of holy places the order of the encampments in which the Patriarchs on their journeyings tarried for a longer or shorter time, and where the gods (that is, God and angels, or angels alone) descended and took up their abode, seems to have been laid down. For among all the places at which, according to the existing narratives, the Patriarchs dwelt, scarcely one is to be found which, in the popular belief of David's time and subsequently, had not possessed an acknowledged and primeval sanctity.<sup>3</sup> And on the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 9-15; comp. xxviii. 10-22.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxv. 1-7; comp. Josh. xviii. 13; Judges i. 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Though no other direct proof should exist of the sanctity of such a place, yet taking into consideration the paucity of our records, this must not lead us at once to doubt the fact. Had not the hint in the Song of Solomon (vii. 1 [vi. 13])

been accidentally preserved, there would have been a total absence of proof, even for Gen. xxxii. 2, 3 [1, 2]. The only localities, however, which are not elsewhere referred to, are: 1. *Peniel* (literally, 'Face of God'), Gen. xxxii. 31, 32 [30, 31], and *Beer-lahai-roi* (literally, 'Well of the Living One who sees me,' i.e. 'overlooks me not, even in the desert'), Gen. xvi. 14, 15,

other hand, several places are drawn only casually or tentatively into this circle; the city of Mahanaim for example (properly *double camp*), on the further side of Jordan, is linked to Jacob's history by no stronger bond than the story that there a whole *encampment* of angels appeared to him;<sup>1</sup> and the Temple-hill, Moriah, which appears by every indication to have been consecrated only by David and Solomon, is dragged into the history of Abraham—in only one story however, and that by the Fourth Narrator.<sup>2</sup>

But to go further and say boldly that all the places in Canaan in which the tradition places the three Patriarchs were only borrowed from the history of the post-Mosaic period, and that therefore we know nothing of their historical existence and residence in Canaan, would be quite opposed to wisdom and truth; for a rigorous scrutiny discovers after all a solid background of fact to these primitive histories. A careful examination proves that Abraham is described by the oldest tradition as travelling about in southern Canaan only, and dwelling here or there for a longer time. Gen. xii. 9 tells of his journey into that region; the terebinth tree of Mamre, not far from Hebron, Gen. xiii.—xix., Hebron itself, the place of Sarah's death, ch. xxiii., then Gerar still farther to the south, ch. xx., and Beersheba, ch. xxi.—xxii., all belong to this part of Canaan; and it is only the Fourth Narrator who represents him as passing quickly by Shechem and Bethel in the middle of the country, Gen. xii. 6–8. Still more limited according to the most authentic tradition are Isaac's journeys on the most southern and least fruitful border of the Holy Land, where only occasional oases stand out from vast deserts, especially at Beer-Lahai-roi and Beersheba, Gen. xxiv. 62, xxv. 11, xxvi. 1–33.<sup>3</sup> Jacob, on the other hand, besides southern abodes, is placed also in the middle part of Canaan, which is the special region of his activity and power, Shechem and Bethel especially appearing<sup>4</sup> to have been the true seats of his greatness as well as of his religion. Now how can it be accidental that not the whole Holy Land, nor even the same part of it, but a different and limited space in it, is assigned to each

in which cases the name itself bespeaks the historic sanctity. 2. *Succoth*, Gen. xxxiii. 17, and in Abraham's history, *Gerar*, Gen. xx. 1 (comp. xxvi. 1, 17), cities of whose history we know nothing, though in an ancient hymn, Ps. ix. 8, Succoth is mentioned with Shechem. The ancient sanctity of Hebron is for us a matter of course. The wells named in xxvi. obviously belonged, by some old allotment, to Beersheba, in the same way as

Dothain, mentioned in ch. xxxvii., to Shechem. The name *Peniel* or *Phanuel* was also Phoenician, and is rendered in Greek by Σεού ρόδεων, in Strabo xvi. 2. 6, 16.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 2, 3 [1, 2].

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 2–4.

<sup>3</sup> For xxxv. 27–29, according to which Isaac dies at Hebron, ought rather to be compared with ch. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> From ch. xxviii.—xxxvii.

Patriarch as the chief locality of his life? And why are Abraham and Isaac banished into the most barren steppes on the southern border of Canaan? why is Jacob alone assigned even to its central part? Surely, unless we here choose darkness instead of light, we must confess that at the time of the chief narrators, the tradition preserved, at least in its main outlines, some clear reminiscences of the life and abode of all the three Patriarchs, and of each individually as distinguished from the others.

This general result is confirmed by some especially conspicuous phenomena. In the case of Abraham, who is always placed in the southern country only, the family sepulchre and the grove of Mamre<sup>1</sup> near Hebron, are made prominent as his only permanent possessions even in this region. On this, however, the Book of Origins, at the death of Sarah and that of all the Patriarchs (though not of Joseph), lays so extraordinary a weight, and it is described in Gen. xxiii. and elsewhere so fully and explicitly in respect to its position and its oldest possessors, that we cannot doubt it was the primeval family-grave of the national chiefs, and was traced back as an established possession of the house to the Patriarchal times.<sup>2</sup> Besides this, in Abraham's and Isaac's life weight is laid only on Beersheba as actually possessed by them by treaty.<sup>3</sup>

In the centre of Canaan Jacob holds a similar position. Here the city of Shechem is the only one which the oldest tradition known to us recognises as acquired by him; acquired however in quite a different way, by right of war, and by means of the tribes of Simeon and Levi, which long before Moses must have been much stronger and more warlike than later.<sup>4</sup> After the conquest of the whole land the tribe of Ephraim always possessed this city; and therefore in the tradition it is given by Jacob, as his own city, out of special affection to his beloved Joseph.<sup>5</sup> Thus it must have been a much older reminiscence that Simeon and Levi conquered it. And then Bethel, which lay not far

<sup>1</sup> So named from the Canaanite possessor Mamre; see also Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 9. 7.

<sup>2</sup> But whether the great edifices at Hebron now shown as the Patriarchs' Tombs (and called also by the Moslim *امت الخليل*, see the *Judaic Numd.*, Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 363-366) are really so ancient, has now become more than doubtful, after the more careful investigation of them which was commenced only last year (see the *Gött. Gel. Ans.* 1863, p. 636, on Dean Stanley's researches).

But this city certainly dates from the very earliest times, as is proved by its very name, which is identical with that of one of equal antiquity still existing in Hauran

جبران; see *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1855, p. 245. Hebron also is one of the few cities, the time of whose foundation was always accurately remembered in later times: see p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxi. 22-34, xxvi. 26-33.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. xxxvii. 12 sq. xl ix. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlvi. 21, 22.

from thence, is made so exclusively and strongly prominent as a stone-sanctuary in Jacob's history, as can be explained only on the supposition that in that earlier time a peculiar development of the Canaanite religion must have been connected with it.

Finally, if we consult the history of the Israelites after they had reconquered the Holy Land under Joshua, we see other sanctuaries rising up at Gilgal, at Shiloh, and elsewhere, which in the time of the Judges were the most important, but are never mixed up with the Patriarchal history. In this there lies accordingly a new and weighty proof that the tradition accurately distinguished, at least in the main, the pre-Mosaic and the post-Mosaic sanctuaries of the nation, one of the chief elements of the history of each period: and we shall be still less disposed to find in the existing accounts of the Patriarchal world nothing but unhistorical invention.

Thus, the historical basis of this period in general being now made good, we can attempt to advance further into details, and seek to discover with all attainable certainty, how much in the various traditions which are connected more or less closely with each of the three Patriarchs may be recognised as real history.

## I. ABRAHAM.

### *1) Abraham as Immigrant and Father of Nations.*

In the oldest extant record respecting Abraham, Gen. xiv., we see him in the clear light of history, the separate rays of which were nearly all gathered into a focus in pp. 301 sq.; and we have only to lament that its brevity does not allow us to collect many more such rays and from them to form a connected history of this hero of the remotest past. We see him acting as a powerful domestic prince, among many similar princes, who like him held Canaan in possession; not calling himself King, like Melchizedek the priest-king of Salem,<sup>1</sup> because he was the father and protector of his house, living with his family and bondmen in the open country, yet equal in power to the petty Canaanite kings; placing in the field at his first nod 318 chosen servants, and second to none in military experience; yet leagued

<sup>1</sup> The position here indicated shows at once that it cannot have been Jerusalem; it was clearly a city on the other side Jordan, which must be traversed on the return route from Damascus to Sodom: certainly not the Salem mentioned John iii. 23 (see on this point my *Johannische Schriften*, i. p. 174), but a different place (see the recent *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 1636-7, and the somewhat earlier *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 284-5).

for mutual aid with the three Canaanite potentates, Mamre (on whose domain he dwells, we know not exactly how), Eshcol and Aner; somewhat as in Joshua's days the small princes of that land could not dispense with mutual leagues in time of danger.<sup>1</sup> He is however sufficiently distinguished from his Canaanite allies as a 'Hebrew' (ver. 18) and as the avenger of Lot his 'brother,' who is thereby also made a Hebrew. But the question forces itself the more strongly upon us, how he could be leagued with Canaanites and with them pursue the four northern kings who had invaded the land? We must confess our inability, with the scanty sources as yet accessible, fully to solve this riddle. The short account in Gen. xiv. sounds thoroughly historical. The names of the north-eastern kings and countries must be derived from a high antiquity, since those of two of the countries nowhere appear again and seem in later ages to have vanished.<sup>2</sup> The kings of the five cities sunk in the Dead Sea have in like manner truly historical names;<sup>3</sup> indeed the whole fragment is full of primeval and almost obsolete names, which the Third Narrator felt called upon to explain by appending the names usual in his time. The fact that the chiefs of the other nations conquered by the four confederate kings of the north-east (ver. 5-7) are not given with equal accuracy, may be explained by the supposition that the Third Narrator, being interested only in the histories of Abraham and Lot, preferred to shorten the remaining description of this otherwise fully detailed expedition; for the whole narrative looks like a fragment torn from a more general history of Western Asia, merely on account of the mention of Abraham contained in it. But detached as this account may be, it is at least evident from it that the Canaanites were at that time highly civilised, since they had a Priest-king like Melchizedek, whom Abraham held in honour, but that they were even then so weakened by endless divisions and by the emasculating influence of that culture itself, as either to pay tribute to the warlike nations of the north-east (as the five kings of the cities of the Dead Sea had done for twelve years before they rebelled, ver. 4), or to seek for some valiant descendants of the northern lands living in their midst, who in return

<sup>1</sup> See what is said further on of Josh. x. and *Baal-Berith*.

<sup>2</sup> Namely Ellasar and Gōjim, with the well-known countries Shinar or Babylonia and Elam on the east, whose king Chedorlaomer is called the chief commander. On the historical significance of this military movement of the north-eastern nations see below where the Hyksos are treated.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the fifth king—ver. 2—is possibly only omitted by accident; at least all the others have quite historical-sounding names. It was however supplied as follows, according to Theoph. Ant. Ad Autol. ii. 45; Βαλάχ βασιλεὺς Σηγύηρ τῆς Βαλάκ κεκλ μέντης; both from γῆ.

for certain concessions and services promised them protection and defence. Abraham dwells among the terebinths of Mamre his ally; this appears as if the latter had ceded that dwelling to him in return for his reception into the league; and all his three Canaanite allies seem to have more need of him than he of them (compare ver. 24). The covenant of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech the king of Gerar, which is spoken of in ancient sources,<sup>1</sup> is made, according to the extant accounts, on the express ground that the native ruler thinks that he cannot safely dispense with the foreign princes; and thus these stories, though derived from very different sources, and notwithstanding their very dissimilar tone, agree with the most ancient account in Gen. xiv.

In fact this idea furnishes the only tenable historical view of the migration of Abraham and his kindred. They did not conquer the land, nor at first hold it by mere force of arms, like the four north-eastern kings from whose hand Abraham delivered Lot, Gen. xiv. They advanced as leaders of small bands with their fencible servants and the herds, at first rather sought or even invited by the old inhabitants of the land, as good warriors and serviceable allies, than forcing themselves upon them. Thus they took up their abode and obtained possessions among them, but were always wishing to migrate farther, even into Egypt. This desire was naturally strengthened in proportion as the need which the Canaanite princes had of their alliance was weakened. This is especially shown by the narrative of Isaac's fortunes after the death of his dreaded father, Gen. xxv. 15 sqq. Little as we are able to prove all the details of that migration from the north towards Egypt, which probably continued for centuries, it may with great certainty be conceived as on the whole similar to the gradual advance of many other northern nations; as of the Germans towards Rome, and of the Turks in these same regions in the Middle Ages, who also were often sought as allies or otherwise in one way or another as brave protectors. And if later the peaceable and mutually beneficial community of such various nationalities issued sometimes in strife and bloodshed (of which the narrative in Gen. xxxiv. contains one of the clearest reminiscences), it was only what in similar circumstances has always occurred to other nations too.

If this then was the true character of these migrations, we can see that they might last for centuries, and that nothing less than the forcible rearrangement of the political relations of

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxi. 22-34; xxvi. 15-33.

Canaan through the Mosaic kingdom of Israel put a final stop to the dependence of Canaan on the influences of the north-east; for Chushan-Rishathaim, who shortly after Joshua, issuing from Mesopotamia, subdued Canaan,<sup>1</sup> is the last ruler of this kind for many centuries. Further, we now understand that Abraham's name can denote only one of the most important and oldest of the Hebrew immigrations. But since Abraham had so early attained a name glorious among the Hebrews advancing towards the south, and since he was everything especially to the nation of Israel which arose out of this immigration, and to their nearest kindred, his name came to be the grand centre and rallying-point of all the memory of those times: primarily with reference to nationality only; so that at the time when the nations thought the most of affinity of race as affecting their relations towards their neighbours, he was placed in a strict domestic relation to all the different nations of this great popular migration. Thus among the people of Israel a clear remembrance connected those immigrations which subsequently became the most important, and from which national territories and governments had been formed, with the pedigree of Abraham, since the chiefs of the early developed kindred nationalities of this kind were ranked in a definite relationship around this greatest of their heroes. In this pedigree of Abraham given by the Book of Origins there lies concealed indisputably a great amount of ancient memories of those national relations: indeed we can see in it an illustration of the great progress and extent of the Hebrew migration. For,

a.) That portion of the Hebrews which remained in the north by the Euphrates, the Nahoreans, are represented as springing from one of the two brothers of Abraham. These may have dwelt first on the farther side of the Euphrates, since they had their ancient sanctuary in the Mesopotamian Haran;<sup>2</sup> but the twelve tribes into which they were divided appear to have spread themselves out also on this side of the Euphrates as far as the eastern boundary of Palestine, and southwards to the Red Sea.<sup>3</sup> Their chief importance in this history is in connection with Jacob. Unquestionably they once constituted a kingdom as powerful as that of Israel, but must early have been

<sup>1</sup> Judges iii. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Not merely does Jacob come thence, but the Patriarch Terah, according to an early tradition in Gen. xi. 32, is mentioned as finally resting there; so that it must have been at one time the seat of some sanctuary around which the whole nation gathered.

<sup>3</sup> Of the twelve names mentioned in Gen. xxii. 21-24, three undoubtedly belong to this side of the Euphrates: Uz (although here the LXX. pronounce it not *Auz* but *Ouz*), Buz, and Maachah, synonymous with the Hermon district; Aram, in ver. 21, is undoubtedly identical with Ram in Job xxxii. 2.

broken up and dispersed, since in the later history the very name of Nahor dies out. At one time even Chaldeans belonged to their kingdom (see pp. 283 sq.), the chief tribe however, called Uz, or Hellenistically Auss (*Aussitis*),<sup>1</sup> extending on this side of the Euphrates far towards the south, and immortalised by the history of Job, at the time of its highest power certainly formed by itself a mighty kingdom; but long before the Mosaic age was so compressed by advancing Arameans that it came to be reckoned among the immediate sons of Aram,<sup>2</sup> and appears in historic times only as a small portion of Edom, by which it must have been afterwards subdued.<sup>3</sup>

b.) On the direct route from the Euphrates to Palestine lay the ancient Damascus; and that this city was brought into connection with Abraham by the most ancient tradition is proved by the primitive proverbial expression preserved in Gen. xv. 2,<sup>4</sup> in which Damascus, as the fatherland of Eliezer, Abraham's steward, makes a claim on his whole inheritance. For by virtue of the intimate relation of the head slave to the house, he being often regarded in the absence of children as heir to the whole property,<sup>5</sup> when Damascus is called the city of Eliezer it implies almost as much as if it had been called the city of a son of Abraham; except that the bond which ought to connect it with Abraham is described as a very remote and loose one. But that the Israelite tradition had almost entirely lost all memory of this primitive connection of Damascus with Abraham is explained by the fact that this city, probably in the age shortly before Moses, was entirely estranged from the Hebrew nationality, by a change which happily we can still demonstrate. In the interval it was unquestionably possessed by a new and powerful emigration, namely by Arameans from the river Cyrus in Armenia (mentioned by Amos, ix. 9).<sup>6</sup> It is indeed commonly termed an Aramean city, and as the nearest to the Hebrews was by them often called simply Aram. This immigration, being so well known in the time of Amos, must, even if it happened

<sup>1</sup> See also Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the remarks in the *Gött. Gel. Ant.* 1863, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. x. 22, 23; comp. xxii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 28, Deut. iv. 21, Lam. iv. 21 (see my *Job*, p. 20, 21, 343-4, 2nd ed.). Josephus indeed (*Ant.* i. 6. 4), reckons Trachonitis and Damascus as belonging to Uz, but as usual without giving any reason.

<sup>4</sup> The Fifth Narrator himself is obliged to explain it by a paraphrase in his own words in ver. 3; and though the play on words in פָּרָעָה and פְּשָׁעָה undoubtedly

belongs to the proverb, yet the origin of the proverb clearly lies in the local and the personal name, and therefore in an ancient story. In the closely conjoined words of the proverb, 'Damascus of Eliezer' (i.e. Eliezer's city, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 286 c), the name of the city is intentionally made to precede, as being more important to the sense than the individual Eliezer.

<sup>5</sup> On this see above, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> That by Aram Amos really meant Damascus is evident also from i. 5; comp. Is. vii., xvii. 3.

before the conquest of Canaan by Joshua (in which Damascus, as not being inhabited by the Canaanite race, had no part), have taken place not earlier than the period succeeding Abraham and Jacob ; and the similar case related above (pp. 311 sq.) respecting Uz and the rest of the Nahoreans greatly aids this conception. Now it is remarkable that in the Greek and Arabian times the Damascenes boasted of their descent from Abraham, and showed ‘a dwelling of Abraham’ as a memorial of him among them.<sup>1</sup> Whether this view had first been developed by Christianity, or somewhat earlier, through the Greek translation of the Old Testament, merely on the basis of the incidental expression Gen. xv. 2, may well be doubted. A dim remembrance of the same fact in long distant ages, which among the Hebrews had linked itself with the expression in Gen. xv. 2, may have been more strongly preserved at Damascus itself ; and thus Damascus would the more surely constitute a link in the chain of this primeval Hebrew migration.

c.) Directly to the south of Damascus on the eastern side of the Jordan dwelt the two nations Ammon and Moab, which traced their descent from Lot the nephew of Abraham. Since Lot is mentioned only in the traditional history, and in ordinary life only Moab or Ammon were spoken of,<sup>2</sup> it might be imagined that he never had a true historical existence, did not the ancient fragment Gen. xiv. beforehand condemn that assumption. Here we see him described quite historically as ‘brother’ (i.e. near relative) of Abraham,<sup>3</sup> living in Sodom, as if

<sup>1</sup> In the first place, Nicolaus of Damascus, a witness of the highest authority, in the fourth book of his history, spoke of Abraham’s ancient renown in Damascus and in a village which still continued to bear his name (see Josephus, *Ant.* i. 7. 2; repeated by Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* ix. 16). In the second place, apparently quite independent of this are the accounts given in extract by Justin (*Historia*, xxxvi. 2), according to which Damascus, Azelus, Adores, and then Abraham and Israel, were the ancient kings of the city ; even supposing the two middle names to be derived from the Hazael and Ben-Hadad frequently named in the Books of Kings, and consequently to belong to a much later age, yet the tradition of Abraham and Israel would remain ; and the Damascenes are said by Justin to refer the origin of the whole Jewish people to themselves and their city. But we have no valid reason to doubt the existence of an ancient Hazael as Prince of Damascus, whose name may have been taken by later princes ; and in

*Adores*, by a common abbreviation ('Ader' or 'Ador' being also a dialectic variation for 'Ezer'), may be latent the very *Eli-eer* of whom we have lately spoken. The Arabian historians vary : see Herbelot, s.v. *Abraham*, Ibn-Batuta, ed. Lee, p. 28, 29 ; Jelaleddin, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 405, 408, Reyn. ; Stephanus Byz. s.v. *Aquas-nés* has nothing to the point ; see also Petermann’s *Reisen*, i. p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> For the very late Psalm lxxxiii. 7-9, certainly obtained the appellation *Sons of Lot* only from a learned study of the primeval history.

<sup>3</sup> The term *brother* in ver. 14, 16 (a very ancient document) may be understood in the same sense as it is used of Jacob in Gen. xxxi. 23, 25, 46, 54 (also a very ancient passage) ; the more distinctive name is however used in ver. 12. Philo, *On Abraham*, speaks far too contemptuously of Lot, from mere rhetorical onesidedness ; but speaks differently in his *Life of Moses*, ii. 10.

among the old inhabitants of the further side of Jordan he played much the same part as Abraham on this; and though in Gen. xiv. 5 the same countries are spoken of which were afterwards called Ammon and Moab, no mention is made of these names. It is remarkable besides how without reference to any other narratives, a Lotan (i.e. perhaps *one*, or *a part*, of *Lot*) stands first among all the old races of Seir (see pp. 226, sq.),<sup>1</sup> and must have formerly been very important in their history. In this there is evidently a remnant of a primeval tradition of an intermingling of the original inhabitants with a conquering nation called Lot. On the other hand, the name of Lot's father Haran, who died in Ur Chasdim (pp. 283 sq.), before his son emigrated thence with Abraham, strongly suggests the land of Arrân near Armenia (p. 287). But the Iscah, whose name is preserved only in a fragment of the oldest historical work, was probably regarded as the ancestress of the two nations who trace their descent from Lot, as Sarah and Milcah were treated as foremothers of the descendants of Abraham and Nahor.<sup>2</sup>

The greatness and power of a nation called by the name of Lot, at least in the two halves into which it must have been divided long before the time of Moses, descend much lower into the region of known history than do those of the two former nations. Not without reason was Lot in the old national traditions placed in so close a relation to Abraham: the clear later history of Israel from Moses onwards also witnesses that this Hebrew people must formerly have had an intimate share in all the greatness and glory which is attached to Abraham's name.

But the notion that this pair of nations, Moab and Ammon, were once more flourishing, may be confirmed also by special testimony. The tradition of the destruction of the four Canaanitish cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim (p. 104 and 242), is certainly very old; and that volcanic convulsion was the agent in it is not only suggested by the oldest and most significant figures employed in this tradition,<sup>3</sup> but also confirmed in

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22, 29.

<sup>2</sup> If we must find some significant reference for the name Iscah, which now stands quite isolated in Gen. xi. 29, it can be no other than this; and like all other names of similar rank in the primeval genealogies, it must have been significant. But besides this detached notice of Iscah, the passage Gen. xi. 29, 30, exhibits in <sup>17</sup> a form so antiquated and so unlike the Book of Origins, that we are obliged to recognise in it a fragment of the earliest

historical work. Iscah would thus appear as both sister and wife to Lot; and according to Gen. xx. 12, Sarah was nearly related to Abraham, and Milcah to Nahor, according to Gen. xi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> These are now interwoven with the words of Gen. xix. 24-29, but are still recognisable. It was probably through reading the Septuagint that the attention of the Greeks was directed to this alteration of the surface. See Strabo, xvi. 2. 44, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 7; Sol. *Polyh.* xxxvi.

our own days by a close examination of the whole bed of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.<sup>1</sup> We can now, indeed, in consequence of this careful examination of the ground, better understand many aspects and details of the tradition itself. The engulfed cities must have been in the southern half of the Dead Sea. This half has a strikingly shallow bottom, and undoubtedly only the larger northern part with its far greater depth existed before the last great change in the ground; the verbal tradition also places the ancient Sodom on the south-west shore. There, not far from the margin, still appears the strange cone of salt standing like a pillar, in which the ancient tradition so easily found a petrified human being (Lot's wife); and we see now that it was not without reason that Josephus testified that this pillar of salt existed to his day, and that he himself had seen it.<sup>2</sup> And if the city of Zoar,<sup>3</sup> by itself, or even with its province, lay in the peninsula which cuts deeply into the southern half of the Sea of Salt, and looks like a portion of land that escaped the general overthrow, the tradition might easily take the form that it had belonged as a fifth to the four cities, and been spared by special grace.<sup>4</sup> But in this tradition the glory originally fell on Lot alone; it was his race only that had boasted of a higher degree of the divine favour than the Canaanites could claim; and it is evidently only the later Israelitish modification of the legend that connected Abraham with it.

d.) Farther in the wilderness two nations claimed origin from Abraham: a smaller one of six branches which descended from the mere concubine Keturah, dwelling for the most part east from Palestine, and so coming under the conception of *Bne-*

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, London, 1850; *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 190; and on Saulcy's views, *ibid.* vi. p. 80 sq. It deserves notice that יְמִינָה to overthrow, the constant expression in ancient Hebrew for the earth-

quake at Sodom, reappears in the يَمْنَة Sur. liii. 54, and is well explained by أرض مقلوبة Isstakhri p. 35 Möll. A similar lake Jammune in northern Lebanon is described by Seetzen (*Reisen*, i. 229, 302, ii. 338). Compare also *Phlegrae pedion* in Aristophanes' *Birds*, 822.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* i. 11. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The LXX. preserve the harder pronunciation Ζωάρ.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xix. 19-22. While the city غور;

(also غرفة; and جزء) is often mentioned by Arabian writers, (as Edrisi, p. 337 sq. Kazvini, ii. p. 61; Abulfida, *Geography*, p. 228), at the present time the Wādi al-جزء derives its name from this place, even if this is not also the case with the existing village الـجزء whose appellation signifying seedfield has in modern times become common for small places in that region. The زعير to the west which Bertou and Sauley (*Athen. franc.* 1864 p. 902), identified with this city, has nothing to do with it; and whether the low hill near Hebron which is now called صقر (see the *Jihān-Nūmā* s. v.) is the ancient one is doubtful. See also the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Ges.* 1847, p. 190 sq.; Ritter's *Erdbeschreibung*, xiv. 108 sq., xv. 587, 8.

*Kedem* (Sons of the East) or Saracens<sup>1</sup> (the later term which had the same meaning): and a greater one of twelve branches, all of which descended through Ishmael from Hagar,<sup>2</sup> the higher-standing concubine, which spread first over Northern Arabia to the south of Palestine,<sup>3</sup> but afterwards also far to the east. As these nations in the Israelitish tradition appeared as sons of Abraham by concubines, that is, as of lower standing and half-degenerate, so also in history they probably yielded themselves up very early to the Arabian desert life, spread themselves over the wide plains, and were thus severed from the other nationalities of kindred blood who addicted themselves rather to the culture of the soil. But one at least of these eighteen nations, the Midianites, was an exception to this rule: they were very early settled partly on the Arabian coast opposite the peninsula of Sinai, distinguished themselves by commerce and other arts of civilised life, and in early times came repeatedly into close contact with Israel, but in the end receded in culture and power, as Israel advanced. In the earliest period the Keturans, of whom these Midianites were a branch, were very powerful; this

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 253. Zimran, who stands at the head of the six chief tribes mentioned in Gen. xxv. 6, probably reappears but once, in Jer. xxv. 25, and Cushan (probably the same as Jokshan) only in Hab. iii. 7, and Shuhah only in Job ii. 11. The Shebaeites and Dedaneans, mentioned in Gen. xxv. 3, as subordinate tribes of Jokshan, are obviously only isolated families of these old Arabian tribes, which are well known to us from other

sources. (compare ۱۱ in Tarafa's Moall. v. 3); but this very circumstance confirms our assertion that the Keturans were immigrants into Arabia. The notices given by Islamite Arabs of the twelve sons of Ishmael, with *Qadir* and *Nabit* at their head, seem to have a Biblical origin; but the *Journal asiatique*, 1838, August, p. 197–216 contains a remarkable account derived from the *Kitâb alaghâni* of a tribe *Qatûra* or *Qatîr*; compare Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. p. 20–23, 168, 176, sq. Fresnel attempts the difficult comparison of the early Hebrew and the Arabian accounts in the *Journal asiatique*, 1838, août, p. 217–221, 1840, sept. p. 177–202, 1863, i. p. 43 sq., but with as little success as crowned Caussin de Perceval's work in 1847. Considering how great the interval of time which has elapsed, we cannot expect to recover more than a few traces of these ancient tribes, as the primeval combinations of tribes in

Arabia were evidently very early dissolved. We ought, however, to observe that Burckhardt, in his *Notes on the Bedouins* (London, 1830) claims to have discovered the remains of a primitive religion and usage which formerly embraced the whole of Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> That Hagar was with them a national name, and not a mere invention of Israelite tradition, appears also from the mention of a nation of Hagarites, 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20, whose name is in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 [6] put in poetic parallelism with Ishmaelite. Strabo xvi. 4. 2 joins them with the Nabateans and Chaldeans; 'Αγαρίοι or 'Αγρίτες appear likewise in Dionysius Perieg. v. 956 and in Stephanus of Byzantium. How Paul (in Gal. iv. 24 sq.) could interpret the name Hagar by 'Mount Sinai', whether from the name of a city  *Hyr* (Masudi, i. p. 76; Abulf. p. 88), or on some other ground, is discussed in my *Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus*, p. 493 sqq. *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> This is deduced from the way in which the ancient tradition always puts Ishmael and Hagar in the desert leading to Egypt, or even connects them with Egypt itself, Gen. xxi. 21, xvi. 7, compare xxv. 18; on the other hand some of the twelve tribes or sons of Ishmael mentioned in xxv. 13–15 certainly lived on the east of Palestine.

we know because they soon disappear from history, and yet must once have been an important nation. But even at the time of the Book of Origins the Ishmaelites were far more powerful than they, as is clear from the distinction with which this book treats them and their progenitor.<sup>1</sup> Still later they take the place of the former in ordinary language.<sup>2</sup> These also seem long to have been stedfast to their league of twelve. Kedar, in the Book of Origins the second of the twelve branches, becomes prominent in somewhat later times as the most powerful,<sup>3</sup> and the Nabateans (Nebajoth), who take the first place there, constitute at a still more recent period a great kingdom overshadowing the ancient league.<sup>4</sup>

e.) As settling down in Canaan, and there becoming the father of Isaac by Sarah, Abraham is represented in the old tradition as established only in certain definite localities of the southern country: and it has been shown in p. 305 sq. that in this must lie the undimmed memory of a fact. But his stock immediately spreads abroad in three branches, Isaac, Ishmael and the sons of Keturah; and this continues down into historical times, and gave the first occasion to the custom of genealogical series mentioned on p. 24.

These then are the kindred nations, whose memory clung so closely to the name of the ancient Hero; who must all have looked to him with high regard, and many of whom, with others somewhat younger, who appear as his grandsons (Esau and the twelve sons of Jacob), always revered him as their father, so that in the history he is celebrated as the *Father of Nations*<sup>5</sup> —not the least of the lofty titles which preserve his memory. And although in after times the nation of Israel made a special boast of him as their first father, it could never be forgotten even in their sacred traditions that he originally stood in much wider national relations, and rather deserved the name of Father of many Nations.<sup>6</sup> How it came to pass afterwards that the single nation of Israel could appropriate him as in a special sense their first and highest father, will

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 18, 20, xxv. 12–18.

<sup>2</sup> Ishmaelite is a more general term for Midianite, Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, 36, xxxix. 1; Judges vii. 12, viii. 22, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xxi. 16, 17 and subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Quatremère in the *Journal asiatique*, 1833. The ancient capital *Nabata* on the Red Sea is now rediscovered in the

ruins of حواري or Δεικη κάμη; see *Bulletin de la Soc. de géographie*, 1849, Nov. Dec. Josephus (*Ant. i.* 15, ii. 9. 3)

gives only a very general conjecture as to the position of the Kettoreans, in assigning to them Troglodytis and the regions on the Red Sea, and was perhaps led to this by the position of ancient Midian. Long before Josephus, however, other Hellenists had found Afer and Africa in Αφέρ Gen. xxv. 4, possibly because the LXX. adopted the pronunciation Ἀφέρ.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xvii. 4, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xvii. 4, 5, compare ver. 16.,

become clear only when we consider the other respects in which he became a yet mightier influence in the world's history.

## 2) *Abraham as a Man of God.*

For had Abraham been nothing more than even the greatest of the leaders in that national migration, his name would at most have been handed down as bare and lifeless as those of other once renowned heroes of those times. But assuredly there began with him a new and great epoch in the history of the development of religion : he first domesticated in his house and race the worship of that ‘God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,’ who, as personating the fundamental idea of a true God, was never forgotten even after the lapse of centuries, until by the prophetic spirit of Moses he was placed in a yet higher light, and became the eternal light of all true religion.<sup>1</sup> To apprehend even the historical possibility of this we must carefully bring together the scanty accounts which have been preserved from those times with all the scattered traces that history affords. And this presents in brief somewhat the following conception.

It was not only the ordinary necessities of life, nor even mere desire of conquest which caused that mighty national migration of the Hebrews from the north-east. Other and nobler impulses also ruled them. Already even among those hitherto uncorrupted northern nations, simple religion was falling more and more into a false and artificial state, and superstitions of all kinds became prevalent. But in the very strife against this corruption there arose in many of the Hebrews a new and powerful tendency towards the true religion; and no few would flee from the ferment of strife in the north, because they were attracted by the southern lands, where, although the moral corruption was vastly greater, there flourished also an insight and wisdom which had even then become widely renowned. Among all who thus migrated from the north there can have been none who felt more deeply the spiritual needs of the time, or who had early been called upon to strive harder for the knowledge and veneration of the true God — hereby happily learning how to strive and live — than Abraham. When he trod the soil of Canaan he was according

<sup>1</sup> See further the treatment of this subject in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 1–28. W. Pleyte's *La Religion des Prê-Israélites* (Utrecht, 1862) is reviewed in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 1822–28. Considering how difficult it now is to re-

cognise any of the mental characteristics of those early ages, we ought to beware of hasty and unfounded judgment upon them, and collect most carefully any real atoms of reliable knowledge of them that are still to be found.

to all reliable traditions already advanced in years, and matured in the service of a God truly known; but we can scarcely conceive what conflicts he must even then have endured and from what mortal dangers been rescued.<sup>1</sup> Assuredly he had learned in the severest life-battles what the true God was, even as he was destined to learn still more of that truth on the soil of his new fatherland. But his real greatness is this, that he not only stedfastly maintained the knowledge of the true God in his own practice and life, but knew how to make it lasting in his house and race. And in nothing is the memory of the reality and grandeur of his God-fearing and God-blessed life more evidently preserved than in this, that powerful and devout men even among foreign nations were compelled to confess that ‘God was with him;’ and eagerly sought his friendship and blessing.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that while the national relations at least in their main features have been preserved in tolerably sure remembrance, a comprehension of the more delicate and mutable essence of the religion of those times is much more difficult. The Book of Origins, indeed, represents the same God who revealed himself from Moses onward, as revealing himself also to the three Patriarchs, though not by the name Jahve, but by that of El-Shaddai;<sup>3</sup> but as surely as these names were not changed by mere accident, and a new name always indicates a new conception, these words do imply a remembrance of the difference between the religion of the times before and after Moses. Only the Fourth and Fifth Narrators on the one hand transfer the name and conception of Jahve completely and without distinction to the primeval period (p. 103, 114 sq.), and on the other represent Moses as speaking of ‘the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,’ or more briefly ‘the God of the Fathers,’<sup>4</sup> as of the same meaning with Jahve; and in this the Deuterono-

<sup>1</sup> We here leave out of sight the later narratives which will be subsequently discussed; but one little word in *Isaiah xxix.* 22, that ‘Jehovah redeemed Abraham,’ points with sufficient clearness to great battles and dangers of which our present narratives, beginning at ch. xii., furnish no hint, but which, we have every reason to expect, would occur before Abraham entered Canaan. *Isaiah* must undoubtedly have had before him many earlier and fuller stories of Abraham.

<sup>2</sup> As appears from the very old narrative in *Gen. xxi.* 22–34, and the yet earlior one in *xiv.* 18–20. Such passages furnish

the key to those popular stories in which the memory of Abraham’s superhuman greatness has fastened on certain sharply defined crises of his history, and often been wittily compressed into a few pithy words, as *Gen. xx.* 15–17; *xii.* 10–20. On the puzzling words *xx.* 16, see my *Lehrbuch*, p. 327, 7th ed. It is very important here to recognise aright the great antiquity of such passages, and to observe how the striking old words and recollections were by degrees softened down into such later descriptions as *xii.* 10–20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex. vi. 3; Gen. xvii. 1.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ex. iii. 6, 13, 15, 16, iv. 5.*

mist follows them.<sup>1</sup> Even the oldest sources indeed in the simple but peculiar expression ‘the God of my father,’<sup>2</sup> imply a certain connection between the pre-Mosaic and the post-Mosaic God, even as Moses himself adopted as his foundation all that was truly good in the older popular religion; but this is only a denial of the importation of foreign elements, and not an assertion which would have been contradicted by history, that it had not been internally reformed and more firmly defined by Moses.

We must, therefore, look for other and, if possible, stronger proofs. And here we may start from the use of the name of God himself, which we observe in this nation in the mist of the remotest antiquity. We saw (p. 264) that the common name for God, *Eloah*, among the Hebrews as among all the Semites, goes back into the earliest times; and it is remarkable that this word for God, as also those bearing the cognate meaning of Lord, are always employed in the special Hebrew tongue, from those early times, in the plural number.<sup>3</sup> We might easily suppose this to be a Hebrew peculiarity, were it not unquestionably very ancient; for the later poets, especially after the end of the eighth century before Christ, began to substitute for *Elohim*, the singular *Eloah*, which prevails in Arabic and Aramaic. The original plural meaning being then virtually lost, poets at least were able to make the innovation. The formation of these plural words for God and Lord leads us back into that far-off time when the conception of majesty and power seemed to be exalted by those of multitude and universality.<sup>4</sup> It was effected, however, without so formal a change of the whole sentence as is involved in the so-called *plural of Royalty* in our speech, but simply by a slight modification of the word *God* or *Lord*.<sup>5</sup> But the origination of a plural word for God implies that even in that early age when this word was developed, the idea of many Gods existed. The conception of God, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Deut. i. 11, 21, iv. 1, vi. 3, xii. 1, xxvi. 7, xxvii. 3. The words יְהוָה נָשׁר and לְכָם יְהוָה in this connection appear like an addition from the hand of the Deuteronomist.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 2, xviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Amdāk*, the Ethiopic word for God, affords the only other instance where there is room for inquiry whether it was originally plural, though in certain connections used quite like a singular.

<sup>4</sup> The question might arise whether the nation did not adopt this usage during the

Egyptian bondage, as I have read that at the present day a fellāh addresses his master as *arbāb* (see also Bruce's *Travels*, i.); but the history of the language seems to me to prove that the use of the plural is much older.

<sup>5</sup> Analogous to this is the Hebrew use of the plural in the formation of abstract nouns (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 179 a), and the use of the feminine, especially in Aramaic, to give emphasis to names of dignity (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 177 f).

appeared to the most ancient world boundlessly extensible, and infinitely divisible ; and thus in this plural word polytheism might easily have found its firmest prop.<sup>1</sup> It is the more surprising, therefore, secondly, that we find this plural word Elohim employed by the people of Israel with the greatest regularity and strictness, always in the purest monotheistic sense; so that it is grammatically treated as a real plural only when it is designed to speak expressly of many gods ; for example, in the heathen sense, in conversation with the heathen, or other exceptional cases.<sup>2</sup> When, then, did so marked and so fixed a distinction in the use of this word begin ? Is its strictly monotheistic employment due to Moses ? It appears not ; but that it was firmly established before his day. There is no indication that it was first introduced by him : he rather makes use of the new name Jahve. Or was it introduced in the time immediately preceding Moses, when Israel, in strife with the Egyptians, gained a great elevation of their life ? Of this, too, we have no trace.

We have therefore, in the primeval use of the word Elohim, a memorable testimony that even the Patriarchs of the nation thought and spoke monotheistically. But we possess other testimonies also from the same earliest period of a religion corresponding with the simplest faith in the Invisible God. Nothing is more characteristic of the earliest worship of this nation, as it existed even till the time of Moses, than the custom of erecting everywhere simple altars without images or temples under the open sky.<sup>3</sup> These suffice where men believe in an invisible heavenly God ; and in their very simplicity they correspond to the simplicity of a true religion. And all the stern strife between Israel and the Egyptians, afterwards developed, was essentially a religious strife, which could not well have arisen until Israel possessed a basis of true religion, of which it refused to be robbed by the Egyptian superstitions.

The history of the conflict between Monotheism and Polytheism is in the main that of the development of every higher truth. Like every truth, monotheism in itself lies safe in the human breast ; in the moment when man actually perceives the living God he can perceive him only as one power ; he can feel his spirit only in the presence of one God. But according to time, place, and condition, man may perceive the Divine as easily in infinitely varied and manifold ways : and here is the source of Polytheism, which, like every error, having once arisen

<sup>1</sup> As is evident from the plural מְרֹאֶת penates.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Lehrbuch*, § 308 a.  
<sup>3</sup> See my *Alterthümer*, p. 133 sq.

will long maintain itself. But it is also accordant with the nature of all development that, as Polytheism assumed a settled form, Monotheism struggled against it the more powerfully. Even by the Patriarchs of Israel, according to every indication, this struggle was maintained ; and we may well assume that the Canaanites also were at that time so far cultivated that among them also there were incipient and scattered monotheistic movements; indeed, the instance of Melchizedek gives sufficient evidence of this. But that the faith of the Patriarchs of Israel was entirely independent appears from their peculiar name for the true God, *El-Shaddai*.

But although this was certainly a commencement of Monotheism, it was not quite the Mosaic form of it. It was only the one supreme and almighty God, whom individual enlightened spirits knew, and sought as far as possible to retain in their own circle ; it was the one true God, whom the father of a household, having clearly known him, elevated over all others as the God at least of himself and his house, because in that age the mere household of one powerful man was all-important, and no nation in the higher sense of the word had as yet been developed at all. And in this sense each of the three Patriarchs could hold the more firmly to one God, the more purely domestic his own rule was ; their god continuing thus to be an individual household God.<sup>1</sup> That they apprehended this one God under a strict moral aspect, and in opposition to many lower conceptions, is vouched by their whole life as the founders of a new epoch, on which their posterity looked back with pride. The Canaanite Priest-king also, when (according to the ancient fragment, Gen. xiv. 20, comp. ver. 22) he would bless Abraham, calls on ‘the Supreme God, the Creator of heaven and earth,’ as the God whom he adores. But a god of a household, however exalted he may be conceived, still suffers other gods besides himself for other households and other men, and thus is by no means a safeguard against polytheism, especially since these can easily be somehow associated with him. And that the Divine Being in the pre-Mosaic period was apprehended with this idea of undefined extent and possible divisibility, is proved by the most ancient tradition itself, in which the god of Abraham and the god of Nahor are invoked by oath as two different gods, and ‘the God of the father of both’ is placed above this duality, simply that the two gods may not

<sup>1</sup> Even at a much later period this was xxiv. 15 ; compare Ex. xxxii. 10 ; 1 Chron. still laid down as a possibility, Josh. iv. 10.

appear to have a separate existence and thus contradict the Mosaic religion.<sup>1</sup> It is also shown by plain indications (see p. 290 sqq.), that at least in the popular conception a Hero-Pantheon was superadded to the chief god and the house-god of the ruler. Equally ineffective was this indefinite apprehension of one god completely to suppress idolatry. How firmly rooted this practice was, at least among the women and inferior domestics, is evident from the obstinate retention of the Teraphim (or *Penates*) many centuries after Moses, and in spite of the commands of the higher religion. Tradition indeed does not deny idolatry at least on the part of Rachel and Laban.<sup>2</sup> Thus there was wanting to the one God worshipped by the Patriarchs all the distinctness and definiteness of the God of Moses.

But as in that early period mankind were strongly exposed to the immediate influence of the visible, and everything symbolical exerted over them a living power, some of the most ancient symbols of higher thoughts lasted from it even to the later Mosaic times; and these reveal most plainly an original connection of the Hebrews with the northern nations. The Israelites under Moses would assuredly have known nothing of Cherubs or of Seraphim as heavenly animals, unless the memory of these shapes of the older religious faith had been preserved from a higher antiquity;<sup>3</sup> and with these are connected the other sacred reminiscences which have been above related.

But if this was the state of the most ancient religion in the Hebrew nation while yet they sojourned in their northern home, it is evident how great a risk they ran of falling before the allurements of a low sensuous faith and a dissolute ungodly life. And this result must have really taken place in that nation (who had otherwise remained so simple and robust) even before Abraham: indeed Abraham must have had to combat most strenuously among his nearest kindred and in his own house with the seductions of the ripening heathenism, and men corrupted by them. The Fifth Narrator has omitted to relate this before the present brilliant opening of the history of Abraham

<sup>1</sup> In the undoubtedly ancient phrase, Gen. xxxi. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxi. 19 sq., xxxv. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> פָּרָשׁ points to an Aryan derivation (see my remarks on Ezekiel i.); and פְּרַשׁ, despite the slight mutation of sounds, is indisputably of the same origin as δράκων. As sharp glowing eyes and colours were regarded by the ancients as the chief features of this creature, so in virtue of exactly such eyes the winged seraphs of

heaven were the best watchers and guardians of the heavenly throne. The gigantic Cherub was originally only one, whereas of the smaller and more fairy-like seraphs there were always many. The fact that Sphinxes are unknown to the most ancient sculpture and writing of Egypt, and only appear there after the Hyksos period, is an additional proof that all such symbolical images had their origin not in Egypt but in Central Asia.

(Gen. xii.), as if he hastened past this dark picture to give greater prominence to that noble introduction which had been already delineated by the Fourth (Gen. xii. 1-3); but the remembrance of it has been elsewhere preserved.<sup>1</sup> The strife was assuredly long and hard. But the highest and most peculiar element in his history, and that which has become most fruitful for all future time, is, that he clung so firmly to his assurance of the one true God, and recognised so clearly that true salvation can come from him alone, that he chose rather to abandon fatherland and relations than faith in the sole omnipotence and helpfulness of this supersensuous, heavenly and only true God, and resolved to make this confidence the root of his life and influence. With this feeling he must first have acted as a powerful prince towards his own extensive household, and afterwards have persevered in the same course in Canaan and in Egypt, among nations where he encountered a much higher wisdom and more enlarged experience, but at the same time much over-refinement and moral corruption.

### 3) *Abraham as exhibited by the existing narratives.*

Although we may convince ourselves satisfactorily of the truth of all that has hitherto been explained of the actual history of Abraham, it is not to be denied that in the Old Testament but few and scattered passages concerning him from the oldest writings have been preserved. What we now know of him with any considerable coherence is due to no earlier source than the Book of Origins; but, unhappily, a large portion of that which this book had originally told of this greatest of the Patriarchs has been lost. As it, however (see p. 82 sqq.), brings forward with the greatest interest all that relates to law and rule, Abraham appears in it chiefly as the great father and founder of the people of Israel; as the type of the true ruler, in so far as he is a father of his house and nation; and as the first Hebrew inhabitant of the Holy Land at the commencement of the Third Age of the world, and at the same time as the noble prototype of all its later inhabitants.

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the Deuteronomic and subsequent narratives which will be discussed hereafter, it follows from the arrangement of the Book of Origins itself, as displayed in my *Alterthümer*, p. 118, 2nd ed. that its author must have described, at the close of the second and commencement of the third age, a universal depravity of manners, from which Abraham alone, as the venerated founder of this Age, was by God himself preserved. But then the Deuteronomist himself must have derived from earlier records the information respecting Abraham's relatives which he introduces incidentally, Josh. xxiv.

In the second place, so far as concerns law, the idea of a covenant between God and man being the highest point of view taken in this book of every great crisis of history (see p. 85 sqq.), a new covenant of this kind serves also to express the grandeur of Abraham's whole life, all that is eminent in it being gathered together under this conception. The covenant stipulates, on the part of man, first of all, the right regulation and attitude of the spiritual life (Gen. xvii. 1, 2), and then demands, as an outward sign of this moral purity and consecration (a Sacrament), Circumcision (ver. 9-14). But immediately upon that primary condition of inward consecration, there follows on Elohim's side the promise of the highest blessing, as his part of the covenant; and thus the sublimest divine words which this narrator can conceive to have been addressed to Abraham are accumulated at this point (ver. 4-8). Circumcision, as the sign of this sublime covenant, is enacted very beautifully exactly at the time when the birth of Isaac is approaching; so that this first child of the community may at his very birth become the type of all its true children, and enter through this sign into the higher community now formed. Thus here also is placed the sublime moment when, among other promises, is given that of the approaching birth of Isaac, and through him the secure continuance of this covenant and its blessings for ever, and when Abram and Sarai, as the first parents in this eternal covenant, receive the new names of Abraham and Sarah,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to their new higher dignity (ver. 5, 15 21). And that this zenith of Abraham's life may be attained at the true noon of the life of a Patriarch of this era (see pp. 275 sq.), the sacred year of this covenant and expectation of the genuine child of the community is Abraham's 100th year (ver. 24, xxi. 5); that is, in the original sense of the tradition, not much beyond the golden middle of the Patriarch's life (compare

<sup>1</sup> As, however, the alteration of both these names only consists in a slight difference of pronunciation, we must suppose the story of the change of the name *Jacob* into *Israel* to be the earlier, and this to be formed from it. The original name does not seem to be אַבְרָם (*Abram*, which might be a similar formation to עֲמֹרָם the name of Moses' father), as this pronunciation would put the utmost difficulty in the way of the interpretation given in Gen. xvii. 5, but אֶבְרָהָם (*Abraham*), where אֵבֶן (*Ab*), may be a dialectic abbreviation for אָבִי (*Abi*, father of; see my *Lehrbuch*, § 273 b), and מְרָם

(*Raham*) could be easily shortened into רָם (*Ram*; see *Lehrbuch*, § 72 c). In the other case, however, the pronunciation (Sarah) is certainly the older, and its original meaning the obscurer. But the longer name *Abraham*, as synonymous with *Ab-Hamon* (*father of a multitude*), and שָׂרָה (*Sarah*), as meaning *Princess*, appeared to the narrator most suited to the higher dignity conferred upon them. Moreover, the giving of names stands in connection with circumcision; see my *Altcräthmer*, p. 110.

ch. xxv. 7.)<sup>1</sup> This opens large sections of Abraham's history to further chronological arrangement. We necessarily expect the birth of Isaac, and in connection with it the expulsion of Ishmael, somewhat as they are described in Gen. xxi. 1-21. The assumption of the mid-life of the Patriarch reacts also on the conception of his earlier history. For since at the introduction of circumcision, according to old and well-founded traditions, Ishmael was about 13 years old,<sup>2</sup> Abraham must at his birth have been 86 years old;<sup>3</sup> while still further back, at the time of his immigration into Canaan, 75 years are assigned to him, corresponding very well with this number 100.<sup>4</sup> And since the 175 years of his whole life evidently answer to these 75 and 100, all the years of Abraham's life are accounted for.

So far, therefore, we can securely trace the plan of the life of Abraham given by this chief narrator. Many other passages are to be referred, with more or less modification, to him and the other ancient sources; as the story of Sarah's fate in the court of the Prince Abimelech, ch. xx.; that of the legal procedure for giving possession of Beersheba, ch. xxi. 22-32 (where the name of that prince's captain, Phichol, nowhere else mentioned, must be derived from old tradition); that of the family sepulchre, ch. xxiii., where in beautiful picturesque language the Book of Origins again finely discloses its deep sense of law. But on the whole, these remains of the ancient sources are very scattered.

The Fourth and Fifth Narrators conceive the preeminence of Abraham in a different manner, and thereby transform a chief part of this history. In their time the lapse of centuries had strengthened the nation's consciousness of the great blessing of the true religion which flowed in upon them abundantly out of the primeval period of their past ancestors. Thus they, even more strongly than the Book of Origins, figured Abraham chiefly as the type of the great and universal Divine blessing, spreading from one saintly man to many, to all his nation, and even to many nations; the idea being then modified by the

<sup>1</sup> Tradition similarly magnifies many other numbers belonging to the same period: Ishmael is a child fourteen years of age, Gen. xxi. 14-16; the sacrificed lamb is three years old, xv. 9: and Isaac and Esau were both married in their fortieth year, xxv. 20, xxvi. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zitschrift für das Morgenland*, iii. p. 230; *Zohar* (i. p. 165 b ed. Amstel.) takes the twelfth year as the first of puberty and accountability.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xvi. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 4: the discrepancy between this number and that assigned to Terah's life in xi. 26, 32, is to be explained (contrary to Acts vii. 4) by the assumption that Abraham departed from Haran before his father's death; for the numbers are undoubtedly all taken from the Book of Origins, whose author, in his usual way, finished off with Terah only that he might be able then to dwell on Abraham's history alone.

Messianic hope of that time. It is taken for granted that the later nation, taught by its ancestor, would also always be worthy of this blessing;<sup>1</sup> and the aim of the particular descriptions of these narrators was especially to show how Abraham himself had become perfectly worthy of it.

But farther, that simple purity and sanctity of life which, according to the Book of Origins, was expected from Abraham (Gen. xvii.) did not suffice for their own time, more advanced as it was in prophetical culture (p. 104 sq.). For a life of piety there was then demanded the maintenance of faith through the longest trial and the severest temptations,—a momentous progress, the historical causes and consequences of which cannot here be discussed. Accordingly while the Book of Origins sums up all that is highest in Abraham's character in the one name of a 'Prince of God,' and most delights to depict men as meeting him more and more with the spontaneous respect and homage due to one enjoying that Divine protection,<sup>2</sup> by these last narrators he is regarded rather as a Prophet, and is even called by that name.<sup>3</sup> But if the climax of his life is found here, and Abraham serves as the sole perfect type of this character, it is evident that he may be regarded also as the sole great hero of the true faith, and of the Divine justification thereby attained, and that a narrator of the traditions, filled with this thought, might remould from his new point of view the scattered reminiscences respecting him. He met with much that might lead him to this: the tradition of the temptation to sacrifice Isaac is, by many indications, old:<sup>4</sup> that of Sarah's danger (see p. 293) was easily brought into connection with the same idea; and Abraham's receiving his promised heir only in his hundredth year might be interpreted by a somewhat later age to imply that the pledge had been fulfilled through a severe testing of the parents, and after all expectation had been given up.<sup>5</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> According to the important passage, Gen. xviii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxiii. 6; compare the earlier expressions, xxi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xx. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Alterthümer*, p. 79 sq. 281 sq. Similar traditions among the Phœnicians will be mentioned hereafter in treating of Israel.

<sup>5</sup> The description of Isaac as son of very aged parents, and of the laughter which accompanied his annunciation and birth, not only in ch. xviii., but also in ch. xvii. and xxi., appears to me mere addition and amplification by later writers. Let it be remembered that, besides the

circumstances already explained, the Book of Origins makes no difficulty in ascribing to Abraham after Sarah's death another wife and many sons, xxv. 1-4. I view the words in xvii. 17 beginning with פָּנָצְלָה as an addition by the Fifth Narrator, and xx. 6 sq. as added by the Third. Isaac was certainly always regarded as much younger than Ishmael, Gen. xi. 30, xxi. 2, 7; and in aid of the historical reasons which may have induced the early tradition to regard the tribes of Isaac and Joseph as later, and therefore to make the patriarchs Isaac and Joseph younger sons in the pedigree, came the religious truth that as all the greatest blessings of life

manner, the thought that even the perfectly irreproachable is tried in the faith through all degrees even to the uttermost, and only when completely approved can attain the highest and most enduring Divine blessing, becomes the keystone of the history of Abraham, and binds all the most prominent events of his life into a new whole. That which precedes this series of trials of his faith is but preparation for, and that which follows to the end of his life is but the issue of, this intensest activity in the grand middle period of his life.

a.) Thus, although Abraham is exhibited from the first as the same perfect hero, all that is brought together by the last narrator (Gen. xi. 27–ch. xiv.) as far as the first trial of faith in ch. xv., serves but as a preparation for the great development in the middle of his life. According to this version Jahve calls Abraham into the Holy Land, and promises him beforehand all the grand and unparalleled future of the history, ch. xii. 1–3 (for this narrator delights in such sublime commencements in preparation for what is to follow, p. 111 sq.); and then Abraham willingly follows the call from above, and travels through the Holy Land, building altars to his God, and receiving from him gracious messages (xii. 4–9). Here already, in Abraham's progress as far as Egypt, and the danger which befel Sarah at the court of that country, it is shown what protection the holy life of such a hero extends even to the farthest borders of his house, and how little a woman like Sarah is liable to actual wrong (xii. 10–20).<sup>1</sup> And in his behaviour towards Lot, Abraham exhibits even in the casual disputes which may arise between people of kindred race, that noble spirit of endurance and pacification which turns all possible evil to good. Accordingly Lot yields voluntarily, and removes eastwards into the very land which in the subsequent history his descendants Moab and Ammon possess; and Jahve blesses anew him who by such conduct retains his abode in Canaan, ch. xiii. And as towards Lot, so does he behave towards people and princes of foreign race, even to the king of Sodom; rendering aid to others with a noble boldness and self-devotion, and is blessed for it even by

can be obtained only by slow and laborious striving, so these exalted Fathers of the nation were born into the world only after lengthened expectation and anxiety. But we see with equal distinctness that this feature of the tradition was first eagerly prosecuted by later writers, so that none earlier than the Fifth Narrator transfers it to the birth of Esau and Jacob, Gen. xxv. 21.

<sup>1</sup> The legend of Sarah's danger was transplanted to Egypt by the Fourth Narrator, as appears from the style of treatment: earlier narrators had related the same of a Canaanite court (Gen. xx.). Considering, however, that Isaac's power is always described as weaker than Abraham's, it is natural to look for the original scene of the story in his life; see Gen. xxvi. 7–11.

the foreign priest-king Melchizedek;<sup>1</sup> as is stated in ch. xiv., which is inserted almost word for word from the primitive history often referred to above.

In fact, after these trials and these proofs of an unsurpassable elevation of life, it seems as if nothing further could be added to him; and yet all this is but the introduction to something higher still, since hitherto everything has gone right with him of itself, so to speak, and his own trust and endurance have not yet been tried; though this trial would seem to be nowhere so necessary as in the case of one who occupies so exalted a sphere of life. If much has been given to him and much is to be expected from him, the mere accidental success of all his affairs will in his case suffice less than in that of others: a deeper probation of his inmost heart must be added, so that when he has approved himself through all the stages of that test, then and then only he may attain those spiritual blessings which surpass all casual and transient success.

b.) This trial turns at first, as it might seem to us later born and alien readers, upon an unimportant blessing—the advent of a lawful heir, and the birth of Isaac. But, without insisting too strongly on the fact that this is really a blessing, or that in a trial the important element is not the inherent value of the object, but the price at which it is held by him who is tried, from his personal position and feeling, or even that the blessing of bodily issue is immensely greater in those primitive times when the very bases of the household, the nation, and the kingdom are to be laid, than at a period when the first necessary wants have long been supplied, and spiritual blessings therefore can come more freely into view—it is to be remembered that in the genuine meaning of the tradition this promised and eagerly awaited son and heir is no common child, but as it were the primitive child of the community, the type of its constant renovation and continuance, without whose birth and preservation the subsequent community could neither have arisen nor have felt itself endowed with permanence and perpetual youth. What were Abraham as the origin and head of a national community, if that which he founded expired with him and were not secured by the continuance of the same house filled with his spirit, since

<sup>1</sup> It has been already noticed, however, in p. 307 that Salem, his metropolis, was not Jerusalem; the 'fortress Salam,' said to be conquered by Rhamses (Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 71 sq.; *Histoire d'Egypte*, i. p. 145) may have been either the city just named or one farther

to the north. The Hebrew text of Gen. xxxiii. 18 does not mention a city Salem, though the LXX. do: but it is remarkable that the Book of Jubilees xxx. places it to the east of Shechem, as if its position were well known to the author.

no strict severance of the domestic and national from the spiritual could then exist?

Moved by such reflections as these, the narrator naturally exhibits the father and founder of the nation himself as expecting with religious eagerness the lawful heir, and, though all his other wishes are fulfilled, painfully agitated at last by the longing to receive him. Thus is prepared a trial fit for a hero such as he. The Divine certainty that this necessary keystone shall not ultimately fail, is indeed easily reached by one as blameless as Abraham; but even when the time approaches, the realisation may be deferred and encounter manifold hindrances. And when the long desired but much delayed son is born, and the natural blessing gained, the further question arises whether he, who thus far holds it only as an earthly good, is able to guard and maintain it also as a spiritual and permanent blessing. In this are contained a multitude of possible degrees of trial for his faith, even to the utmost; and a way is opened for the great development of the middle period of his life.

The narrator therefore, according to his custom (p. 111), commences in a strain befitting the loftiness of Abraham's whole life, with a sublime revelation of the divine certainty of the desired blessing, ch. xv. When, on another gracious appearance of Jahve, Abraham ventures timidly to utter what he longs for, the former, not merely in words (ver. 4) promises him his desire, but also directs his gaze to the stars, which his posterity shall equal in number (ver. 5). Finally, when Abraham, having proved his faith in a region not reached by sense, seizes a favourable opportunity to entreat yet more boldly for an outward sign and pledge, Jahve gives him his Covenant as such a mutual pledge (ver. 9-20). This covenant-making is in the main transferred hither by the later narrator from the older tradition in ch. xvii.; but he very appropriately uses the occasion of this description of the Covenant only to foreshadow here (where for the first time posterity are seriously spoken of) the whole future destiny of Israel (p. 35). Having put the commencement of this revelation in the night and treated it as a night-vision (ver. 1-9), he similarly embodies its conclusion also in a night-scene. On the following day, Abraham, having put everything in proper order for a sacrifice at a sanctuary, and lain down to sleep towards evening on the hallowed ground,<sup>1</sup> expectant of what is to come, not only sees a fire

<sup>1</sup> This is a distinct allusion to the rite p. 298. But even Marcus Aurelius in his *incubatio*, on which see my *Alterthümer, Memorabilia*, i. 17, says something similar

passing between the pieces as a sign of the conclusion of the covenant, (and how else but in such a fire-sign could Jahve show himself in the darkness of night?) but hears also in that solemn moment a Divine voice foretell the fortunes of that posterity for whose sake this covenant is made (ver. 10-20). And since this prophecy cannot give only joyful announcements of Israel's lot (e.g. in Egypt), unfavourable prognostics precede: birds of prey which try to seize the sacrificial pieces when already placed,<sup>1</sup> but are driven away in good time by Abraham; and then at sunset, or about the first sleep, the irruption of a fearful darkness.

But in the agitation of real life this last express Divine assurance is met by multitudes of obstacles and new trials.

(i) In the first place, Sarah becomes impatient at the delay, and Abraham is obliged to submit to her wish to have a son, at least indirectly by her maid; Ishmael, although even before his birth persecuted by Sarah, must be born in Abraham's house (ch. xvi.). By the birth of this but half lawful son, the advent of the true one, who alone can have been intended by Jahve as worthy, is evidently thrown back further into uncertainty.

(ii) But as, according to the older story, circumcision was introduced thirteen years later as the sign of the covenant, and the birth of Isaac then promised for the following year, the later narrator uses this to set forth that the true son—although the announcement might be received with laughter on account of the great age of the parents—will yet surely come (ch. xvii.).

(iii) At this moment of high-wrought expectation, the interlude of the fate of Sodom and of Lot (ch. xviii. xix.) is very effectively introduced by this narrator. While Jahve is about to show favour to Sarah in giving her the expected lawful son, he has also to come down to earth for a very different reason, on account of Sodom. But whether he descend to bless or to punish, neither blessing nor chastisement can be found immutably necessary by Jahve till after a just examination. So at this critical moment to entire nations on every side, there comes first examination, and then, as its consequence, retribution. But the examination begins with him who has always stood the highest—Abraham; for, should he be found guilty, the very severest

of himself. Compare also *Revue Archéolog.* description very like this, only more elaborated; in which the mention of *arae*, 1860, p. 116 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Virgil (*Aeneid*, iii. 225 sq.) gives a v. 231, deserves especial attention.

punishment would await even him.<sup>1</sup> But when the Divine Being approaches him in the illusive form of three strangers seeking shelter, he hastens to meet them with the most real and active kindness possible; and then, as the Divinity is gradually revealed to him as he deserves to know—first in a renewed promise of the approaching birth of Isaac, notwithstanding the laughter of Sarah, who thought herself unnoticed in the background, and again in an intimation of the fate of Sodom then to be decided,—he steps before the One, who has already sent his two subordinates (messengers or angels) to Sodom, and ventures even at the last hour to present an urgent intercession for that city, flowing from the purest love (for he would rescue all its inhabitants, not Lot alone), and persists in it with desperate boldness, and to his own risk. But while Abraham thus perfectly approves himself, and wins for those over whom punishment has long impended, the very easiest condition of forgiveness, it is proved in the self-same night that even this condition is not fulfilled in Sodom. In the darkness of this night, therefore, these two angels, quitting their invisibility, complete their work of horror, scarcely rescuing even the family of Lot. With an unsurpassable beauty, the narrative concludes (xix. 27, 28) by returning again to Abraham, whose first gaze and thought on the morrow turned towards Sodom, but found only traces of its utter ruin.

(iv) In the same decisive year also occurs Sarah's danger at the court of Abimelech; and how then could she become the mother of the lawful son? But, according to the older tradition, this danger also passes over, and brings an actual increase of safety to Sarah and honour to Abraham (ch. xx.).

(v) Finally, late indeed, but at the right time, comes the Lawful Son, for whom Ishmael must soon make way (ch. xxi. 1–21).

(vi) To this is appended, almost unaltered from the older work, though not strictly belonging to this connection, the account of Beersheba (xxi. 22–34), the pith of which lies simply in the thought that even in things of this world possession is permanent and legitimate only when it rests not on mere natural taking and giving, but upon mutual agreement, upon a covenant between Higher and Lower, and consequently upon oath. King Abimelech seeks of his own free will to enter into a peaceful league with Abraham; but the latter prudently arranges beforehand everything from which strife might arise

<sup>1</sup> Compare Jeremiah xxv. 29; 1 Peter iv. 17.

between them, and binds the former, who in external position is his superior, by the acceptance of a gift in token of homage, to the remembrance of his duty of protection.<sup>1</sup> But even Isaac, when finally obtained, is as yet only a blessing of nature for Abraham; a son like all other sons, though of the lawful mother; Abraham's son because born to Abraham, and nurtured in his house. True labour, the labour of a soul wrestling in faith, Abraham has never had for him since his birth; and yet that only is a spiritual, and therefore true and abiding blessing, which we are able to make our own in the strife and wrestling of a faithful spirit.

(vii) Therefore, just when the highest blessing is obtained in Isaac, the highest trial of faith and obedience comes to Abraham. That same Isaac, some divine voice says to him in the night, he must sacrifice at a fitting place.<sup>2</sup> Though he be the highest and dearest of all external blessings, that on which the father's whole life now turns, Abraham must be ready to render him back to him from whom he has been received. And behold, this hero of faith, following the Divine voice as he has hitherto apprehended it, shrinks not nor tarries to offer even this hardest sacrifice. With wonderful self-control and calmness, he makes all needful preparations; he even carries them all out deliberately himself. But let it not be thought that, having once believed the command to be from above, he fulfilled it rigidly and blindly; he enters upon it indeed with patience and firmness, and as a religious man cannot do otherwise, so long as by his best efforts he can discern no other decision from above. But, though his devotedness is perfect, he does not carry out the command as if nothing beside this hard necessity were still conceivable and possible,—as if no other and higher truth could be announced from heaven. When the son, the unconscious victim, already bearing the wood for the offering, and willingly following his father's every command, inquires for the victim, he does not suffer that heart-breaking question to divert him from that which he has recognised as the will of Heaven, but neither does he answer with unfeeling readiness, 'Thou art he!' but in his anguish cries out as if involuntarily, and yet inspired by a true prophetic impulse, 'God himself will provide

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 14 [13]—xxxiii. 11, describes similarly the relation subsisting between Jacob and Esau, undoubtedly in imitation of this same earliest narrator.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite in keeping with the style of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, that they exceptionally (according to p. 305),

but most significantly, transfer Abraham's sacrifice to Jerusalem, though very artfully they rather indicate than name the spot. There is, however, no doubt that that is the place meant, as has been quite recently demonstrated in the *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 637 sq.

the lamb.' From this happy combination in Abraham, of readiness and devotedness of act, with the true readiness of thought, of hope, and of believing expectation, arises the most glorious and blessed of results. Already he has bound his son, already raised the knife, already all but sacrificed the innocent, obedient, unresisting child, when at the last moment a voice from above is heard again, not now like that dream-voice of the night, but clear and loud in the full day, bidding him abstain from the actual deed, now that his temper, his true faith, is proved ; and his eyes are opened to see beside him the victim which is actually better pleasing to Jahve. The highest trial of faith thus ends with the gain of a new and great truth ;<sup>1</sup> and not only is Isaac rescued for ever through this death-pang of his father, but an indestructible foundation is laid for the community which was destined to be perpetuated for ever in every form of blessing.

c.) Nothing higher can follow : the rest of Abraham's life flows on undisturbed in that happy repose which is the ideal condition for old age, and the third part of the narrative is occupied only with accounts of the various domestic concerns of the hero and his kindred, of the acquisition of the family sepulchre, and of the arrangements for Isaac's happy marriage.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4) *Abraham according to the later Books.*

Thus it is only the finished art of the last narrator which moulds the history of Abraham to that brilliant type of the Mosaic religion which never afterwards grows pale ; anything greater is not attempted in this region, and indeed were scarcely to be conceived. For this very reason this conception of the champion who stands at the head of all the heroes of the faith in the Holy Land, when once powerfully aroused, could not stand still ; and the Bible itself still shows certain indications how it progressed by the aid of tradition. For what causes Abraham migrated from the north, the narrative as shaped by the last author does not precisely indicate (p. 322 sq.), although the oldest sources allowed the full historical facts to appear more manifestly (p. 323 note). By these oldest authorities it is simply mentioned that Terah, Abraham's father, desired to

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the truth that Jahve does *not* desire human sacrifices. There was certainly a time when it was possible to conceive, and therefore to attempt, the contrary. But it was refuted even in that

primeval time, through the experience of the greatest hero of the faith. The higher meaning of this tradition is also indicated, Heb. xi. 19, in the words *εν παραβολῃ*.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 20–xxv. 11.

journey with him and others to Canaan, but came with them only as far as Haran in Mesopotamia, where they all settled provisionally, and he afterwards died.<sup>1</sup> The Fourth Narrator gives prominence to the parting of Abraham from his home and country, and takes occasion from it to depict the truth of the Divine call to spirits of such natural power and such strength of faith, somewhat in the same manner as was said of the Prophets, and often preached in the eighth century;<sup>2</sup> but he asserts nothing respecting the religion of his father. And the existing Pentateuch merely says incidentally in one place in Deuteronomy that on the farther side of the Euphrates Terah and the other ancestors of the people had served other gods;<sup>3</sup> an assertion not exhibiting merely a further development of tradition, separating with increasing sharpness between the polytheism external to Israel and the one God worshipped by them, but (according to p. 323) really based upon older narratives which were in later times more brought into notice. Now partly the hiatus in the prevalent story, which must always have been very apparent, partly the pleasure of reviving the Patriarchal time in later days in new and vivid pictures, must have tempted an author, who probably also used other ancient stories, to sketch a striking picture, showing how much Abraham, while yet in his father's house, had to suffer for his worship of the true God; and this work must have been much read in the centuries immediately before Christ.<sup>4</sup> This narrative brought Nimrod, as the great heathen king and persecutor of the pious, into contact with Abraham; but in doing so it certainly only started from the name 'land of the Chaldeans' as Abraham's northern fatherland (p. 282 sq.), and thence concluded that Nimrod, as the single celebrated ancient king of the Chaldeans, must have been his opponent; and when

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xi. 31, 32. How different is the later description in the Book of Judith, v. 6-9! This and other similar descriptions given in later times cannot possibly be all derived from the words in Gen. xi. 31 sqq. But it is certain on other grounds that this passage has been much curtailed (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 26 sqq.); and even if the discrepancy in the numbers found at Gen. xi. 26, xii. 4, can be reconciled as shown at p. 325, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Abraham's own history now commences most abruptly, Gen. xii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xii. 1-4, compared with Isaiah vi., Amos vii. 15; also Jer. i.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xxiv. 2, 14; see Judith v. 6-9,

and a number of other later passages.

<sup>4</sup> Yet the phrase in Isaiah xxix. 22, 'Jehovah redeemed Abraham,' is certainly ancient, though very remarkable, and (as shown on p. 318) scarcely explicable from the narratives contained in our present Genesis alone; for it would imply that Abraham had been rescued out of some great bodily danger, and thus brought to the knowledge of the true God. At any rate, there were in Isaiah's time earlier stories of Abraham, and very distinct and detailed ones too. But pictures of Abraham's early history such as those found in Judith and in Acts vii. 2-4 must be derived from some later source.

the writer represented him as cast by the terrible Nimrod into the furnace, the Book of Daniel was in his eye. But Abraham became in later ages more and more the favourite object of a thousand forms of pious expressions, poems and stories.<sup>1</sup> Standing titles of honour were also being perpetually created for him, to heighten the splendour which antiquity had already lavished on him. Especially after the sixth century before Christ, everything exalted which could then be possibly conceived of Abraham was summed up in the new name ‘Friend of God.’<sup>2</sup> This name is still retained in the Islamite world as the most suitable; and there its abbreviation, ‘The Friend’ (El Chalil), is directly interchangeable with the name Ibrahim. The immediate occasion for this name was furnished undoubtedly by the beautiful narrative from the hand of the Fourth Narrator, Gen. xviii. 1–xix. 28. Simpler and yet accordant with the spirit of true religion is the title ‘Servant of Jahve,’ which he received equally gradually;<sup>3</sup> as also that of ‘The Faithful.’<sup>4</sup> The Rabbis finally, who sought to round off everything, brought up the temptations of Abraham to the number ten.<sup>5</sup>

The assumption of Josephus,<sup>6</sup> that Berosus in his Chaldean history made mention of Abraham, is shown by his own words to be groundless; for he could not find in Berosus even the name of the ‘great and just man, learned in astrology,’ who lived among the Chaldeans in the tenth generation after the Flood, and therefore only assumed arbitrarily that Abraham was intended. According to all that we now know, on the contrary, Abraham’s memory was preserved only in the Israelitish history, till Asia was opened to the Greeks and Romans by the Macedonian conquests, and the Greek translation of the old Testament, as well as the spread of Judaism and Christianity, excited a new curiosity respecting the history of this hero of antiquity. But at that time the derivation of Abraham from Ur-Chasdim (p. 283) misled the investigators in many ways. Thinking that by the term Chaldeans could only be

<sup>1</sup> All the Rabbinical stories about Abraham are now collected and elucidated in B. Beer’s *Leben Abraham’s nach auffassung der Jüdischen sage*, Leipsic, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, xli. 8; see 2 Chron. xx. 7; James ii. 23; Clemens Romanus, *Ep. ad Cor.* i. 17; *Homil.* xviii. 13; Abdiae *Hist. Apost.* iv. 5; and Melo ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> See the addition of the LXX. to Gen. xviii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> διάστολος ἐπάνωμος, Philo, *Opp.* i. p. 259. Philo, more strangely, wishes to

give him the title διάστολος, actually according to the Holy Scriptures, ii. p. 46, or ch. xxxix. of his long oration on Abraham (which contains nothing else peculiar). On the other hand, the work on Jonah ascribed to Philo (Aucher, ii. p. 592) does certainly mention Patriarchs who were thrown into the fire by Babylonian tyrants.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Aboth*, v. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant.* i. 7; repeated by Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 16.

denoted the highly civilised Chaldeans of Babylon<sup>1</sup> at their own day, they conceived of Abraham and Joseph as Chaldeans distinguished respectively in astrology and in weights and measures, and said that they both had gone to Egypt to instruct the Egyptians in these arts as well as in the true religion.<sup>2</sup> This view is in so far true, that these arts really appear to have proceeded more from the Babylonians than from the Egyptians, and that there is distinct evidence that weights were introduced from Babylon into Egypt.<sup>3</sup> But that Abraham and Joseph were the means of introducing them is a mere conjecture of those writers. It is curious how fond the Greek writers were of this particular idea, which became familiar to them from the celebrity of the Chaldeans. Not only writers of the character and age of Justin Martyr constantly speak of Abraham and Lot as Chaldeans, but even in the Orphic poems<sup>4</sup> the Chaldean sage is undoubtedly meant for Abraham.

Among the ancient Arabs, far more than among the Babylonians, we should expect to find independent traditions of Abraham's early sovereignty and greatness. The fame of Abraham was certainly wide-spread among the Arabs of the interior long before Mohammed; as their own ancestor and hero, they transferred him, with Hagar and Ishmael, to Mecca, regarded him as the builder of the far-famed sanctuary there, the Kaaba; and gloried in the possession of an image of him there, and of his footprint on the black stone. And in conformity with the Old Testament, they also distinguished as *Arabised*, certain northern tribes supposed to be derived from Ishmael, from the pure Arabs. We also possess some poetical accounts from the pre-Islamite period, respecting Abraham, as founder of the religious observances connected with the Kaaba.<sup>5</sup> But it is quite evident that at the institution of Islam, very vague traditions alone remained concerning him, and that these were eagerly pursued by Mohammed for his own special object. For the name of Abraham, as an ancient Arabian prophet, was for Mohammed a weapon against both Jew

<sup>1</sup> There is an exact parallel to this great transformation of the Chaldeans in that of the Tolteken, the former conquerors of Mexico, into artists, after they had lost the sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* i. 8. 2. Eusebius, *Prep. Ev.* ix. 16-19, 23. See also Fabricius in the *Codex Pseudopigr. Veteris Test.* i. p. 556, 557. According to Eusebius, xvii., Eupolemus identified Ur-Chasdim with a place in Babylonia named *Urie*, otherwise *Kamerine*; but see above,

p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> See Böckh's *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1838.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Aristobulus, under Ptolemy IV. in the third century before Christ, in Eusebius, *Prep. Ev.* xiii. 12, p. 665 Vig. I do not here notice the Nabatean fragments respecting *Ibrahim the Canaanite from Kutha* (see p. 283), published by Chwolson in 1859.

<sup>5</sup> See the two lines in the *Hamasa*, p. 125, 3 sq.

and Christian; Mohammed therefore eagerly caught up all attainable stories about him, derived principally from the highly coloured narratives of later writers, and afterwards worked them up himself with great freedom.<sup>1</sup> But though his memory was thus renewed in Islam, and certain scenes of his life depicted in the most vivid colours, especially his contest with Nimrod and the Babylonian idolators, among whom was his own father; yet all such narratives (except the truly Arabian idea of his having lived and worked at Mecca) are very plainly derived from Biblical sources; a single word of the Bible often serving as the foundation of an entire history. Nothing distinct of whatever the ancient Ishmaelites may have related, centuries before Christ, of their progenitor, remained in these later times; and as the history of Job (Ayyûb) was first known to the Arabs in Christian times from the Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> so *Ibrahim's* old renown seems first to have been revived among them by the Jews scattered through Arabia, and through the introduction of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Only if it were possible to recover some far earlier Arabian accounts, might we hope for much more important aid to historical research.<sup>4</sup> And though the Sabians, from mere similarity of sound, attempted to identify the name of

<sup>1</sup> Koran, Sur. ii. 118 sqq., 260 sqq., iii. 89 sq., iv. 124, vi. 74 sqq., ix. 115, xi. 72 sqq., xiv. 38 sqq., xxii. 52 sqq., xxix. 15 sqq., xxxvii. 81 sqq., li. 24 sqq., lx. 4 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitsch. für d. Morg.* iii. p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> The stories about Ibrahim collected by Arabic historians are now found most complete in Tabari's *Chronicle*; in which, however, as given by Dubeux, i. p. 127-194, two or three sources must have been brought together with hardly any amalgamation. See also Jelâreddin's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 320-377 ed. Reyn. On carefully examining all this perplexed mass of narratives, we find that 1. Some few are genuine Arabic, relating to the *Kâ'ha*; 2. The principal materials were derived from the Koran, from other traditions which had passed through the Rabbinical sieve, and from the Old Testament itself. But the combination of such heterogeneous elements occasioned no small difficulty; as in the question whether Isaac, according to the Old Testament, or Ishmael, according to the genuine Arabic view, was the first-born, whom his father was called on to sacrifice; and in that respecting the name *Azar* <sup>۱</sup>, given in the Koran to Abraham's father, which seems to have originated only in a false reading of the

<sup>4</sup> *Capitulum* of the LXX. But along with these we meet with some extremely naïve stories springing indeed merely from the combination of Arabic and Biblical elements, but animated by a highly poetic spirit. Ibrahim repeatedly visits Ishmael from Syria, and Elijah-like creates and presents on these occasions all the several treasures of Mecca, &c. &c. What is reported on the transference of the guardianship of the Ka'aba from the Ishmaelites to the genuine Arabic tribe Jorham (Abulfida's *Ann. Anteisid.* p. 192; comp. Tabari, p. 152 sq.), may perhaps deserve investigation. But this transference is thrown so far back, to the age of Nâbit or Qaidar (*i.e.* the Nabateans or Kedarites, Gen. xxv. 12), sons of Ishmael, that we can scarcely expect to find any firmer ground there.

<sup>5</sup> A Chinese notice of Arabia has been lately brought under discussion, in which Ishmael, born at Mecca, but immediately abandoned by his mother, digs in the soil of the desert a deep well of healing water; see Schott in the *Berliner Akad. Monatsberichte*, 1849, p. 336; and compare Tabari, p. 156. But this is not primeval tradition independent of the Bible, if, as Schott says in the Chinese S. L. p. 75, the notice dates no farther back than Mohammedan times.

Abraham with that of Brahmā,<sup>1</sup> the notion has not even the remotest historical importance.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. ISAAC; ESAU.

With Isaac we arrive at the two youngest nations of this great migration, the twelve tribes of Esau and the twelve tribes of Jacob, where the clear daylight of national history first breaks upon us; while Esau and Jacob, as the two sons of Isaac, still elude our gaze amid the dim morning mists of historical antiquity. There can indeed be no question that the two nations, Esau or Edom, and Jacob, are really the youngest of the whole circle. With regard to Israel, this is a matter of course; but also the nation of Edom, Israel's kindred race, appears in the full light of history as a far fresher and more vigorous people than Ammon or Moab, the next in affinity to both. But it is also important to remember, that Esau is yet the first-born son; and that only the Mesopotamian mother has a special attachment to the Mesopotamian Jacob. This nation of Edom, recognised by Israel throughout its entire history as a brother-race, and which must originally have formed part of one and the same nation, is certainly the elder; and in the olden time even predominated in power and prosperity. This predominance was indeed attained during that period when Israel was sinking deeper and deeper under Egyptian bondage; but even after the time of Moses, Edom long maintained its position as an important and independent power, by the side of the kindred race, notwithstanding the new and lofty aspirations to which Israel had then awakened; and in far later times its ancient greatness and former precedence over Israel were not easily forgotten. Its head-quarters were still the land of mountain and cavern, which stretches southwards from the Dead Sea to the Red, where Abraham and Isaac had once pitched their tents, according to p. 305 sqq.; but its dominion must often have extended far to the north, and have spread on the east and west, over both sides of the Jordan valley. And we have many indications that this rude and warlike mountain-race, though always retaining that original type, were no strangers, in their earlier and better days, to the arts of civilised life.

<sup>1</sup> See Shahrestāni's *Elmīlāt*, p. 444 sqq., and Chwolson's *Sedbier*, i. p. 226 sqq. ii. p. 503, 743.

<sup>2</sup> Quite inexcusable, therefore, is the idea set up in our own times by the Würzburg philosopher J. J. Wagner, and

repeated even by Orientalists like Bohlen, to derive Abraham from Brahmā, and Sarah from Sarasvatī. Worst of all, Julius Braun (*Stimmen der Zeit*, May 1862), endeavours thus to prove all the Patriarchs unhistorical personages.

The wisdom of Edom long retained its repute ; and one gleam of the departed glory is still reflected to us in the Book of Job. Early traditions also of important discoveries were transmitted by Edom to the people of Israel.<sup>1</sup> We shall explain further on the causes of Edom's gradual decline after the time of Moses, until it became wholly unable to cope successfully with Israel, younger 'brother' of the race.

The early glories of Edom are indeed reflected back upon Isaac, the ancestor, and give to his history the most vivid interest. The few accounts which we have of Isaac have evidently been much tampered with by later narrators ; but we have every reason to doubt whether the earlier ones can have had much to tell of this Patriarch. If Isaac was in truth what his name—'the Laughing,' that is, the kind and gentle—implies,—if he, among the three Patriarchs, passed preeminently for the type of that kindly and quiet nature which guards its possession of its allotted share of wordly good through unpretending goodness and unwavering fidelity (p. 298), the old legends could hardly have anything very remarkable or varied to relate of him. As rightful son and heir, he had no need by great deeds or great qualities to win for himself what was already his. His greatness and his duty consisted only in the faithful maintenance of these spiritual and material possessions ; and to this, a firm, unruffled, and virtuous nature, even if unaccompanied by extraordinary powers of mind, was fully equal.

Isaac thus typifies the true child of the community, who by faithful obedience and self-sacrifice even unto death, rewards his parents' hopes and longings, toil and care ;<sup>2</sup> and thus earns by merit a new title to what is already his by birth. In like manner, his union with Rebekah is the prototype of every happy marriage, approved by parents and blessed by God, as appears in the beautiful story in chap. xxiv. And where the preliminary conditions which ought to precede every such undertaking are of the kind here described—the design proceeding from a household animated by such paternal affection

<sup>1</sup> As the tradition in Gen. xxxvi. 24, of the discovery by herdsmen, following the track of their asses, of the warm-baths (elsewhere celebrated) of that region;

comp. the place أَنْزَلَ and its origin according to Abdalhakam's narrative (Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. p. 285). It also deserves notice that the author of the *Book of Origins* thought it worth while to devote to the history of this

people the (for him) very long passage, Gen. xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> A Greek parallel to the tradition of Isaac's deliverance from death at the altar, is the story of Phrixus son of Athamas in Apollodorus i. 9. 1, embarrassed, however, by much extraneous matter. A Hindu parallel exists in the story of Cunahsépa ; see Roth in the *Indische Studien*, ii. p. 112 sqq.

as that of Abraham, and such filial devotion as that of Isaac, and directed with such purity of purpose towards so suitable an object—the journey undertaken for its accomplishment will prove as prosperous throughout its course as that of Abraham's messenger;<sup>1</sup> and the bride, though like Rebekah she may never have seen her destined husband, will be guided by as correct a presentiment of success;<sup>2</sup> and the lovers, before unknown to each other, will from the moment of their first unexpected meeting, feel a love as true and lasting as Isaac and Rebekah.<sup>3</sup>

Then, as himself the head of a household, Isaac treads in Abraham's footsteps, like him serving Jahve, and protected by Jahve; harassed perhaps awhile by envious neighbours, exposed by his gentle, peace-loving nature to many hostile attempts; yet in the end, by quiet persistency and the secret working of the Divine blessing, gaining an honourable victory. For what victory could there be more glorious than that his very enemies sue for friendship and alliance with him as the approved friend of God?<sup>4</sup> All the accounts, therefore, of this successor of Abraham in his independent character,<sup>5</sup> are but a fainter copy, often only slightly modified, of Abraham's words and deeds; differing principally in this, that Isaac appears throughout a person of less power and independence, and therefore more exposed to hostile attacks. But although so little that is special or distinctive is found in our present accounts of Isaac, this is no reason whatever for treating his history as an unreality. Even the very peculiar locality in the Holy Land which every tradition so distinctly assigns to him, according to p. 305, proves upon what firm historic ground his memory was indestructibly based. He sojourned only in scattered portions of the parched-up southern land.<sup>6</sup> These portions were his chiefly as an inheritance from his father; and even this heritage he could not wholly maintain as his own; though, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxiv. 1-61.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 57, 58.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 62, 67; for the interpretation of these words, so far as they present any difficulty, see my *Alterthümer*, p. 232-3, and what is said in my *Lehrbuch* p. 327 on the corresponding words in Gen. xx. 16. Even at the present day, the unbetrothed maidens of the Tuarik wear no veil; see Hanoteau, *Grammaire de la langue Tamachek*, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxvi. 12-33; comp. Job xlvi. 8 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxvi. 1-33.

<sup>6</sup> Beersheba, the most important of these places, has now been discovered and

described, especially by Vandervelde (*Syria and Palestine*, ii. p. 136 sqq.). The name probably denoted originally *Seven Wells*, notwithstanding the more exalted application given to it in the old narrative of Gen. xxi. 28 sq.; compare the place

<sup>سبع</sup> mentioned in Guérin's *Voyage Archéologique*, i. p. 256. Through a dialectic difference, according to my *Lehrbuch* § 286d, the numeral might be placed last. The well Lahai-Roi is perhaps identical with the *Lekieh* which in Vandervelde's map lies somewhat to the north of Beersheba.

tradition, fortune appears in the end to have become somewhat more favourable to him. But it is plain that from the early records of other nations less definite information may be looked for concerning Isaac than concerning either of the other Patriarchs.<sup>1</sup>

As Isaac is never mentioned but under one name, he appears to us always under the same simple character:—a good true-hearted father; a contented, inoffensive, pious man; called to no special career of ambition or duty, but attaining all the more surely to quiet domestic happiness. Very different is the hero of the double name, next to be described, whose two-fold appellation expresses in itself the two-sided aspect of his nature and his fortunes.

### 3. JACOB-ISRAEL.

With him must have begun a new and important development in the history of the ancient movements of the Hebrew tribes towards the south. This lofty position is assigned to him by the whole complexion of the popular tradition, as a great hero, and as father of the special nation, Israel.<sup>2</sup> As we have already seen (p. 292), the position which he occupies among the twelve prototypes, and especially among the three Patriarchs, shows him to have been the last admitted into an already existing cycle of typical personages. But it is not finally the individual greatness of the hero which effects his entrance into this sacred circle. His distinctive rank in tradition is always as Father of the House of Israel; his name retains its perennial significance only as the head of a new and mighty people; and thus his admission as third and youngest into the typical cycle of Patriarchs, indicates that a new Hebrew race of fresh vigour and special endowments had sprung up on the same soil where the Hebraic tribes represented by Abraham and Isaac had already won a place in history. It was only this new race, which, mingling with parts of the older tribes, and gaining strength thereby, was to become that peculiar people of Canaan, now immortalised under the name of Israel.

<sup>1</sup> No one surely will think of connecting our Isaac with the Egyptian 'Isaurōs' in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiri*, xxix, notwithstanding that he is there classed with Typhon.

<sup>2</sup> It is not to be overlooked, but indeed agrees perfectly with the previous explanation, that the names *Isaac* and *Abraham* in a national sense designate

no more than the actual people of Israel, and this only in poetry; *Abraham* being, moreover, only found thus employed at a somewhat late period (though allusively in Isaiah xxix. 22, and also, at least after *Jacob*, in Micah vii. 20; comp. Is. xli. 8, 9; li. 1, 2; lxi. 16); but *Isaac* somewhat earlier, especially in Amos.

Of the immediate occasion of this great movement in the very middle of the Patriarchal period, and the exact manner in which it was accomplished, only some few points can now be ascertained, while the greater number remain quite obscure. Yet to a keen explorer some significant traces are discoverable in the darkness, and leave no doubt on the main point with which we are here concerned. On the one hand, Jacob's kindred in Mesopotamia are expressly styled 'Arameans' in the Book of Origins;<sup>1</sup> and the special district of that wide region where they dwelt is called the Aramean Yoke,<sup>2</sup> being the plain around Haran, midway betwixt the two mountain-ranges. Thence sprang the mother, who of her two sons loves only Jacob, the younger (p. 338); and even he might himself be called an Aramean when any importance attached to his derivation from that foreign land.<sup>3</sup> But taking these very accounts in their true sense, nothing is more certain or self-evident than that neither Jacob himself nor any of his kindred beyond the Euphrates were of Aramean blood; consequently they can only have been called Arameans, because the north-eastern land where they had then dwelt was so inundated by Aramean tribes, that the region itself, and even the Hebrews still lingering there, might be commonly known as Aramean; the countries of the Arameans and of the Canaanites being generally opposed to each other in rough distinctions. On the other hand, we have already in a different connection observed of the Aboriginal Hebrew tribes of the Nahoreans and Damascenes, that they must after Abraham's time have been more and more broken up by the encroachments of the Arameans (p. 310 sqq.); and even Abraham, according to p. 301 sqq., was compelled to defend himself and the Canaanites against the repeated inroads of these north-eastern nations.

Taking all together, it is clear that during the period when Jacob, the Mesopotamic-Hebrew chief, first shines forth from the darkness, a great movement of the Arameans must have taken place in the same region from which Abraham had been

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5; and in like manner in the Third Narrator, xxxi. 20, 24.

<sup>2</sup> This is the literal meaning of the name סְדָה יַם (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 156) from טַב or טַה to bind (to twist). Arabic geographers, indeed, speak of a city in that district, *Tell Fiddein*, which may have thence derived its name (Chwolson's *Södbeer*, i. p. 304); but the land itself cannot have been

named from the city, if only because Hosea (xii. 13) alluding to Jacob's history interprets that ancient name by the common Hebrew *the Field of Aram*. This name is now found only in the Book of Origins; the later narrators always mention instead the well-known city Haran.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxvi. 6; 'a poor (lit. lost) Aramean was my father' (a prōpositio of state); Jacob's antecedents being here viewed only on this dark side.

driven by similar causes to emigrate. After Abraham's departure, the Hebrews in those lands must have been more and more harassed; till Jacob at length shook himself free, and arrived safely with his people in Canaan, where he restored the Hebrew power, somewhat fallen into decay after Abraham's death; a portion of the Hebrews in Canaan coalescing closely with him and his followers. Through him much was doubtless done to strengthen and maintain both the power of the Hebrews in Canaan, and all such fitting observances in all departments of their life, as had their origin in Abraham's household. Yet in matters of religion it would seem as if this second stream of Hebrew migration had also brought with it some admixture of less pure elements from the north-east. The images of household gods (*Teraphim*) which maintained their place for ages in many houses of Israel,<sup>1</sup> are indeed spoken of as objects of reverence only to Jacob's wives and their father Laban, not to Jacob himself; but the consecration of a *stone*, as the firm immovable object towards which the looks and words of the worshipper must be directed, bears every indication of originating with the Shepherd-hero himself, and was on that ground long retained among his posterity.<sup>2</sup> 'The Shepherd of the Stone of Israel' became the most expressive title for the God of the great Shepherd-hero.<sup>3</sup>

1) This historical conception of Jacob is, moreover, confirmed in detail by a multitude of remarkable reminiscences of him. Of these the most important is that relating to the earliest portion of his career, and thus bearing upon all the rest:—the memory of his migration from Haran in Mesopotamia, with wife and child, people and possessions. Nothing can more plainly testify that under him a new and victorious portion of the Hebrew race pushed forwards into Canaan from the lands where they had been cradled, than this memory of his life, which puts him in contrast with Isaac, Esau, and others, and on an equality with Abraham; more especially as we shall afterwards see that by the twelve children whom he is represented as bringing with him from Haran, more is meant than twelve individuals. That among the various Hebraic tribes which have pushed forward towards the south-west, that which bears this hero's name has displayed a most peculiar character, and played a very special part in history; and that although the youngest and outwardly weakest, it was yet the subtlest,

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 322, and my *Alterthümer*, 17 sqq.  
p. 256 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. the Blessing on Joseph, Gen. xlix. 24.

<sup>3</sup> According to the ancient testimony in

cunningest, and most pliable, and thus eventually the conqueror of them all, is plainly taught by the history of all ages, commencing with its very first appearance. In many respects its original position might be likened to that of the Franks among the German nations by whom the Roman empire was crushed. But as these had first to make a way for themselves over the strata of kindred nations which were dominant before them, so the tradition of a new Hebrew immigration under Jacob-Israel is certainly a most accurate remembrance of the origin of the power wielded by them in Canaan and Egypt.

Another ancient feature of the legend is this:—that the hero enters Canaan as Jacob, but here gains for himself the new conqueror's title of *Israel*.<sup>1</sup> Both names were indeed employed almost without distinction in common speech, and even in the hero's own history are not always kept so distinct as might have been expected (compare p. 94). But in itself *Israel*—God's Warrior—was indisputably the higher name, befitting a hero who, strengthened by God, had endured the hardest conflicts, and achieved godlike victories. Now it is certainly possible that a great man may through his life and deeds have won for himself in later years a new and higher name, which would be used in addition to the first, or perhaps entirely supersede it;<sup>2</sup> but it is never to be forgotten that the hero of whom we are now speaking is also regarded as the father of the whole nation, and therefore his names have also a special importance as national names. When a country, a nation, or even a single city, bears several names, there is an antecedent probability that these names preserve the memory of some great changes in its rulers. As we know that the same city bore the Israelitish name Bethel, but also the older Canaanite name of Luz (p. 304), thus preserving its history, as inhabited first by Canaanites and afterwards by Hebrews, so the names Kirjath-arba<sup>3</sup> and Hebron, Jebus and Jerusalem, were doubtless exchanged only because these cities were governed at different periods by very different nations. One of the best examples of the change in national names lies close at hand, in Jacob-Israel's own brother: in the three names Seir, Edom, Esau, we have a clear indication that the Aboriginal race that called itself Seir was first subjugated by Canaanites bearing the name Edom, and then (together with

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 10–15, according to the Book of Origins; xxxii. 23–33, according to the Third Narrator; who however, here as elsewhere, probably made use of the First Narrator.

<sup>2</sup> As Gideon-Jerubbaal, Judges vi.–viii.;

Solomon-Jedidiah, 2 Sam. xii. 34, 35.

<sup>3</sup> This might mean originally *Four Cities*, as Beersheba, according to p. 340, is *Seven Wells*; and it is possible that the dreaded chief Arba (p. 230) obtained his name from it.

the latter) by Hebrews bearing the name Esau;<sup>1</sup> the last name, however, never entirely superseding the two first; and that of Edom in particular continuing to be very frequently used in common life. In like manner, the tribe which in the north beyond the Euphrates had borne the name of Jacob, and immigrated under that name into Canaan, doubtless took from its victorious leader its new name *Israel*, only when by mixture with older Hebraic tribes in that land it had there grown into a mighty people. And while the memory of two great epochs of the early history is thus preserved, other traces are discovered in the very earliest traditions, which tend in the same direction, indicating that this people must have grown up in Canaan from a double stem. Thus Jacob-Israel has two wives, of very different natures; his children are divided between two very dissimilar families, and these again group themselves around Judah (Reuben) and Joseph. Joseph and Benjamin are indeed the only two of the later family, and Benjamin is even a child of Canaan; while Ephraim, who is closely connected with Joseph, indicates an admixture of the Canaanite element. We shall afterwards pursue this subject further; but thus much is clear, that the change of name recorded of Abraham and Sarah in the Book of Origins (p. 324), can only be an imitation of the story of the change of Jacob's name to Israel, because in this latter case there is an important historical reason for the change, and the two names are perfectly distinct from each other and both in popular use; whereas in the former, the reason assigned is factitious; and the change itself is only an ingenious and scarcely perceptible modification of the same name.

But one constant feature appears in all the stories about Jacob: he is always, as his name denotes, the Crafty. Whether he crosses the Euphrates or the Jordan, he is the same. In the whole Hebrew legend he plays much the same part (at least in his lower or human character) as Ulysses in the Greek. It

<sup>1</sup> *Seir* may be nearly equivalent in force to *Esau*—hairy, rough; to be understood originally of the rough mountain-land; in history it appears as the land of the Horites (p. 226); and as the oldest name (Gen. xxxvi. 20–30; comp. ver. 9) although the Last Narrator plays upon the name on occasion of Esau's birth, in Gen. xxv. 25. On the other hand, according to all tradition, Esau is the most recent and the proper Hebrew name, and therefore also the name of the ruler and the ruling race; interchanging with Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 18, 19), but called also Father of Edom (vv. 9, 43); for the country and

its inhabitants Edom has always been the prevailing name (see xxxii. 4 [3]; xxxiii. 16). See also above, p. 234. The name of the neighbouring land *Uz* also (p. 311) seems to be only an abbreviation from Esau; and the later Arabs unite both in the name *الْعَزَّ*. J. Wilson, in *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 332 sq. finds traces of the ancient Idumæans among the Fellahs of Wâdi-Mûsa; *أُبَيْدَة*, however, is not *أَبِيدَة* of Gen. xxxvi. 3 sqq., but probably identical with Batseba.

might indeed be supposed that this feature in the portrait of the Patriarch was only sublimated from the character of the Mosaic people, and intended to typify an overdone intellectual cleverness, often perhaps passing into really reprehensible deception and unstraightforwardness, which we observe in the Hebrew people in times nearer to our own. Indeed the Prophets<sup>1</sup> often typify such national sins in the person of this Patriarch, who, as the nearest in time, is most truly the father of the nation, and therefore, more appropriately than Abraham or Isaac, is made to reflect both the characteristic virtues and the distinctive failings of the nation. But we have evidence very remarkable likewise in another point of view, that both the use and the meaning of this word, which is obviously the more ancient appellation, have come down to us from an age when there can have been no thought of the future nation of which the prophets were thinking. We possess a circumstantial account of deceptions practised between Jacob and Laban—a very curious piece, which might really be called the Hebrew Comedy of Errors, planned with such evident art and so well worked out that we may with justice suppose it to have been formerly represented by actors at popular festivals and thence afterwards transferred to narrative.<sup>2</sup> But the tale, when traced back to its original idea, was obviously intended to represent the struggle between the crafty Hebrews on the opposite banks of the Euphrates; showing how the southern Hebrews gained the upper hand in the contest, and the northern were driven off with derision. In such wise, probably for whole centuries, the two kindred tribes, Nahor (or Laban) and Israel, on the northern boundary of Palestine, may have wrangled together, now in sport, now in sober earnest, with mutual taunts and attempts to overreach one another. And since after the time of Moses no such connection any longer existed between them (unquestionably because, according to p. 311 sq., the Arameans had thrown themselves between them by occupying Damascus), we must admit this to be a fragment of the primeval history, which shows us in what very early times Israel was already recognised as a people able to hold its own against far greater nations. When we further remark that, in close connection with the foregoing, the First

<sup>1</sup> Hosea, xiii. 4 sq. [3 sq.], speaks however without any such insinuation; but utterances such as Isaiah xlivi. 27, xlvi. 8, certainly are to the point. But in Isaiah xlivi. 27, we must understand Jacob only, and not Abraham, since the latter would neither make sense in itself nor accord with

the general drift of the passage; we must not here allow ourselves to be misled by the expression *thy first father*, for this means no more than *ancestor*. They are all ancestors or patriarchs, but this one only is the *Ancestor of Israel*.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxix. 15—xxxii. 1 [xxxi. 55].

Narrator vividly describes the frontier-stones and covenantal monuments erected between these two nations on Mount Gilead,<sup>1</sup> and that this also guides us to a period far removed in character and history from the Mosaic, we cannot doubt that we here come upon vestiges of the actual primeval history of the tribes of Israel, of similar character to others which we shall notice in the sequel. This story of the boundary between the northern and the southern Hebrews certainly presents very grotesque images of the ancient chiefs Laban and Jacob. Laban and his people, when about to conclude a treaty of peace, erected a watch-tower (*Mizpah*), as if for a watchman on the part of that God who looks down from his height to keep watch over oath and covenant; and Jacob not only erects a memorial column, but causes his people to pile up a lofty mound of stones (*Gilead*), which may serve at once as an altar of sacrifice and as a table for the common repast which is to solemnise the covenant. Laban then swears by the Mound and the Watch-tower, Jacob by the Mound also and by the Column, and both parties thus commemorate the solemn compact, which is to banish for all future time every occasion of strife between the two kindred houses and nations.<sup>2</sup> Now this column, no doubt, was once to be seen as a land-mark on Mount Gilead<sup>3</sup> (p. 21, 308), and was erected there by human hands; the watch-tower was the city and fortress of Mizpah, on one of the heights of Gilead; the mound was the rocky mountain-range of Gilead itself. It thus seems

<sup>1</sup> That the account in Gen. xxxi. 44–54, although it has passed through the hands of the Third and Fifth Narrators, is originally derived from the First Narrator, is shown not only by its general purport, but by the phraseology in the antique and unusual expression בְּרִית־עֲשָׂרֶן ver. 53 (comp. ver. 42); and in that of the *brethren* of Jacob and of Laban (see above, p. 312), by the description in vv. 46, 54, of the covenant being concluded there and then at a repast (just as in xxvi. 30; Ex. xxiv. 4–11), and by the mention of the covenant itself (see p. 69 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be denied that the extant text of vv. 46–54 is very obscure, chiefly because the mention of the *Watch-tower* in ver. 49 is quite unexpected, and, placed where it is, even destroys the natural context of the speech. We might suppose that only Laban pronounced the oath, and that his speech, beginning vv. 48–50, was merely resumed and completed in 51–53; then the words from יְהִי ver. 48, and again from וְיַחֲדֵל ver. 49 to the end (comp. xxii. 14) should be omitted, as being merely two

remarks by the Last Narrator, who indeed must unquestionably have written them. But לְכַדְּרֵךְ is thus neither sufficiently clear in the syntax of the sentence (for הַנְּאָמָר ought to precede, as in ver. 52), nor even intelligible in itself; since, though הַנְּאָמָר in vv. 51, 52 was explained in ver. 46, לְכַדְּרֵךְ was not. We should here reflect also how much more suitable it is that both parties should swear either by something common to the two, as the Cairn (a masculine noun), or each by something special to himself—the one by the Pillar, the other by the Watch-tower (both feminines; for there is an obvious purpose even in the change of gender). We would, therefore, rather suppose that the Last Narrator, who in ver. 48 sq. adds explanatory remarks of his own, omitted to mention the Watch-tower after ver. 44, as well as the word וְיַחֲדֵל in ver. 49; and in ver. 51 transposed the names of Laban and Jacob. More might be argued to the same effect.

<sup>3</sup> Judges x. 7, xi. 11, 34.

that tradition formerly spoke of the whole mountain as having been piled up by Jacob and his followers in their border-strife with Laban, while the solitary fortress on its commanding eminence was the work of Laban—much like the Phoenician legend of the Pillars of Hercules. But precisely this grotesque conception of the underlying legend, so foreign to the spirit of the Mosaic age, carries us back to a very early period, and shows us traces of the very oldest narrator.

There yet remains one most distinctive feature of the legend: Jacob appears throughout as the great *Shepherd* of antiquity. In this character he stands out distinct among the three Patriarchs; all the separate traditions respecting him seem to breathe the same perfume of pastoral life. His badge is the shepherd's staff. But he is honoured not merely as the great inventor of various pastoral arts, but also as one who, like a god, could overcome all by strength of arm and fist.<sup>1</sup> Even in this latter character, many earlier myths have been unconsciously transferred by the love and reverence of his descendants to him, the last especial father of their race (p. 289 sq.) ; and for centuries the people seem to have delighted in the thought that in him, their veritable ancestor, they might boast of a rival to the heathen Hercules or Apollo. Nor can it be denied that the memory of this favourite hero long threw even that of Abraham into the background, until after Moses' time it could be revived under more propitious circumstances. But in all this lies a clear consciousness that the Hebrews, as a roving pastoral people, such as they became under Jacob, were in early times very different from the Arameans and Canaanites. And with this simple way of life that simple religious worship which, according to p. 343, had a sacred stone as its central symbol, harmonised most perfectly.

2) If such is clearly the foundation of Jacob's history, with its manifold legends, it becomes at once evident that he was originally designated as a son of Isaac only in the sense in which such relationships are generally to be understood of nations and tribes, as will be presently explained anew in reference to the sons of Jacob himself. By fusion of his own people with Isaac's tribe, Jacob became son of him and twin-brother of Esau ; and if Esau is invariably regarded as the elder brother, this is only a fresh confirmation of the opinion that Jacob's own arrival was of later date, and that only a portion of Isaac's people and tribes became blended with the new immigrants

<sup>1</sup> Besides Gen. xxix. 1-10, already mentioned, see especially xxx. 31-48; xxxii. 25-33 [24-32].

who bore Jacob's name. It will be shown in the proper place that, even as late as the time of Moses, Israel's position with regard to Edom seems that of a kindred but weaker nation, but that in the earliest times a close defensive alliance appears to have subsisted between them. But even the account of the meeting between the two brothers on Jacob's arrival from Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> bears still unmistakable traces of this old feeling of Esau's preponderance and magnanimity. It represents Esau as having always been dominant in Edom; whereas, according to the Book of Origins, it was only after Isaac's death that the brothers separate, and Esau by an amicable arrangement with his brother migrates into Edom.<sup>2</sup> It depicts very clearly the relative position of the two brothers, like that in which the two brother-nations stood to each other in the days of Moses and the Judges; and although the Last Narrator makes many additions, and freely recasts the whole, his account, both in its general substance and in various isolated expressions,<sup>3</sup> may be traced back with certainty to the earliest Narrator.

But when it had once become a settled idea, that in this sense Jacob and Esau were brothers, and sons of Isaac, the legend of Jacob's immigration into Canaan could then be most easily maintained by considering it only a return to the land of his father Isaac.<sup>4</sup> And the Book of Origins, which contains the earliest demonstrable account preserved to us, assigns a reason, quite in harmony with the spirit of the age, why Jacob, born in Canaan, passed early over Jordan and Euphrates—not to return thence till he had become the true *Jacob-Israel*, and got wives and children, wealth and power. For when this book was written, an ever-widening breach had for generations divided the two nations, formerly so closely leagued together, and Edom had been actually subjugated by David (p. 75 sq.). Edom had also visibly fallen away from the higher religion, and become friendly to the practices of the Canaanites, in the same degree as Israel had remained true to the former and receded from the latter. This book,<sup>5</sup> therefore, assigns Esau's Canaanite marriages as the immediate cause of the brothers' separation,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3]—xxxiii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gen. xxxv. 29; xxxvi. 6, 7; which is not opposed to the statement in xxviii. 9, of the same book.

<sup>3</sup> As וְיַעֲשֵׂה Gen. xxxii. 18 [17], xxxiii. 8, compared with Ex. iv. 24, 27; and on the other hand וְיַעֲשֵׂה Gen. xxviii. 11, xxxii. 1 [xxxi. 55]; Ex. v. 3, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Just think how differently we should judge of Jacob's origin, had we only the brief notice in Deut. xxvi. 4, where, for a special object (to insist, namely, on his original poverty and mean estate), he is called—not entirely without historic truth—an Aramean!

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9.

and of Jacob's journey beyond the Euphrates. As Ishmael, according to the same narrator, had by an Egyptian marriage wholly separated himself from the pure blood of Abraham,<sup>1</sup> so in like manner Esau, through his union with two Canaanite women. This alienates his parents from him; and Isaac, urged by Rebekah, sends the second son, with his full blessing, to his kindred beyond the Euphrates. It avails little that Esau then, as if to amend his fault, takes another wife, who is at least of the house of Ishmael. Jacob consequently was to find in Laban the man on whom he might prove himself 'The Crafty,' and whom he should overcome by well-devised artifice; while Esau, of whose expedition into Edom and settlement there during Isaac's lifetime<sup>2</sup> the present work gives no explanation or particulars whatever, comes to meet him on the frontier when returning from Mesopotamia: an equivocal act, not prompted by memory of the quarrels or deadly feuds of their youth, but rather the self-assertion of one who has not yet finally relinquished his birthright claim upon Canaan, and waits first to observe Jacob's behaviour. And indeed, throughout the whole of the earlier narrative,<sup>3</sup> no stress whatever is laid upon childish quarrels or previous causes of offence: the actual battle-field witnesses simply a trial of wits between the crafty Jacob and the no less crafty Laban, wherein subtlety is fitly matched against subtlety.

However, this true Hebrew Comedy of Errors, to which we have alluded (p. 346) as adopted by the Last Narrator, is not derived from the Book of Origins; but, as now extant, bears every trace, like much else relating to Jacob's life, of being by the Third Narrator.<sup>4</sup> And although we receive it from the Last Narrator abridged here and there and mutilated in the earlier part,<sup>5</sup> yet the fine plan of the whole is still intelligible, and the unique narrative breathes throughout a true poetic spirit, felt by every susceptible reader; so that we seem often to catch

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3].

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3] sqq.

<sup>4</sup> That this does not originate with the Last Narrator, is clear from the method in which he treats the narrative beginning at Gen. xxix. 15; but there is quite as little trace of the Book of Origins, of which the style and manner appear only in the account of Jacob's removal from Mesopotamia in xxxi. 18; comp. xxxvi. 6. Some indications which point to the Third Narrator, we have already mentioned at p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> At xxix. 15 sqq., Laban is abruptly described as a crafty man, though not the slightest hint had previously been given of his character. Then, some account of Laban's further tricks in the compact concerning the flocks, and his repeated though unavailing alterations of that compact, should manifestly have preceded ch. xxxi. 1; which is rendered certain by the allusion to it in xxxi. 7-10. How much the Last Narrator omitted and altered in xxxi. 44-54, has been already explained at p. 347.

the dance and music of actual verse.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere also in the writings of this author, similar outbursts of poetic feeling, though hardly actual verse, may be remarked.

3) It is then by the Fourth Narrator, and still more by the Fifth, that the life of this Patriarch has been cast into the shape which has won for it an imperishable memory. In the time of the latter especially, the breach between the two nations, Israel and Edom, had been gradually widening into a deadly feud, which endured for centuries, and determined in great part the history of the kingdom of Judah (see p. 107 sqq.). The image of this fearful struggle between the two nations and religions naturally intrudes into the writer's conception of the primeval history, and gives its prevailing tone to that. The quarrel with Esau thus becomes the sole pivot on which revolves the eventful life of Jacob, until, victorious over all opposition, he appears in old age as the recognised successor of Abraham and Isaac. Here again we find an exemplification of the principle that any considerable transplanting of a whole department of popular legends can only flow from a great change in the fortunes of the peoples themselves. But it is equally noteworthy, that the venerable legend of Jacob's life is now not merely expanded in bulk, but imbued with a far deeper moral significance, and reproduced in a new form of higher poetic beauty. The sharp antithesis in Jacob's inner life is now for the first time brought prominently forward. Jacob, by birth the younger, and consequently the inferior, yet impelled by some mysterious higher power to supreme rule, from his early years fights his way up, contending with unwearied energy against Esau, and even under the most unfavourable circumstances never shrinks from beginning the struggle again—true type of the character of the wrestler, never wholly subdued, with resources for every exigency, and skill to meet every difficulty. But since in this upward struggle against the savage but honest Esau, he had at first made use of artifices prompted by the headstrong impulse of the moment, but not sanctioned by duty or religion, he deservedly brings on himself his brother's deadly persecution; is compelled to wander forlorn and helpless far from the land of his fathers, and becomes involved in a long succession of severe troubles and sufferings; with the hope of at last emerging from the severe ordeal as from a new birth—no longer the crafty wrestler, but the real 'God-wrestler'; thus consummating at last an enduring triumph over Esau. This

<sup>1</sup> As in the 'winged words' between Gilead, xxxi. 26-30, 36-42; hence also Laban and Jacob at their meeting in poetical expressions such as בְּמִלְחָמָה, v. 39.

is the new idea that here strives for expression, pervading and animating all.

a.) In the very first mention of the brothers, even before their birth, the narrator takes occasion to indicate beforehand the inevitable final issue, already fore-ordained in the Divine purpose. If Jacob, with God's help, is ultimately to triumph over all, and to overcome Esau the elder-born, this can only be through some special indwelling spiritual force, whose origin can be referred to no definite epoch in his life: neither to his advanced age, his youth, nor his birth.<sup>1</sup> The twins struggle even in their mother's womb, thus foreshadowing the great future struggle between the nations; and an oracle declares that the issue will be the triumph of the younger son (and people). Thus also, in their very birth, the younger seizes the elder by the heel, as if irresistibly impelled to pass him and wrest from him his natural right—the first occasion on which Jacob's name is interpreted as the 'Heel-Grasper,' 'one who tries to trip another up from behind,' the 'Crafty.'<sup>2</sup>

But this is only an attempt, after the manner of this narrator, to foreshadow at a glance the leading interest of the whole following history; the actual career of the twins then proceeds to its development, quite independently of this predestination; yet to this the ultimate issue at last returns. The opposite natures of the two brothers are however early manifested (Gen. xxv. 27-34). If Esau, the rough huntsman, earns our contempt for the levity with which, in mere craving after momentary gratification, he trifles away his birthright,<sup>3</sup> the quiet, home-loving Jacob, who craftily works on him to this end,<sup>4</sup> certainly merits no praise. But such boy's play furnishes a telling hint of the future.

But the bold venture made in the ensuing narrative of Gen. xxvii. 1-45, as to the anticipation of the birthright by Jacob, was justified in the first place by the established notion of Jacob as *The Crafty*: a characteristic easily transferred to the mother, naturally partial to the weaker and gentler child; especially as from a higher point of view this bestowal of the parental blessing on Jacob was considered justifiable. For in the time of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. such expressions as Jer. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxv. 20-23, comp. xxvii. 36; comp. Hosea xiii. 4. Similar conceptions and stories might easily arise; comp. Gen. xxxvii. 28-30; Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1; and strikingly similar is the story of the birth of Ormuzd and Ahriman, as told by Eznik, *Against Heretics*, ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The severe judgment pronounced on

him in Heb. xi. 16, 17, is so far not inappropriate.

<sup>4</sup> בָּנָה in Gen. xxv. 27 cannot possibly signify *blameless, honest*; since that idea harmonises neither with the context nor with the character of the *Crafty*; nor has the word this meaning anywhere in prose, excepting Job i., ii. It must here rather be connected with בָּנָה, and signify *quiet*.

later narrator, a higher destiny had long subjected Edom to the Hebrews, thus giving to the latter the birthright-blessing of the elder race. But at the same time the difficulty had become apparent of keeping so wild and warlike a people as Edom long in subjection (p. 107 sq.). Supposing such a struggle to have been already of long duration, it might indeed be thought that Isaac, beguiled at first by the arts of Jacob and his mother, must yet in that solemn moment have been inspired by true prophecy to bless the younger son instead of the elder;<sup>1</sup> but that Esau did then arrive just in time to win by urgent pleading the one blessing, that by strenuous resistance he should be able at last to break his brother's yoke. The narrator represents Isaac as having recourse on this occasion to a more delicious repast, in order to rouse the prophetic faculty; as all the weaker forms of prophecy seize upon physical irritants to their exercise;<sup>2</sup> a conception which accords well with the position generally assigned by tradition to Isaac as the least spiritual of the three Patriarchs. And though it is of the very essence of the narrative that these prophetic declarations respecting the position of the two brothers should be authoritative, yet the narrator, far from approving Jacob's deception, represents him as flying from Esau's merited hatred; and skilfully leads back the thread of the history to the earlier legend, where Jacob is sent forth, with his father's blessing, to seek a fitting wife among his kindred in the far north-east.

b.) It was this disastrous state, however, which first opened to Jacob the possibility of true amendment and self-conquest, wherein his heart should at last rise superior to its own guile. Driven forth from the happy paternal hearth, and wandering helpless in a strange land, he is forced to fix his hope more steadfastly than ever on Jahve, and, whatever his labour or his subtlety, beware of encountering the Just One with deceit. Thus was deliverance yet possible for him. And that Jahve will never abandon one who trusts in him, least of all when striving darkly forward to a doubtful future, is beautifully indicated by the Fourth Narrator, in that passage of rare grandeur, which he places at the beginning of Jacob's history.<sup>3</sup> Here the wanderer, still but a few days' journey from the parental home, is compelled to pass the night in the fields, his head resting on a hard

<sup>1</sup> Following the similar but older story in Gen. xlvi. 13-20.

added that the מִקְנִים in Is. xvii. 8, as a

contraction of קָרְבָּן = קָרְבָּן can be only

<sup>2</sup> Proph. des A. B. i. 37, 39.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxviii. 10-22; see p. 104 sq., 112,

very slightly different from תְּמִימָה, since in

303 sq., and my Alterthümer, p. 260. To Levit. xxvi. 30, the two are conjoined.

this passage of the Alterthümer may be

stone; and just then, in this hardest and most forlorn plight, sees the heavens open and the Deity made graciously manifest; receives the sublimest promises and encouragements, and vows himself with fresh ardour, as one new-born, to the service of Jahve. A somewhat similar account seems indeed, according to xxxv. 1-15, to have already occupied the same place in the earlier history; but when we now read that Jacob at once set up the stone as a monument and anointed it (compare on the other hand xxxv. 14), we perceive by this and other signs how freely the later historian must have transformed this splendid passage.

And Jacob does in fact arrive prosperously at Haran,<sup>1</sup> meets happily with Rachel at the very first, and is then blessed with wives and children, power and wealth, beyond his highest expectations. But he there also finds in Laban, with whom he has to live perpetually in the closest contact, a father-in-law no less crafty and alive to his own advantage than himself. He thus finds himself for the first time in a regular school of deceit, where craft is matched against craft: old Laban desires to use the industrious and marvellously lucky shepherd as long as possible for his own benefit, and descends to any low cunning which tends to this end, as, for example, repeated arbitrary alteration in the conditions of service.<sup>2</sup> The indefatigable servant cannot and will not always toil for others only, and finds himself compelled to oppose artifice to artifice. The advantage appears at first to be wholly with the crafty old man, who has experience and paternal dignity on his side, while Jacob has only his shepherd's staff and his force of will. The contest is long and various, but the final turn of the scale in such an encounter of craft with craft must plainly be determined only by the difference in the original motive; since he who without just cause first resorted to stratagem, cannot be nerved through all ensuing complications by the same calm strong consciousness of right as he who employed similar weapons only on compulsion and in self-defence. And thus, as is shown even as early as in the Third Narrator's account, Jacob remains victor at last in this long and complicated game of real life; baffling by his superior craft the unprovoked and unwarranted acts of his opponent. Thus,

(1) Laban breaks faith with him respecting Rachel, under a plausible pretext, but in reality that he may profit longer by his services. But Jacob, who, like Apollo or Krishna, gives to men

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 342. An ancient Jacob's called; see the description in Badger's *Well* is still shown near the city; but it *Nestorians*, i. p. 344. may fairly be asked, when it was first so      <sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxi. 41; see p. 350 note.

the example how the true hero ought sometimes to abase himself and serve, not only cheerfully accomplishes seven additional years of service, but is rewarded beyond his expectations in wives and children (xxix. 13—xxx. 24).

(2) When Jacob, at the expiration of this second term of seven years (xxx. 38, 41), very reasonably thinks of founding a house of his own, and wishes to return home, Laban, instead of releasing him honourably after his faithful service, endeavours with artful selfishness to retain him by the offer of wages; but reluctant, from the same selfish spirit, to propose on his own part any definite and handsome recompense, leaves it with feigned magnanimity to his son-in-law to name his own conditions, in the ill-disguised hope that he may be overawed to rate his services far below their real value. And Jacob, thus forced to employ similar craft on his own part, does indeed propose a new mode of payment, which will apparently yield so little, that Laban eagerly catches at it: that the particoloured lambs, hitherto a very small proportion of the whole, are henceforth to be the property of the shepherd. But the crafty Jacob, having the right on his side, is favoured by the special aid of his God with a new device for the artificial propagation of particoloured lambs. Laban beholds with dismay the amazing increase of Jacob's flocks through this very stipulation. Even when, at his desire, a somewhat different variety of particolour is adopted as the condition, fortune still remains wondrously on Jacob's side (xxx. 25—43, supplemented by xxxi. 7—12).<sup>1</sup>

(3) When Laban, though only taken in his own net, and with no just cause of grievance, becomes at last so thoroughly exasperated with his son-in-law that the latter has everything to fear from his revenge, Jacob resolves, in concert with Laban's own daughters, and encouraged by supernatural visions and promises, to seize the first opportunity of flight, carrying with him the earnings of his twenty laborious years. He now takes the initiative in those artifices which have hitherto always originated with the morose old man; he steals Laban's heart; that is, he goes off without giving Laban the slightest intimation, or seeking in any way to propitiate him; and escapes successfully across the Euphrates (xxx. 1—21). It is, however, a striking feature in the legend, introducing a new complication into this drama of complications, that Rachel herself, without Jacob's complicity, steals from her self-seeking father his house-

<sup>1</sup> The story of the inventive genius of the great Shepherd-Chief no doubt existed originally on its own account, and resembles that of Apollo Poimnios, as inventor of the cither, &c. See further Björnstahl's *Reisen*, vi. 2. p. 399.

hold-gods ;<sup>1</sup> as if thereby to appropriate and carry with them into Canaan entire and undivided the good fortune of the paternal house, all participation in which had been denied by Laban to herself and her husband.

(4) Then, when Laban learns their flight and the loss of his household-gods, and for the first time finds himself entirely the injured party, he pursues the fugitive with armed force, and comes up with him at Gilead, the north-eastern frontier of Canaan, in the larger sense of the word ; and Jacob seems in imminent peril of losing at one blow all that he has painfully and laboriously gained.

(5) But as if an evil conscience still preyed secretly on Laban, he is warned by a supernatural voice in a dream, the evening before the decisive encounter was expected, not to proceed too violently against Jacob. But though his violence is thereby somewhat mitigated, he considers that he has at least full ground of complaint against him for the robbery of the household-gods. But as Jacob in good faith disclaims all knowledge of the theft, Laban by this complaint only puts himself again in the wrong. When Rachel then, with successful cunning, manages to keep the household-gods hidden from his most diligent search, he is completely humbled, and can scarcely maintain even the semblance of paternal dignity, and has to content himself with concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with Jacob (xxxii. 44—xxxii. 3), which happily winds up this long game of well-matched wits, the true Hebrew Comedy of Errors.<sup>2</sup> That in the time of the earlier historian some such memorial of these transactions as is described, xxxi. 45, 51, really stood on Mount Gilead—that Gilead was once the mountain-frontier between the Aramean and Canaanite nations, the scene in former ages of border struggles and treaties of peace like these ; such is the basis of strict historic truth on which this series of stories is built up (compare p. 346 sqq.). But it is fitly related in conclusion (xxxii. 2 [1] sq.), how Jacob, victor at last in the long struggle, is met on his entrance into the Holy Land by a troop of angels, as if to hail him conqueror, and conduct him from the threshold to the very heart of the land. This story, moreover, serves also to explain the sanctity attached to the city Mahanaim (already mentioned, p. 305) between Gilead and the Jordan ; and indeed would otherwise have been impossible.

<sup>1</sup> In the same north-eastern district, but in the first century after Christ, a similar custom is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant. xviii. 9. 5.*

five divisions, like an actual drama, is shown in a more comprehensive manner in the Tübingen *Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 752 sq.

<sup>2</sup> That this piece falls naturally into

But scarce has he thus crossed the threshold, and is delivered from this great danger on the north-east, than he is threatened with one yet more formidable on the south from Esau, who, although already established in Edom, has by no means relinquished his claim upon Canaan, and is now approaching with an armed force.<sup>1</sup> His superior strength Jacob can neither disregard nor resist; he therefore has recourse to the politic expedient of sending an amicable message to announce his coming. But the messengers bring back no news than that Esau, strongly armed, is already on the way. Jacob thus unexpectedly finds himself involved afresh in extreme perplexity. Even here however his presence of mind never fails him; he promptly decides on a measure frequently resorted to in military tactics: dividing his people into two bodies, that if one half should succumb to the attack, the other may meantime have a chance of escape. He then concentrates all his powers in solemn and urgent supplication to his God; and finally selects from his best possessions a choice present for Esau, which should be sent forward to meet and surprise him on the way (xxxii. 4–22 [3–21]). But when he has thus hurriedly done all which human sagacity can devise to mitigate the approaching danger, is he thereby really secured from it? May not one unfriendly glance, one single assault from Esau, annihilate at one blow the fruits of so many laborious years? It is a happy conception of the later historian, to introduce just at this moment of Jacob's most torturing suspense, when his early treachery towards Esau returned suddenly in fearful retribution upon his soul, his wrestling with the Angel: the answer, as it were, to the prayer immediately before. For nowhere else could Jacob have a more momentous contest than at this crisis, when all that he has gained is at stake, when the great question of the possession of Canaan is to be decided, and in the persons of Esau and Jacob the destinies of whole nations are suspended in the balance. Much, it is true, Jacob has already gained; yet precisely that which he formerly gained from his brother he holds as yet on a merely human tenure—the right of the cunningest and the strongest, rather than by the divine right of pure aspiration and spiritual conquest. And yet man knows no real or unalienable possession but that which he has won rather from God than from man, and has thus made a part of his very life and soul. The ordinary struggles of youth, exciting rather than decisive, and prompted for the most part by mere passion, are followed inevi-

<sup>1</sup> This description strikingly resembles more historic age; both are from the First that given Num. xx. 20, belonging to a Narrator.

tably by the final and decisive struggle with the Gods themselves ; and he only who fails not in this can win for himself the Divine blessing, which brings with it true possession and enduring prosperity.<sup>1</sup> So in this critical night Jacob is met unawares by a mighty wrestler, and forced to wrestle with the unknown and mysterious visitor ; and the wrestling lasts without interruption the whole night long. Jacob's courage never for one moment fails ; only when with the break of day the hour comes at which the Unknown must leave, he sprains Jacob's hip, in order to end the contest with honour and free himself. But Jacob, now first understanding with whom he has contended, will not loose hold of his antagonist till the latter has blessed him. For he is alone the true hero who holds on unflinching to the end, and suffers not the hardly-won victory to be wrested from him after all. Now therefore the angel, revealing himself fully at last, blesses him by the new name of Israel—as one who has wrestled with both God and man. Now is accomplished the true spiritual triumph of the great hero, made a new man through such superhuman conflicts ; though, as the legend finely concludes, he receives a lameness, a memento of the mortal combat he has passed through, and a reminder of past weakness ; as if the moral deformity of ‘The Crafty’ had passed into the body, and were henceforth to attach to that only.<sup>2</sup> Many old materials, doubtless, have been worked up into this conception : the popular belief in fearful nightly phantoms vanishing with the dawn ;<sup>3</sup> the easy change of interpretation given to the old name Israel (God’s Wrestler), as denoting one who had striven *with*, and therefore perhaps even *against* God ; also, no doubt, some ancient notion of this Patriarch as *Limping*, connected with the idea of his *craftiness* and *crookedness* ; and the localisation of the night-scene on the river Jabbok (as if this

<sup>1</sup> The First Punic War was, on the part of the Romans, a mere human struggle, undertaken recklessly and without moral justification ; successful indeed, yet bringing no abiding advantage ; the Second only became a divinely-ordered contest. The same might be said of the first, second, and third (the Seven Years’) Silesian Wars of Frederick II.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat as the Apostle Paul speaks of himself in 2 Cor. xii. 7. There is much resemblance between this wrestling of Jacob, and that of Arjuna with Civa, fully described in the *Mahâbhârata*, iii. 11952 sq. ; and that of Zeus with Athene and the great wrestler Hercules, in Greek mythology, Paus. viii. 28, 53, Tzetz. on Lycophron, v. 662 sq., and Nonnus,

Dionys. x. 375-377 ; comp. R. Rochette in the *Mém. de l’Acad. des Inscr.* xvii. 2, p. 102 sq. A double meaning like that in the name *Israel* (p. 344) has been found in Ignatius Θεοφορητός.

<sup>3</sup> As the Hindu Râkshasa ; compare also the destroying night-spirits in Sodom, Gen. xix. 15. Hero the other original elements of the tradition are clearly discernible ; for this belief dates certainly from pre-Mosaic times. That much fuller and somewhat different versions once existed, is evident from Hosea xii. 4 sq. [3 sq.] according to which the hard struggle drew tears from the hero ; and only through weeping and urgent supplication was he victorious at last and gained the crowning blessing.

name signified 'River of Wrestling'), and near the place called Peniel (p. 304 sq.)—all these are made to fit in well with these stories, and the whole episode is then interwoven most harmoniously with Jacob's history. When he has indeed conquered in this spiritual conflict, he beholds Esau on the morrow with feelings quite different from the fears he had entertained on the previous evening. Warmly and kindly Esau receives the delicate honours and surprises prepared for him; but when from brotherly feeling he shrinks from accepting the gift intended for him, prudent Jacob succeeds in pressing it on him, as if thereby to purchase immunity from all possible future hostility.<sup>1</sup> Even Esau's offer of an escort is prudently declined, lest any unforeseen occasion of dissension should arise, and thus the threatened danger passes happily over (xxxiii. 1-17).

c.) And as Jacob now advances farther into the Holy Land, his progress is marked by that lofty security which springs from internal peace and completeness. He remains long in central Canaan, and takes the city of Shechem, not without criminal treachery and cruelty; but the wrong is done without his complicity by his two sons, Simeon and Levi,<sup>2</sup> who are severely reprobated by the father. So high still stands the repute of his house, that he is most unexpectedly allowed by the Canaanites to advance without disturbance; as though some supernatural awe deterred them from pursuing him (xxxiii. 18—xxxv. 5). On arriving at Bethel, the central point of his divine achievements and experiences, he erects an altar and a pillar; having first sternly enforced the removal of all such idols as had been surreptitiously introduced into his household—for instance the above mentioned household-gods carried off by Rachel. There, and not till then, according to the Book of Origins, did his God appear to him to impart his highest blessing, and bestow upon him the new name of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Thus he advances gradually to the farthest south, where his aged father yet lives, ch. xxxv.

<sup>1</sup> See something similar in Gen. xxi. 28-30; and above, p. 331 sq.

<sup>2</sup> And strictly speaking, it belongs rather to the shortly-following history of these tribes.

<sup>3</sup> The Last Narrator omits therefore, in Gen. xxxv. 10, the explanation of the name Israel, because he has already given it at xxxii. 29, from another source. But as the ancients took great license in the explanation of proper names (see xxxi.—xxxii.), we must suppose there to have existed pretty early another account, by which God gave to Jacob the name Israel,

signifying that he was henceforth no longer 'The Tricky,' but 'God's straightforward man,' לְאַשְׁר־צָדִיק. Only in this freer, but certainly later account, is the contrast sufficiently prominent; and that such a story did once exist may be inferred from the mode of designating members of the people Israel in the lofty style as בָּנֵי־צָדִיק; *The Righteous* (Num. xxiii. 10, Ps. xxxiii. 1, Dan. xi. 17); and from the new derivative בָּנֵי־צָדִיק (*Lehrbuch*, § 167a). Only from this, not from בָּנֵי (above, p. 352), do the words in John i. 48 become intelligible.

And still later, in the history of Joseph, he remains the same—patient, long-enduring; tried through long years by deepest mental anguish, not wholly without blame on his own part, through over-indulged partiality for the son of his too early lost Rachel; yet again triumphing gloriously over all contradictions of fate, and dying at last a prince revered alike by Hebrews and Egyptians, after having witnessed a fortune far transcending in splendour and extent even that of Abraham;<sup>1</sup> as the tradition itself confesses. Thus the tradition remains self-consistent throughout.

We cannot, however, fail to observe, that the history of Jacob gradually and almost imperceptibly passes into that of the tribes (or sons), above whom hovers, vague and dim, the awful form of Israel, the aged Patriarch.<sup>2</sup> Especially fine is the turn thus given to the history, when called to relate the evil deeds and wicked lusts of these sons; and with the one great exception of Joseph, what else is there to tell of them? In their collective history is vividly anticipated the future history of the nation; its many shortcomings, its manifold corruptions; as if the guileful nature, wholly eradicated at last in the much-tried father, sprang up again and spread in rank luxuriance among his descendants; first in Simeon and Levi (ch. xxxiv.), and still more in the history of Joseph. The old father, who now, made perfect through suffering, appears like some superior spirit watching over them, sternly rebukes all these follies and misdeeds committed behind his back; and yet eventually he himself has to bear the burden of iniquities planned without his knowledge. Thus Jacob is still, though in a different sense, what he was entitled in his youth—the laboriously striving, much-enduring man of God. Thus, even in the post-Mosaic period, the better spirit still hovers over the nation, often obscured and almost despairing, yet abandoning them never, and in the end really beholding with rapture a great and glorious restoration of all the erring ones.

4) It is not surprising that of Jacob-Israel as representative specially and exclusively of this people of Israel, less mention should be made than of Abraham, in such extra-Biblical records as other nations have preserved to us. We have, however, (p. 312), met with *Israhel*, in the old legend of Damascus. And under the name *Isiris*, or in a more strictly Greek form *Isirios*, we probably meet him again in old Phœnician tradition. Here Isiris is described as ‘brother of Chnâ, the first Phœnician,’ so

<sup>1</sup> See on this point the very ancient words, Gen. xl ix. 26.

<sup>2</sup> As even the account given in the Book of Origins in Gen. xxxiv. 7 admits.

called.<sup>1</sup> Now no one has a better right to the appellation, 'brother of Canaan,' than he who bears the rather fuller form of name, *Israel*. The Phoenician tradition indeed calls him also, 'Discoverer of the Three Letters,' and ascribes to him a change in the old Phoenician theology, consisting in the discovery of some new sacred word of three letters;<sup>2</sup> in reference apparently to some later school in Israel (that is, in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes), which harmonised together the Phoenician and Israelite mythologies; but that the ancestor of these tribes was called a brother of Canaan may be connected with a primeval historical reminiscence of Israel's first immigration and combination with Canaanites. Now if by Isiris the Phoenicians meant the ancient Israel, this will probably serve to explain another singular passage in Sanchoniathon. Kronos, called also Israel by the Phoenicians (so it runs), had by the rustic nymph Anobret an only son (see above p. 284), named from that circumstance Jeud. When the country was involved in great perils of war, he adorned this son with royal pomp, and sacrificed him upon an altar erected for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> This story is said to come in the first instance from Sanchoniathon; but as here told is not derived from Philo of Byblus, but from Porphyry's special work on the Jews. The first point here to be remarked is that Sanchoniathon elsewhere tells other similar stories of Kronos. The sacrifice of children in its most corrupt form was, especially among the Phoenicians, an old custom (according to p. 326); and as it was especially offered to Kronos, he became so standing a representative of it, that many stories of the kind were told of him, as we can still trace distinctly in Philo's Sanchoniathon.<sup>4</sup> But from these direct extracts from Sanchoniathon we learn with certainty that Kronos was named in Phoenician *El*, not *Israel*;<sup>5</sup> consequently

<sup>1</sup> Sanchoniathon p. 40, 5 sq. Orelli; on Chnā, see above, p. 236. Gaisford took the reading *Iisrios* from MSS., but it is not the only form they give.

<sup>2</sup> Which are the three letters here to be understood, it is difficult or impossible for us to specify. Can they be the three fundamental letters of *Israel* itself, יְהֹוָה? since we perceive from the new form יְהֹוָה (p. 359) how busy people were at a later time in finding a mystic meaning for this name.

<sup>3</sup> Sanchoniathon p. 42 sq.; repeated iv. 16. by Vig. p. 156; further in the newly-recovered work of Eusebius, *Theoph.* ii. 12, 54, 59. The *Ieoēs* of the earlier editions would then be יְהֹוָה (comp.

רַבְנִי, Gen. xxii. 2, 16); and indeed יְהֹוָה is actually Aramean for the Hebrew יְהֹוָה; and after the express and repeated explanation appended in the Greek, we ought to doubt no longer. Yet Gaisford in the first passage reads on the authority of MSS. יְהֹוֹתָה, which could only be יְהֹוָה, Beloved; this, however, is probably only an early conjecture, and incorrect as an emendation. At any rate, Judah is not to be thought of.

<sup>4</sup> Sanchoniathon p. xxxvi. 5, 6. Comp. p. xxx. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Sanchoniathon p. xxvi. 1, xxviii. 16, xxxiv. 3; where Gaisford has throughout restored יְהֹוָה for יְהֹוָה.

in the above passage, preserved through a secondary source, a change of names must have taken place.<sup>1</sup> The apparent cause of this is, that the author of the work on the Jews supposed Abraham's sacrifice in Gen. xxii. to be identical with that related by the Phœnicians of Kronos, or rather derived from it; and that, as he found in Sanchoniathon nothing about Abraham, he regarded the name Israel as compounded of *El* and the *Isiris* already mentioned, and in *Jeud* perhaps recognised the name Judah. Many of the later Greek writers indulged in arbitrary conjectures and confusions of this kind, and we must be on our guard against using any of them incautiously as historical proofs.<sup>2</sup>

Other stories about Jacob, given by later writers, are always found to be essentially derived from the Old Testament records.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THE TWELVE SONS AND TRIBES OF JACOB.

The Twelve Tribes thus enter into the history almost unnoticed with Jacob. While the Patriarch is spoken of in life, these appear in the legend more or less as his sons; but after his and Joseph's death, this mode of treatment is virtually dropped, and Jacob's twelve sons are considered simply as tribes. Yet even the early legend does not speak of them in the lump merely as sons of Jacob, but even from their birth makes distinctions among them, assigning some to one and some to another mother, and ranging them in a fixed order of seniority. The correct comprehension of this and other features of the tradition, with constant reference to later situations more nearly approaching to positive history, helps us to understand an historic relation which, though founded in the depths of the primeval age, interferes with great force in all critical moments of the later history. A correct conception of the nature

<sup>1</sup> This is so obvious, that two MSS. (p. 42) and others besides (iv. 16) read even Ἡλον for Ἰσραὴλ; but although Gaisford has adopted this, it still appears to me to be only a later emendation, made because it was not understood how Israel belonged to the context. See also on the passages of Sanchoniathon the *Göttinger Gel. Anz.* 1859, p. 143 sq.

<sup>2</sup> And yet some modern scholars (especially Volney, in his *Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire ancienne*, i. p. 148 sq.) have built up on this and even weaker grounds arguments for the unhistorical character of Israel, Abraham, and any or all other persons and things belonging to the Pa-

triarchal world. True knowledge puts all such shadows to flight, as has been already observed in the same connection, p. 338. With respect to the *Nubato-Arabic* descriptions of primeval times, I here reaffirm what I have already said in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 1 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The comprehensive scheme of the above (p. 212) mentioned learned chronologer Demetrius (in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21), though elaborately extending the chronology further than it is given in the Bible (and by a different method from that of the Book of Jubilees, mentioned p. 201) really agrees in substance with the Old Testament.

of the Twelve Tribes, moreover, to start with, will preserve us from many aberrations in our future progress.

It cannot certainly be doubted that we are here concerned, not with the actual twelve sons of a single family, or with their petty domestic transactions, but with historic relations, potent for centuries in their influence on people and kingdom, and working persistently with incisive force deep in the national life. In the earliest history of a nation or tribe we often find some single name alone preserved as the hero and father of his people; and these single names are afterwards enrolled in genealogical records, in such arrangement as may be gathered from the memory yet remaining of their original connection; but there are unquestionable indications in primeval history itself that the names of Abraham, Jacob, and his sons, were from the first associated with the idea of corresponding nations and tribes.<sup>1</sup> Even those details respecting the wives and children of Jacob, which now appear most trivial or grotesque, must be regarded in fact as a deposit from some remote region, some higher level of antiquity; as when stray raindrops at times descend transfigured into snow-flakes, surprising the eye by their new aspect, but unable to retain for long the form thus temporarily assumed. We can only endeavour to discern in the faint and disconnected indications still left to us, such mutual relations of tribe and nation as were important from their maintenance through many ages. But the recognition of the special points, on which all depends, is in this case peculiarly difficult.

**I.** We have to consider the fixed round number of the twelve sons of Jacob; and our inquiries can only properly begin with the consideration of the fundamental meaning and application of this number. It becomes evident, on closer investigation, that this cannot be looked upon as an isolated historic fact, a circumstance as casual as the number of children in this or that private family. On the contrary, this number, only slightly varied in its combinations, is repeated—both in the small circle here constituted by it, and in other regions touching upon it from without—so frequently and persistently, that it is impossible not to suspect the influence of some more general law.

As Israel consists of twelve tribes, so the same principle, under many forms, runs through the subdivisions of the single tribes, as if there were a desire to bring the whole national life under one

<sup>1</sup> In reference to Abraham comp Gen. xiv. With regard to Jacob and Laban, the First Narrator speaks of each (p. 312), using the expression to designate members of one community; as the 'Brethren' is still done in 1 Chron. xxv. 7.

definite and consistent form. If we take first the tribe of Levi, we cannot but perceive, on close inspection, that from the very earliest times it was divided into twelve branches. The first division was indeed into the three great branches Kohath, Gershon, Merari, which consequently appear always in genealogies as his three sons.<sup>1</sup> But we gather with certainty, though not without considerable research,<sup>2</sup> that these three great branches divided again into twelve smaller, and these still in such equal proportions, that *six* divisions fell to Kohath, *three* to Gershon, and *three* to Merari; so that the first was equal in power and importance to the two latter. These subdivisions stand as follows, according to the order which obtained from the time of Moses—in which but one single innovation is discernible, namely, that the line of Aaron, as High Priest, is placed first:—

Aaron	Shubael	Rehabiah	Amram	Kohath	Levi
Izhar	Hebron	Uzziel			
Libni	Laadan	Shimei		Gershon	
Jaaziah	Mahli	Mushi		Merari	

The same principle is substantially carried out in the division of the conquered land, when this tribe receives forty-eight (that is, four times twelve) cities; here again distributed in so nearly equal a proportion, that Kohath receives *thirteen*, and afterwards *ten*, Gershon *thirteen*, and Merari *twelve*.<sup>3</sup> Again, on the assembling of the Levites under David to the festival of carrying up the Ark of the Covenant to Zion, there appear six heads of the tribe, with their followers, obviously only by a different computation of the same fundamental number.<sup>4</sup> Again, we observe the same in David's arrangements for the sacred music, a special department of Levitical office, by which all the musicians, under the three leaders, Heman of Kohath, Asaph of Gershon,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 11; Ex. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17, xxvi. 57; 1 Chron. v. 27 [vi. 1], vi. 1 [16]. Accordingly, from the fact that in strictly genealogical accounts Gershon always stands first (though in all others Kohath as the more powerful occupies that position), we must infer that in the earliest times Gershon possessed the higher dignity and power. It is also recorded that Moses himself named his first-born Gershon: Ex. xviii. 3, ii. 22; 1 Chron. xxii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The truth can be attained by comparing together 1 Chron. xxiv. 20-31, xxiii. 6-23 and vi. 1-3 [16-18]—passages

drawn from very different sources—and supplementing and emending the one by the other. We thus find, for example, that in xxiii. 7 כִּי must have fallen out before יְהֹוָה, and that the words in vv. 8 and 9 have to be emended accordingly. There is documentary evidence of a precisely similar confusion in 1 Chron. i. 35-37, compared with Gen. xxxvi. 10-14.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxv. 6, 7; Josh. xxi. 3-8.  
<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xv. 5-10; Elizaphan here obviously stands for Izhar; and the three — Kohath, Merari, and Gershon—are evidently treated as three individuals standing beside three other individuals.

and Ethan or Jeduthun of Merari, were divided into twenty-four bands (fourteen under Heman, four under Asaph, and six under Ethan, each with its appointed leader), each band consisting of twelve individuals, 288 altogether.<sup>1</sup> Again, an arrangement exactly corresponding with this is observed in the twenty-four higher sacerdotal orders, which were continued down to the latest times. At other times the whole tribe was indeed redistributed into smaller branches; so that the Book of Origins, in genealogies and assessments of the people, speaks always of eight branches only;<sup>2</sup> but it is evident that even here it is the fundamental number, whether four or twelve, which recurs in a new combination.

Or if we take the tribe of Judah, we have indeed to regret that the Chronicles, although giving very detailed genealogical notices in book 1, ch. ii.-iv. 23, do not arrange them more clearly, or present them more comprehensively and completely. Thus much, however, may be gathered, that these particulars are derived from two different genealogies of the tribe of Judah; since the account begins in one place, ch. ii., iii., and there has regard principally to the house of David (ii. 9-17, iii.), but then in ch. iv. 1-23 begins quite afresh upon a different plan. But the detail is in both too unmethodical and incomplete to give us any confidence that we have all the data under our eyes. If the ancient sources whence these chronicles are derived had come down to us without curtailment or obscuration, we should possess even in the dry catalogues of names a valuable means towards identifying important portions of the early history of this great tribe. For unquestionably, in many of these sources, the proper family-history of the tribe was combined with the history of the country as a whole, as well as of the possessions and residences of the more powerful families; and we very plainly remark, that a city or district very generally gave the name of *Father* to the chief who owned it, or by whose family it was governed.<sup>3</sup> Both these records, however, even in the state in which they have come down to us, afford, when closely examined, a confirmation of the above proposition. The first, starting from Shelah, Pharez, and Zerah, as the three im-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. xxv. compared with xv. 16-24.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. vi. 17-19; Num. iii. 17-39; accordingly we have here four of Kohath; and of Merari and Gershon, two each. It is remarkable that in the later return, Num. xxvi. 57, 58, the same number of branches appears, and divided in the same way; but the three main branches take the

place of three individuals (as in 1 Chron. xv. 5-10); and Korah is substituted for Izhar, according to 1 Chron. vi. 7 [22], 22 [37], ix. 19, xii. 6, xxvi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> As 'Shobal the father of Kirjath-jearim, Salma the father of Bethlehem, Hareph the father of Beth-gader' (all well-known names of cities), 1 Chron. ii. 50, 51. See above, p. 345 note.

mediate sons of Judah, derives through Hezron, the first-born of Pharez, precisely six families: Jerahmeel, Ram (whence David) and Chelubai, Segub, Ashur, and Caleb;<sup>1</sup> and from the first-born Jerahmeel exactly six families again.<sup>2</sup> Now, finding here so far the very same arrangement as occurred before with respect to one of the sons of Levi, we have every reason to suppose that the remaining six families were derived from the two other sons of Judah. These sons, who are passed over in the extant Chronicle in almost perfect silence, cannot possibly have stood at first so baldly in the genealogy; for we have elsewhere traces of their former importance;<sup>3</sup> and the Book of Origins, in deriving two families from Pharez, so as to give to Judah altogether four lines,<sup>4</sup> does what amounts substantially to the same thing. The other record however, though starting with a very different scheme of the main stems of Judah, which made Pharez, Hezron, Shelah,<sup>5</sup> Carmi, Hur, and Shobal, his immediate sons,<sup>6</sup> adds afterwards to these six principal lines six others more loosely arranged, the Sons of Kenaz, Sons of Caleb, Sons of Jehaleel, Sons of Ezra, Sons of Shimon, and Sons of Ishi;<sup>7</sup> so that the number twelve is exactly completed. The different distribution is sufficiently explained by the probability of this record having been drawn up at a different time, after a new

<sup>1</sup> Ram, in ii. 10–17 and iii., is placed first by the Chronicle only on David's account; Segub ii. 21–23; Ashur 24 (comp. iv. 5–7); Jerahmeel ii. 25–41; Caleb seems to be twice mentioned, ii. 18–20 and 42–55; but as there is not the slightest resemblance in the two descriptions, and as Chelubai has been announced just before, in ii. 9, the words in ii. 18–20 and 50–55, must be understood of Chelubai, and those in 42–49 of the Caleb known to us from other sources. The confusion between the two like-sounding names appears (as the LXX. also prove) to have been made very early. Chelubai in iv. 11 is again different.

<sup>2</sup> Five sons by one mother (ii. 25, 27); the sixth by another (26, 28–41).

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicle (ii. sq.) does not again mention Shelah, and Zerah only in ii. 6, 7; for it is clear from Josh. vii. 1, that Carmi must be a son of Zimri, or according to another reading of Zabdi; but the four names, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara (more correctly Darda), are apparently taken in this order from 1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31]; while before יְהֹוָה v. 7 several words must have dropped out. They are, however, often mentioned elsewhere: iv. 21–23, ix. 5, 6; Neh. xi. 5; Num. xxvi. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxvi. 20–22; Gen. xlvi. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The omission of Shelah is indeed repaired at the very end, iv. 21–23; but he might obviously have been mentioned before in iv. 1. Pharez must then stand perhaps for Hamul, mentioned in ii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Carmi must here stand for Zerah, as is clear from p. 366 note 4; Hur and Shobal appear in the other document (ii. 19, 20; 50, 52) as connected with Chelubai.

<sup>7</sup> On examining the entire document iv. 1–23, now much abbreviated, we find 1. that vv. 3, 4, as well as 8–12, belong to Hur, mentioned ver. 1, since פֶלַעַשׁ (read פֶלַעַשׂ) in ver. 11 refers back to ver. 4; therefore also יְהֹוָה is probably to be read in ver. 8 for יְהֹוָה; and certainly something has dropped out after פֶלַעַשׁ ver. 3. 2. That the words in iv. 5–7 (comp. ii. 24), belong properly to the genealogy of Hezron, ver. 1. There then remain only the six already mentioned, which cannot be traced back to any other than Judah himself, and being always introduced by יְהֹוָה, obviously represent so many independent families in Judah. In ver. 17, יְהֹוָה is to be read for יְהֹוָה. On other connected points, see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 98, 99.

assessment of the tribe. But we possess also from an entirely different quarter, the Book of Origins, another very exactly kept record; according to which Judah, considered as a district, and without reference to the families by whom it was held, was divided into ten parts or circles;<sup>1</sup> and Simeon, which had attached itself to Judah, and almost coalesced with it, comprised two similar circles;<sup>2</sup> thus we meet again the number *twelve*, in a new form. And even so late as under the Romans, Judea was divided into ten Toparchies, with two supplementary ones formed out of Galilee and Perea.<sup>3</sup>

The genealogical accounts of the other tribes in the Books of Chronicles are much shorter; and in the case of two, they are wholly wanting. Of Benjamin only, after the first short account in book 1, vii. 6-12, a longer one is given in ch. viii., which appears both from its language and its contents, to be derived from a different source, and is concerned more with the history of towns than with genealogy in the strict sense; but it shows sufficiently how differently, at different times and for different objects, the main and collateral branches of a tribe were arranged. A comparison of the accounts in Chronicles with those of the Book of Origins yields the following results. Of the tribes of Reuben,<sup>4</sup> Issachar,<sup>5</sup> Asher,<sup>6</sup> and Naphtali,<sup>7</sup> each has four main branches—the same fundamental division as we found virtually in Levi and Judah. The same radical number is given to Ephraim both by the Book of Origins and by Chronicles;<sup>8</sup> to Gad by

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xv. 21-62. It is evident that each of the cities which are enumerated in this document, constituted a distinct department. On the other hand, the Philistine cities named in vv. 45-47 are obviously foreign to the document, partly because they are here reckoned on an entirely different system, partly on historical grounds, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. xix. 1-9.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 13 (15); comp. Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 3. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xlvi. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5, 6; 1 Chron. v. 3. The ancients often pronounced *Rubél*, a pronunciation very wide-spread, particularly in the East. Thus the last syllable of the name has the same sound as in *Isræl*, which inversely is often pronounced *Ieraen* (J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 330); and in other words also the same change of a final *l* and *n* is found. *לְנָהָרִים*, however, in spite of the ingenious story in Gen. xxix. 32, is probably originally a diminutive; and in that class of words these two sounds

are always easily interchanged: *Lehrbuch*, § 167 a.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlvi. 13 (where בְּנֵי is to be read for בְּנִי); Num. xxvi. 23-25; 1 Chron. vii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlvi. 17; 1 Chron. vii. 30-37; after vv. 38, 39 come two more standing singly. Num. xxvi. 44-47 gives only a different distribution, as if Beriah took the place of two, as above in the case of Levi and Judah.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlvi. 27; Num. xxvi. 48, 49; 1 Chron. vii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Numbers xxvi. 35, 36. But here again the first of the three is divided into two, and thus equivalent to two, as in the case of Judah, Asher, and essentially of Levi too. The name Shuthelah is also met with as first-born of Ephraim, in 1 Chron. vii. 20-27, but three others with him; yet in such a way as to let us see that the *Tahan* there named, who appears in 1 Chron. vii. 25 as grandson of a certain Resheph, represents in fact a later generation.

Chronicles:<sup>1</sup> of Simeon also the same may be proved;<sup>2</sup> and the three assigned to Zebulun (who is wholly omitted in Chronicles),<sup>3</sup> if interpreted in the same way as in the case of Levi and Judah, may be regarded as a factor of the original number. To Benjamin<sup>4</sup> and Manasseh,<sup>5</sup> six is the number given; also to the first-born of Judah-Pharez (see p. 365 sq.), and to the first-born of Issachar.<sup>6</sup> Accordingly, the only instance of entire discrepancy is afforded by Dan (omitted by Chronicles), of whom the Book of Origins names only *one* main branch;<sup>7</sup> but it is self-evident that this peculiarity cannot be fundamental; and it may be inferred moreover from other indications, that this tribe early experienced greater vicissitudes than any other.

So great a uniformity can scarcely be attributed to chance. How deep-rooted and sacred was the popular feeling for the number twelve in all matters of public concern, appears not only from the twelve Types exhibited above, but also from the practice fully described in one passage,<sup>8</sup> adopted for the foundation of a new colony; the settlers being sent out under thirteen leaders, as if this constituted a whole nation on a small scale. The number thirteen is to be interpreted by the analogy of the twelve tribes, in which precedence was given to Joseph or Levi, and the single tribe of Joseph was divided into the two of Ephraim and Manasseh.

But does any one maintain that it all came thus only because

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. v. 11, 12; followed, v. 13, by seven others as their brethren; who, however, as sons of Abihail, are traced back to a separate ancestor, *Buz*; doubtless because they were added only at the time of the conquest of the land under Moses. The Book of Origins (Gen. xlvi. 16; Num. xxvi. 15-18) gives here quite different names, but uniformly seven; for the slight discrepancies between these two passages are easily explained. The name *Jod*, given in v. 12 to an actual son of Gad, is certainly curious.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shaul*, mentioned as fifth and last in Num. xxvi. 12-14 and 1 Chron. iv. 24, is in Gen. xlvi. 10 and Ex. vi. 15 expressly distinguished and placed lower as 'son of the Canaanitish woman'; in both the latter passages, moreover, six sons are mentioned, and יְהוּנָן instead of פְּנַיִם.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvi. 14; Num. xxvi. 26, 27.

<sup>4</sup> But 1 Chron. vii. 6-11, 12, distinguishes very clearly three principal from three subordinate branches; Num. xxvi. 38-41, likewise reckons six (the first-born being again split into two), under names which it is not difficult to recognise in

those of the Chronicles; five with some greater alterations of name appear also in 1 Chron. viii. 1, 2; on the remarkably large number ten given in Gen. xlvi. 21, see below, under the Egyptian period.

<sup>5</sup> By counting Machir and Gilead in Num. xxvi. 29-34, or rather without them in Josh. xvii. 1, 2, the accounts in 1 Chron. v. 23, 24, vii. 14-19 are very confused. Compare the scheme given in Gen. xlvi. 6, and what will hereafter be remarked concerning those documents. But even in the case of Manasseh, we can not only see that the full number was twelve, but discover very instructively how it was gained: to the six in Josh. xvii. 2, or rather (one being subtracted in ver. 3) to the five, must be added the five less important (regarded as female lineal), in ver. 3, and then the two in ver. 5 (where ten is then correct), Gilead and Bashan. See also Num. xxxvi. 11.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Chron. vii. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlvi. 23; Num. xxvi. 42, 43; see also on this point p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> Of the tribe of Simeon, 1 Chron. iv. 34-43.

Jacob happened by mere chance of birth to have twelve sons? A glance out beyond the immediate frontier of this single people Israel ought to convince him of his error. For wherever we learn anything respecting the internal ramifications of any kindred people, we find the same fundamental numbers and proportions occur. The Nahoreans in the north (p. 310) were divided into twelve accurately cited tribes, again subdivided into eight and four;<sup>1</sup> a circumstance particularly striking, as the extant tradition generally cares but little about this people. The Ishmaelites, in like manner, branched off into twelve tribes, under twelve heads, as the Book of Origins with evident interest repeatedly mentions;<sup>2</sup> but their subdivisions have not been preserved. The Ktureans were also divided into exactly six tribes<sup>3</sup> (see p. 314). The Idumeans, concerning whom the Book of Origins gives most circumstantial information (Gen. xxxvi., see p. 76), split indeed into three principal branches, Eliphaz, Reuel, and Aholibamah; but it is probable that six tribes belonged to the first, and six to the other two together; to which according to ver. 12, Amalek, originally a quite foreign nation (p. 251), must at some particular time have attached itself as a collateral tribe.<sup>4</sup> As a territory also, Idumea was divided into this same number of districts, both in the earliest<sup>5</sup> and in later times, notwithstanding alterations in the names of the districts, probably produced by changes of residence of the chiefs or subordinate governors, in consequence of internal revolutions.<sup>6</sup> Of the divisions of the Moabites and Ammonites we unfortunately know nothing. But neither the Canaanites

<sup>1</sup> Book of Origins, Gen. xxii. 20-24.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. 20, xxv. 13-16. The words in the middle of ver. 16 compared with ch. xxxvi. exhibit an omission.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Medan, one of these six, is certainly not an abbreviation of *Midian*; the latter may be rather a dialectic dimi-

nutive from the former (formed like حِمْيَر -

*Himyar*, pronounced with *ya* instead of the more usual *ai*, *Lehrbuch*, § 167a), especially as it is placed after it in Gen. xxv. 2. The single passage Gen. xxxvii. 36 as compared with ver. 28, cannot be appealed to in support of the abbreviation; for this could, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 164 b, affect only the derivative צְדִינָה *Midianite*; if even the reading is certain.

<sup>4</sup> The heads of tribes named in Gen. xxxvi. 15-19, are obviously intended to rule over the same districts or tribes which just before, in the genealogy in vv. 10-14,

appear as grandsons of Esau. They re-appear, however, somewhat altered, possibly from the Book of Origins having already made use of various authorities. But it is clear from ver. 12 compared with ver. 22, that Amalek must in some way be excepted from the fourteen divisions mentioned in vv. 15-19, and Korah obviously cannot be intended to represent a double district, as might appear from vv. 16, 18: perhaps as originally belonging to Eliphaz, he is in his right place in ver. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Thus are the names in vv. 15-19, to be understood, as is clear from the contrast in vv. 40-43; see above, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> There are in fact only eleven heads of tribes named vv. 40-43; but both here and in 1 Chron. i. 54, instead of the last-mentioned, the LXX. have Ζαφωις, derived from צְבֹא in vv. 11, 15; this therefore must certainly have stood here originally as the twelfth name.

(p. 232), nor the Aboriginal inhabitants (p. 226 sq.), show any trace of this arrangement in their national life.

Being thus led to recognise in this scheme an institution which was firmly established among the Hebrews in the wider sense of the term, even before the rise of Israel as a nation, maintained among every Hebrew people through many centuries unchanged, by the sanctity of ancient usage, and in this particular nation carried out even in the ramifications of each separate tribe, we are called upon to seek some sufficient cause for a phenomenon so striking and so uniform in its manifestations. Nowhere can this be sought with so much probability as in the plan of taking votes in the assembly, and of marshalling the army in camp and on the field. For both purposes a fixed order was required ; and as for the entire nation, so also for each single tribe in the management of its own affairs, such a system might be necessary. I shall revert later to the ancient constitution of the congregation ; for the present, the examples in Numb. i., ii., vii., suffice to show that the subdivision in question had really this purpose for war as well as for peace. But the special selection of the number twelve for this end, is certainly peculiarly Hebrew, for this region at least,<sup>1</sup> and must have some remote cause far back in the dim antiquity of these peoples.<sup>2</sup> A nation without the blessing of an organised community entitled to vote, requires no such fixed classification ; and in fact no trace of such is to be discovered among the Arabs of the Desert at the present day, either in present usage or in the traditions of their race ; though, as we have seen (p. 369), both Midianites and Ishmaelites certainly once possessed it. But where these institutions do exist, the separate tribes and families in the meetings of the congregation feel as children and grandchildren in their father's home, gathered around a father, whether visible or invisible ; for above the visible head in their midst, the Divine and Invisible would also be enthroned in memory. This alone could be the

<sup>1</sup> A similar arrangement is however found among the Etruscans, Livy i. 8. We may also justly adduce the twelve princes of the Phœaciens, the king forming the thirteenth, in *Odyssey* viii. 390 sqq., and the similar arrangement among the Thracians, *Iliad* x. 488-495. Even in later times, the Ionians and Æoliens divided themselves according to the sacred number of the months (Herod. i. 145, 146, 149); the Dorians used the number six (Lachmann, *Spartanische Staatsverfassung*, p. 84; comp. 259) ; and Attica was

originally divided into twelve communities. And even the ancient kingdom of Bornu in Africa was divided into twelve military contingents, each under its separate flag ; see Kölle, *African Native Literature*, p. 259 sq. See also G. Müller's *Americanische Urreligionen*, pp. 91-94.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for this lies undoubtedly in the ancient sanctity of the twelve months. See my *Alturthümur*, p. 386 sq. Ordinary public duties, such, for instance, as that of keeping watch, might naturally have a monthly rotation.

abiding import of the name of the ‘Twelve Children of Israel.’ It is, indeed, quite usual to speak of the chief, or the family, or the people, by whom a district, a city, or a nation, was governed, as its Father. Thus Esau is called the father of Edom (compare p. 345 note, and p. 365); and the fact that Machir is called the son, and Gilead the grandson, of Manasseh (p. 368)—Gilead undoubtedly signifying originally only the well-known mountain district of that name—can only have arisen from some special relation which Gilead and its inhabitants had formed with the tribe of Manasseh, as their lord and father. But where several tribes at once are called the sons of one father, we must infer the existence of a community constituted and organised according to some fixed number, probably venerable from old custom, and thus enrolled around their head.

**2.** In this sense, all the twelve sons of Jacob stand upon an equal footing; all having equal claims on the favour and protection of the community. The legend, however, made abiding and significant distinctions among them in saying that, first, four are born of Leah; then, after a pause, two from each of the handmaids; and finally two more from Leah, and two from Rachel. And thus, even among the six sons of Leah, the first four are distinctly separated from the others. Now distinctions which even the legend has preserved, we are the more called upon to follow up. And in fact it is manifest from other indications also, that tradition has preserved in these slight traits the memory of most important and long-enduring relations among the tribes, and therein a valuable fragment of early history.

For it is in the first place most significant that the tribes, while all claiming one father, ranged themselves notwithstanding under two mothers. Herein is conveyed the remembrance, confirmed, as we have seen (p. 345 sq.), by other indications, that this nation was composed of two different elements, both indeed of Hebrew blood, but first united under the chief Jacob-Israel, newly come to Canaan. Nothing can be more in harmony with the ancient popular feeling, which regards the community as a father’s house, than this reverent recognition of one father only, by a community united in one heroic career, while the different component parts, not yet wholly fused together, but retaining traces of former independence or incongruity, are fitly assigned to different mothers. So in the three Roman tribes, Ramnes, Tities, Luceres, was commemorated the origin of Rome from three different populations; so Romulus is

said to have named the thirty Curiæ from thirty Sabine matrons;<sup>1</sup> and so, to take the nearest example to our present subject, the Idumeans in their three tribes traced their descent from one Hittite, one Horite, and one Ishmaelite wife of Esau:<sup>2</sup> clearly proving that the Hittite, Horite, and Ishmaelite elements of their power were still distinctly to be traced at the time of the Book of Origins; as indeed this book expressly states of the Horites (p. 226). Many similar hints and glimpses are afforded by the genealogies of the Old Testament. These dry names of primeval history, if we can once awake them from their sleep, are far from remaining dead and stiff; but restored to life impart wondrous traditional lore respecting the original relations of peoples and tribes; as the strata and fossils of the earth, when rightly questioned, relate the history of long-vanished ages.

Now in the fact that Jacob's two wives, unlike the three or four of Esau, are described by the legend not merely as Hebrew women, but as sisters—and moreover so inseparable that their father could substitute the one for the other—lies, doubtless, the remembrance, that the two elements of which the nation was composed were very early fused together in intimate union, both being of true Hebrew blood to begin with, and then being bound to each other by one great common object. Yet some trace of this double origin runs through the whole subsequent history of the nation, varying with time and circumstance, yet never long lost sight of, and often breaking forth rudely in violent hostility or long-continued alienation. Although, after the times of Moses and of David, a number of new causes contributed to widen this breach and render it at last incurable, it evidently goes back to the obscure antecedents of the nation, and had, doubtless, its primal origin in the two different elements of which the entire people was constituted. Thus supposing,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 2 sq., where for נָהָר we ought to read נְהָרָה, as is clear from the Horite names, Anah, Zibeon, and Aholi-bamah in vv. 20, 24, 41, and still more so from ver. 25; these names are also interchanged by the LXX. in Josh. ix. 7 (p. 237). On the other hand, it follows uncontestedly from Gen. xxvi. 34, 35; xxvii. 46; xxviii. 9, that tradition originally named two Hittite wives of Esau; to whom was afterwards added an Ishmaelite, and finally a Horite wife. This also corresponds exactly with what has been already often said of the employment of the fundamental number  $4 \times 3 = 12$ ; and affords a distinct example, how a 4 in such a

case might gradually pass into 3. The name נְהָרָה xxvi. 34, which in xxviii. 9 must be substituted for the inappropriate מִתְלָאָה must however, according to xxxvi. 2, 4, 10, be surely regarded as arising from a confusion with נְהָרָה. The Book of Origins evidently does not contradict itself in alluding no farther in ch. xxxvi. to the second Hittite wife, possibly because she was supposed to be childless. On the other hand several instances have already occurred in reference to the sons of Jacob, in which the Book of Origins gives different numbers in the later census-lists, from those adopted in family records of a more historical character.

as we may with certainty assume, that the six tribes of Leah form the one portion, and the two or three of Rachel the other, we may certainly proceed to regard those of Rachel as the division which accompanied Jacob on his return to Canaan, thus standing nearest to the common chief and father; and those of Leah as the descendants of Abraham and Isaac already settled in Canaan. Not without meaning does the legend make all Leah's sons the elder, and Reuben the actual first-born, but Rachel and her children the especial favourites of the father. Similarly Jacob himself, coming from another land to Canaan and to the house of Isaac, is called the younger, and Esau the elder, son of Isaac. And the impossibility that these two different portions should exist side by side in the same national community, without the one exercising superior influence and taking the lead over the other, suggests the historical meaning of the old legend of Reuben's loss of his birthright. Tradition has many similar instances of the loss of this right; and it is clear that when nations, tribes, and families, rather than individuals, are really intended, the memory of a struggle between two powers, and the triumph of the one which was formerly the inferior, forms the historical basis. Indeed it is only thus that the importance attributed to such narratives can be explained; since even what in them appears sportive and jocose, as the birth of Pharez and his twin brother, sons of Tamar and Judah,<sup>1</sup> though prompted by popular humour, bore reference, notwithstanding, to matters of grave import. How among equals the higher position, and thus the rank of first-born, was achieved, is in one instance distinctly explained—in the genealogy of Aharhel, of the Judaic branch Ashur; Jabez,<sup>2</sup> as an old book related, became the *most honoured* among his *brethren*;<sup>3</sup> and thus his house came to be regarded among their kindred as that of the first-born. But while the circumstantial account of Jacob's repeated struggles with Esau for the birthright is given by no earlier narrator than the Fourth and Fifth, before whose mind doubtless floated older legends of the same nature, and especially that respecting Ephraim and Manasseh (p. 352 sq.), the tradition of Reuben is certainly one of the oldest, and derived immediately from the Earliest Narrator.<sup>4</sup> That Reuben was once the principal tribe, and took the lead

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 28 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Who has one of the cities of Judah called by his name, 1 Chron. ii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 8-10. The passage must from its phraseology be very ancient.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxv. 22; xl ix. 3, 4; where

נְבָרֵךְ must be taken as synonymous with

נְבָרֵךְ; i.e. נְבָרֵךְ, *degree, rank, dignity,* (Ezek. xl. 26), 'my couch of *highness, dignity*', according to my *Lchrbuch*, § 287 c.

of the rest, may be regarded as historic truth; since the family tradition uniformly assigns to him the highest place, and thus preserves the memory of the esteem in which he was originally held. That he insolently abused his superiority, and thus forfeited his honourable position, may be signified in the legend, given by the First Narrator, of his abusing his father's concubine,<sup>1</sup> and thus bringing on himself his father's curse. But it is also plain that he must have lost his position in very early times, since only such remote and obscure reminiscences of the fact have been preserved. His place is taken, not by Judah (as the post-Mosaic history would lead us to expect), but by Joseph, as we are assured by express statements,<sup>2</sup> and by the result of all enquiry into the history of the earliest times. But in the person of Joseph the other and younger portion of the community gained the ascendancy; and we have here unquestionably a fragment of primeval history respecting the internal divisions and contests of the two portions out of which the community grew.

Nor, secondly, can it be without significance, that of the twelve sons of Jacob, some are derived from concubines, but supposed to be adopted as children by the two real mothers of the family; that of these, two belong to Leah and two to Rachel; just as among the twelve tribes of Nahor precisely four are attributed to a concubine.<sup>3</sup> The same thing occurs elsewhere in these ancient family and national histories. It very frequently happens that one or more sons of an ancient chief are not treated as children of the family-mother; but we generally find in such cases that the sons attributed to concubines stand outside of the round number assumed,<sup>4</sup> and form a very small minority.<sup>5</sup> As we have here essentially the relations and distinctions actually subsisting between the several sections of the community, there can be no doubt that in these less distinguished sons we must recognise the representatives of supplementary tribes, or, as the Romans called them, *Gentes Minores*, which were received into the national bond, but with certain limitations of privilege, either on points of mere hono-

<sup>1</sup> This picture is obviously borrowed from such historical incidents as that in 2 Sam. xvi. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> The statement in 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, is strictly historical; the expression 'the crowned among his brethren' is indeed employed by poets (Gen. xlxi. 26, Deut. xxxiii. 16), but obviously not without historical significance, of those old times.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> As Amalek in the case of Edom,

Gen. xxxvi. 12; comp. 22, 16, 40, and above p. 252. For Shaul as son of Simeon, see p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> As in the case of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 20-24, and Israel. In that of Caleb, 1 Chron. ii. 42-49, the present text is obscure, as we do not see with what vv. 47 and 49 are connected; in that of Manasseh, 1 Chron. vii. 14, much has obviously been dropped out before בְּנֵי אַמָּלֵךְ.

rary precedence, or in weightier matters. Such a position, however, could hardly have arisen except either by the reception into the national league of fresh nations or families, in some instances subjugated, but allowed to retain certain rights, and in other cases voluntarily appealing for protection and adoption; or else by the declension of older members from their original rank. As that portion of the Amalekites which was reckoned as connected through a Horite mother Timna, a concubine of Esau, with the kingdom of Edom,<sup>1</sup> formerly possessed fewer privileges than the other twelve tribes; so in Israel the four tribes which could derive themselves from the two true mothers of the nation only through Jacob's two concubines, enjoyed from the first less power and consideration than the eight others, though they had a share in the essential rights and benefits possessed by the community. It will be explained further on how this original relation was maintained even at the conquest and partition of Canaan under Joshua; and we possess herein a surprising proof of the correctness of the legend. But even in the legend these sons of Jacob are regarded as the rudest and most cruel; as is sufficiently shown by the account of Joseph's connection with the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah, who had charge of him in his childhood, and ill requited his innocent confidence.<sup>2</sup> And that Ishmael and the sons of Keturah are likewise accounted only the offspring of Abraham's concubines, is but a farther application of this ancient mode of viewing national relations.

That the meaning is similar when tradition derives only some parts of a nation from one or more daughters of the common ancestor, will be more particularly shown below.

Thirdly, after the above remarks, it is needless to explain further, how it is anything but accidental that the legend respecting Jacob's sons divides them throughout into groups of four—expressly stating that Leah, after bearing four, long remained barren; that then were born the four sons of the concubines, the two belonging to Rachel coming first; and, finally, after a long interval, the four others; two of Leah, and last of all, two of Rachel. Now, putting together all that has been so far worked out, we discover beneath this legendary veil the plainest memorials of the original relations between the great national members of the Israelite community. The

<sup>1</sup> This portion of Amalek, then, had turned first to the Horites (to whom indeed the Amalekites were related; see p. 225 sqq.), and been by them received into the national federation; the Horites being then still independent in Edom (see p. 226).

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2.

children of Leah originally preponderated in strength and in numbers, being as eight to four, or at least, as six to two and to four. First Reuben, or afterwards, Joseph—though even when the latter had obtained the precedence, Reuben and his three tribes voted first, and in other respects asserted their dignity; then either the two other tribes of Leah and the two of Zilpah, or the four inferior tribes together; lastly, the four remaining tribes, but so that Joseph and Benjamin gave the casting vote. This was probably the earliest order of voting in the general assembly; and all other national arrangements would be formed on the same model. Later events may have altered many of the details, as will be further shown below; but so firmly must this ancient constitution have endured for centuries, so deeply must it have impressed itself on the whole life and feeling of the people, that even under circumstances the most altered, twelve, as the sacred number of the nation, was somehow maintained, and where it had been lost restored if possible (as, for instance, by the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh, after the withdrawal of Levi as the priestly tribe), and in theory and hope at least never abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

3. Certainly, in the period after Solomon, such distinctions between the twelve tribes, resting on early tradition, had long lost any actual meaning; since, though the original number was still held sacred in thought and hope, the reality had in many respects greatly changed. All the more easily was this old tradition seized upon by the new prophetic spirit, whose power pervaded the centuries immediately after Solomon; and it is marvellous to see how a genealogical legend, apparently so remote from the sphere of morality, received in the hands of the Third and Fourth Narrators<sup>2</sup> a sense in complete harmony with the spirit of a higher religion. The connecting thread is not, however, difficult to trace. The two tribes of Rachel, and especially Joseph-Ephraim, though originally last in order, were yet regarded as the most highly privileged, and therefore the best beloved sons of the common father, and their ancestress Rachel as his dearest wife. Yet, on the other hand, there seemed no moral ground for the preference thus given to the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Commentar zur Apocayypse*, 1828, p. 164 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The plan and substance of the entire narrative of Gen. xxix. 16–xxx. 24 come from the Third Narrator; the Fourth obviously added the second explanation of the names Zebulon and Joseph in xxx. 20, 24. These do not harmonise with the

original conception of the subject as well as those put first, and appear exactly as if intended to point the significance of the names with more precision than had been done by the Third Narrator. On the other hand the name *Jahve* in xxix. 31–35 may have been merely substituted by the Fourth Narrator for an original *Elohim*.

tribe of Ephraim, since the branch Joseph-Ephraim had assuredly not always maintained the lofty purity attributed by the legend to its ancestor Joseph. Rachel, too, was esteemed superior to her sister in beauty and fascination, but not in real virtue. Under these circumstances the whole life of the two mothers, and their relation to the common ancestor, might be regarded as a competition between external advantages and pretensions and undeserved neglect—a competition whose issue, under Divine guidance, can never be doubtful, if under so severe a trial patience and virtue fail not; and thus is suggested a principle of the higher religion, to which every element of the ancient legend most beautifully adapts itself. Jacob loves and wishes to have the more beautiful sister only; yet the elder, whom it is unfair to set aside at once for her inferior charms, not only becomes his wife, equal in rights and position to Rachel, but is blessed before Rachel with four sons, thus gaining honour among the people, and even securing the love of her unwilling husband. But Rachel, now becoming impatient, gets from Jacob, at least through her handmaid Bilhah, two sons for herself. Yet even here Leah is not behindhand, and by similar means also gets two sons for herself. At length Rachel, reduced to extremity, tries to obtain the certainty of offspring by bargaining with her sister for the mandrakes found by Reuben, like a little Cupid. But on the contrary, as if in punishment of Rachel's deed, Leah receives two more sons and a daughter; till at length Rachel, wholly abased and humbled, is visited by a gleam of Divine favour, and she bears the son who, both in loftiness of character and in influence with his father, is soon to surpass all the others and become their prince; and with whose birth, according to ancient tradition, the circle of twelve seemed to be completed. But after the birth of this peerless son, she is not long spared to enjoy her happiness, and at Benjamin's birth she loses her life, when just entering Canaan.<sup>1</sup> The interpretations given of the personal names of the sons spring from no more ancient conception of the family history than this. That personal names were originally significant, was indeed the true feeling of antiquity (p. 19), and the twelve heads of tribes were of sufficient historic importance to make it necessary to give an explanation of the full import of their names with those of other heroes. But, on the other hand, the names of these Patriarchs belonged to a period too

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps only for brevity's sake born in Mesopotamia, as vv. 16-22 appear that in the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxv. from all indications to belong to the First 23-26, Benjamin is reckoned among those Narrator.

remote for their original meaning to have been retained with certainty in the tenth or ninth century before Christ. So in this as in similar cases, the great freedom with which the living language interpreted its ancient words was called into play to find in them a meaning corresponding to new ideas.

Another example of the mode in which such old family legends were applied is afforded by the Book of Origins, in the case of Jacob's only daughter, Dinah,<sup>1</sup> who stands singly beside his twelve sons. That we are not to understand this literally of an individual daughter, follows from the view we have arrived at respecting the brothers, as well as from the meaning in all similar cases. For though in early genealogies we occasionally find a daughter expressly mentioned, such instances are so rare and isolated,<sup>2</sup> that it is impossible to believe them intended for daughters in the mere literal sense; and as all domestic relations, in this connection, represent in fact the movements of nations and tribes, the same rule must apply here also; for if the chief of a tribe or family had in any case a daughter thus exceptionally mentioned, some important family history must formerly have entwined itself around her name; as will be shown with regard to Caleb's daughter Achsa, of whom we have so bald a mention in 1 Chron. ii. 49. Now if the son of a concubine is meant to denote the father and representative of some less privileged tribe or family, which has come in from the outside and attached itself to the main stem, so on the other hand a daughter standing alone would betoken the passing over of a portion of the nation, tribe, or family, with their possessions, to another nation, tribe, or family as the case may be. So Caleb's daughter Achsa brings to Othniel great possessions; so Aholibamah and Timna denote the absorption of the Horites into the Idumeans; and so the marriage of Hezron, Judah's grandson, to a daughter of Machir of Gilead,<sup>3</sup> plainly indicates a fusion of these two races, to form the so-called townships of Jair,<sup>4</sup> in the farthest east. So also, the proposed marriage of Jacob's daughter Dinah with Shechem, son of Hamor, must indicate the commencement of an alliance of a part, or (which

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxiii. 18–xxxiv; comp. with xlvi. 15, xxx. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The only other examples prior to post-Mosaic times are, Serah the daughter of Asher (Gen. xlvi. 17, mentioned again among matters merely special to the tribe, in Num. xxvi. 46, 1 Chron. vii. 30); Aholibamah daughter of Anah and Timna among the Horites (Gen. xxxvi. 25, 22); Sherah daughter of Ephraim (1 Chron.

vii. 24); Heman's three daughters, mentioned with his fourteen sons (1 Chron. xxv. 5); Sheeshan's daughters without brothers (ii. 34); other cases in 1 Chron. iv. 3, vii. 32, and in the like manner, Zelophehad's five daughters, under Manasseh; concerning whom see above p. 368, and my *Alterthümer*, p. 204 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 21–23.

<sup>4</sup> Havoth-Jair, תְּבוֹת־יָאֵר Num. xxxii. 41.

is the same thing) a tribe, of the community of Jacob with Canaanites settled in the ancient city of Shechem, under a Canaanite dynasty bearing the name of Hamor.<sup>1</sup> The Earliest Narrator had already touched on this,<sup>2</sup> and blamed the cruelty with which the tribes of Simeon and Levi had punished by fire and sword the attempt of the Canaanites to ravish and subjugate a portion of Jacob; and the very fact that Levi here appears in a very different character from that which he bore after Moses' time, shows this to be a relic of very ancient legend. But the Book of Origins, after its manner, seizes the opportunity to inculcate right conduct, and to show by this example in eloquent language and the clear words of law, how Israel ought to act when brought into close contact with strangers, and how intermarriage and friendly intercourse may be possible between Israel and the heathen; but represents the old father as observing an ominous silence respecting the cruelty with which Dinah's two brothers in this unusual case avenged her wrongs upon the offender and his city.

Differently, again, does the Fourth Narrator treat the undoubtedly very old family tradition<sup>3</sup> of Judah's sons. This legend essentially asserted two things. First, that two of Judah's three eldest sons, Er and Onan, were lost sight of in history, even before Israel came to Egypt.<sup>4</sup> But this we have every reason to understand of some early catastrophe, which swept away the two first families of the tribe of Judah so entirely, that, though appearing in the genealogies in their due place, they are described only as having died early.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, every son's name which stands quite isolated and barren in these ancient genealogies may similarly be held to denote a family which has become extinct. But the downfall of an older branch generally causes the rise of a younger; and tribes and their branches always tend towards the restitution of their original numbers. And therefore, secondly, this tradition conveys the fact that, in place of these two early-lost sons of Judah, two younger branches, Zarah and Pharez, arose, of whom Pharez eventually

<sup>1</sup> From the fact that the name of the very city (Shechem) where this event occurred, was borne by one of his sons, (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 18) it can only be inferred that this dominant family at one time ruled over more cities than this one.

<sup>2</sup> This follows from Gen. xl ix. 5-7; the beginning also of the narrative of xxxiii. 18-20, appears to be derived from the earliest book, if only on account of the

reckoning by **מִנְבָּד** *Kesita*, 'pieces of money' not found elsewhere except in Josh. xxiv. 32 and Job xlvi. 11; for the Book of Origins reckons money by shekels, Gen. xxix. 15-16; Ex. xxx. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> As stated in the Book of Origins, Gen. xlvi. 12, Num. xxvi. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Among the families of Judah, however, a certain Er is mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 21, as subordinate to Shelah.

obtained the precedence (p. 373). Now there are two ways in which the fathers and representatives of younger branches thus taking the place of elder may consistently be treated in traditional history. First, they may be described simply as later-born sons of the same father. Of this kind is a very ancient account of the sons of Ephraim,<sup>1</sup> apparently referring to early struggles between the Israelites and the Aboriginal inhabitants in the pre-Egyptian period,<sup>2</sup> and affording therefore the best possible illustration of the present case. Ephraim (so it is said in the *Chronicles* on unquestionably ancient authority) lost two of his sons, Ezer and Elad, who, in some quarrel with the native inhabitants, went to Gath<sup>3</sup> to carry off cattle, but were themselves slain. Whereupon their old father mourned many days, visited and consoled by his brethren, like Job in his affliction, until his wife bore him another son, Beriah, as well as a daughter; the son being the same from whom the great hero Joshua descended in the tenth generation.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, such branches may be represented under the form of grandsons adopted as children. Of this we have an instance in Joseph's two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim: they were received into the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. vii. 20–23.

<sup>2</sup> This might appear doubtful, from the circumstance, that 1 Chron. viii. 13 actually tells of one Beriah, who there appears as substitute and also as avenger of those fallen in the war with Gath, how he with his brother Shema expelled the inhabitants from Gath. He is indeed said to belong to the tribe of Benjamin; but from the affinity between the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin, this difference is unimportant. But he is regarded as the head of a family of Ajalon, a city close on the post-Mosaic possessions of Benjamin; hence it might perhaps seem probable that the contests in question belonged to the very commencement of the post-Mosaic period. But in fact these are not sufficient grounds for doubting the pre-Egyptian existence of this story; and thus we have here a very remarkable tradition of extremely ancient occurrences. See my remarks in *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. pp. 99–100. Respecting the warlike deeds of some of Jacob's sons and of Jacob himself, against the Canaanites and against Esau, as also respecting the fortunes of Esau himself, we have further stories and intimations in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' noticed on p. 200, especially *Test. Jud.* ch. iii.–vii. ix. *Benj.* x. end. From what sources these accounts of the kings and localities of the Patriarchal world were

derived, may be inferred from the Book of Jubilees xxxiv. xxxvii. (comp. xxx.), and similar books. Such works indeed continued in constant use down to a much later period (see Zunz' *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 145; Jellinek's *Bet ha Midrasch*, iii. pp. 1–6). The earliest work not in the Canon, which our author seems from the *Test. Naft.* v. to have made use of, was one probably written under the Seleucidae, which contained information on the acts of Jacob and his sons; but whether the author of that book had access to any very ancient works, we have no means of knowing. But it is impossible to work out very clear historic notions from any such late materials; and the great freedom with which earlier accounts have been here handled, is seen from the *Test. Jud.* viii. compared with Gen. xxxviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Avim before the Philistine conquest must therefore be here intended, as is clear from p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> I regard this as the correct meaning of the words 1 Chron. vii. 20–27; the arrangement of the words, taken strictly, can yield no other sense; for the י before קְרָנֵב v. 21 must designate the apodosis, according to my *Lehrb.* § 343 c. Shuthelah's genealogy is then carried down in seven, and Resheph's in ten generations, as far as Joshua, which is quite self-consistent.

rank and privileges of whole tribes, and are said by the Third Narrator to have been blessed and adopted as children by the dying Jacob. Midway between these two alternatives stands the case of Zarah and Pharez. They are called children of Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law, yet at the same time his own sons. This is brought about through a single yet complicated crime, in which nearly every member of the family had a share. After the eldest son's death without issue, the widow's claim to marriage was refused, first by the infamous second son and then by the father. She at last avenges her wrong on the father himself, and Judah unexpectedly finds himself the father of two sons, who may be also denominated his grandsons, and for the shame of whose birth he dared not execute fitting justice on the widow. Once assume (as was so long assumed in Israel) the high morality and binding, because divinely-imposed, obligation of the levirate marriage,<sup>1</sup> and we cannot refuse to see the point and bearing of this half-comic dress, which covers the account of very ancient relations of family and tribe. And even before the Fourth Narrator had fully worked out the legend, it is very likely that popular wit in the ninth century may have taken its revenge upon the reigning house of David, descended from that very Pharez, for many harsh or unwarrantable acts, by this satirical version of that house's origin, to which the Book of Ruth, probably with at least equal truth, affords the opposite.

## V. THE BEGINNING OF THE NATION.

After such historical traces, few but unmistakable, it is impossible to deny that the beginning of Israel as a nation dates from pre-Egyptian times.

The great chief whom the nation has always revered as its father may probably have settled in Canaan with the germ of the people, and consequently of the twelve tribes. His community, whether large or small, must have been divided into twelve branches. But in Canaan many other populations (out of whom indeed the Twelve Tribes which obtained a name in history originally proceeded) must have early attached themselves to this nucleus; consisting partly of Hebrew elements, already long existing in Canaan (whence Jacob was made the grandson of Abraham), and partly of foreign admixtures. The existence of the latter cannot possibly be denied; and how little the boast

<sup>1</sup> Or marriage with a brother-in-law, on which see my *Altorthümer*, p. 239 sq.

of the pure blood of Abraham and Jacob is worth is shown by the whole history of the nation, from this its first beginning down through all succeeding time. We must allow, indeed, that the Book of Origins must have some historical foundation when it lays such stress on the greater purity of Israel's Hebrew blood<sup>1</sup> in the account of his and Esau's wives ; as also the later historians who assert the same. Unquestionably the Israelites did hold themselves more closely together, and could more easily do so, being the nation latest settled in the land. But that this boast is to be allowed only in comparison with other Hebrew races who allied themselves more freely with alien blood, is evident from a multitude of unequivocal signs ; and indeed is not denied by the historians themselves, who unhesitatingly admit even the very first sons of Jacob to have taken Canaanitish wives.<sup>2</sup> Even the examination of the names of tribes, fathers of tribes, and sons of tribes (the latter representing the component families) leads to the same results. To deny the existence of such great men, such fathers and benefactors of the people as Jacob and Joseph, would be pure folly ; but with regard to many other names, the traces we can find only enable us to see that before the time of Jacob they were fully formed tribes and populations, which in smaller or larger proportions were absorbed into Jacob's community, and are here accordingly commemorated as sons or grandsons of that Patriarch. The six families of Manasseh are derived from him only through Machir, his son, and Gilead, his grandson. Here the name of the mountain-land of Gilead was evidently introduced only because after the time of Moses its ruling house became subject to the tribe of Manasseh. In another case, the name of Ephrath for Bethlehem is on the one hand very old, and unquestionably pre-Mosaic, yet on the other plainly connected with the name of the tribe Ephraim ;<sup>3</sup> although after the conquest of the land under Joshua the dominion of this tribe never extended so far

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9, xxxvi. Gen. xxiv. by the Third Narrator : but from xxii. 20–24, we conclude that the Book of Origins had already mentioned Isaac's wife in a similar sense.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 2, xlvi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ephrathite is the form used for one of the tribe Ephraim, 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Kings xi. 26, as if the original word were Ephrath, and Ephraim a plural irregularly formed from it ; see also 1 Chron. ii. 24. The story of father Ephraim mentioned p. 380, if proved to be pre-Mosaic, would much strengthen the evidence that

Ephraim, in any strict sense of the words, cannot have been born in Egypt. A region *Ephrata*, famed for its fruitfulness, is curiously found in the south-east of Abyssinia, and not far from it an *Argobba* also (compare *גִּזְגִּז* in Bashan, Deut. iii. 4, 1 Kings iv. 13), see Harris' *Highlands of Ethiopia*, ii. p. 347 sq., Isenberg und Krapf's *Journal* (London, 1843), p. 289 ; Ludolf also names it, but very briefly. From the wide extent of the regions over which these and many other Semitic names are dispersed, we see how very old these local names must be.

to the south. Hence there is every reason to consider Ephrath an old branch of the Canaanites which, in combination with a more purely Hebrew family, known as Machir or Manasseh, formed the tribe of Joseph. This also explains why Ephraim was originally reckoned second to Manasseh, and not allowed to rank as the first-born of Joseph.<sup>1</sup> And if Esau, as we learn from reliable authority,<sup>2</sup> had really a Hittite wife named Judith, the name Judah would also be old-Canaanite. If, again, Reuben and Simeon had each a son Carmi,<sup>3</sup> Reuben and Judah a Hezron,<sup>4</sup> Simeon and Judah a son Zerah,<sup>5</sup> Ephraim and Benjamin a Becher,<sup>6</sup> Levi and Esau a Korah,<sup>7</sup> Reuben and Midian a Hanoch,<sup>8</sup> p. 315 sq.; this can scarcely be attributed to chance, but may represent the breaking up of other nationalities, of which part was absorbed into one tribe, part into another. Of the similar, but to us more intelligible, case of the Sons of Kenaz, in connection with Judah and Esau, we have already spoken, p. 251.

Further testimony on the question, how deep the fusion of Canaanite and Hebrew races went,<sup>9</sup> and how long before the Egyptian period Israel must have dwelt in Canaan, is afforded by the language of the country; on which, however, many errors are now current. It has in our days been commonly assumed, that the Hebrew was quite like the Phœnician or Punic; the principal authority for this opinion being the well-known expressions in St. Augustin's writings. But this African bishop was not himself versed in languages, and was only aware of a general similarity between the two, without any definite knowledge. If these two languages were perfectly alike, it is not easy to understand how the Israelite tradition, examined above, could speak of so wide a separation between the nations; and the historical credit of the Biblical narratives would suffer extremely in consequence. But the assumption that the language of the Canaanites, although Semitic, was originally identical with that of the Hebrews, or exhibited only the very slightest differences from it, is not confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlviij.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34; compare *Jehud* in the tribe Dan, Josh. xix. 45, and *Reuben* in the tribe Judah, xv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 7, iv. 1, v. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. v. 3, and above, p. 365 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Numb. xxvi. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 24, ii. 6, ix. 6; see above, p. 365 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlvi. 21; 1 Chron. vii. 6; Numb. xxvi. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 365 note, and Gen. xxxvi. 5, xiv. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xxv. 4, xlvi. 9, Numb. xxvi. 5; but this name is certainly derived from the divine personage mentioned at p. 265 sq., and this furnishes a proof of the existence of his worship at this early age.

<sup>9</sup> For special reasons Ezekiel xvi. 3, 45, lays great stress upon this, speaking however more as prophet than as historian. Similarly Moab and Ammon are contemptuously reckoned with the Canaanites in Judith v. 3; compare however v. 6.

remains of the Phœnician language, so far as is at present known with any certainty.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary the Old Testament itself shows, by the many different names which it often gives of the same country or the same city,<sup>2</sup> that in this land the variety of languages (though all Semitic) was as great as that of the peoples. These manifold languages, however, as far as we have means to inspect them, had assuredly a certain marked resemblance among themselves; which can be explained only by supposing that the original inhabitants, never utterly suppressed, here founded a true national language, to which all incomers, Canaanite as well as Hebrew and Philistine, inevitably conformed; and which naturally coincides most with that of the Canaanites, who mingled first and most freely with the natives. Now the Israelites, who, as we have seen, entered the country in smaller bodies, must even before the Egyptian period have so completely adopted this language, that even in Egypt they took very little from the Egyptian; and after the conquest under Joshua, they seem to have yielded more and more to the influence of its native elements,<sup>4</sup> and were able to converse easily with the Phœnicians; whereas the speech beyond Gilead and Euphrates, being Aramean, was considered a foreign tongue.<sup>5</sup> This last circumstance is not surprising, if the conjecture respecting Damascus, p. 311 sq., be correct, that during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, the Aramean tribes had pushed farther southward, cutting the Israelites off entirely from their former kindred in the north. It is a great mistake in our day to assume an Aramean origin for the Hebrews, or any special resemblance between the languages of the Arameans and the Hebrews.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a most important result of our latest investigations, see my *Abhandlung über das Phœnikische* in the *Zeitschrift für des Morgenland*, iv. s. 400–418, continued vi. p. 288 sq., vii. p. 79 sq.; also my *Abhandlung über die Inschrift von Marseille*, which appeared in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i. and more correctly printed in the *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesell. der Wiss.* iv.; and especially my *Erkläzung der grossen Phœnikischen Inschrift von Sidon* (Gött. 1856), as well as many later articles.

<sup>2</sup> *Seir, Edom, Esau*, see p. 344; *Jerusalem* and *Jebus*, see below; *Luz* and *Bethel*, the first the Canaanite, the second the Hebrew name, see p. 304. *Kirjath-Arba* and *Hebron*, p. 230. *Ephrath* and *Bethlehem*; compare the very distinct testimony from the Mosaic age in Numb. xxxii. 38. On one occasion, Deut. iii. 9,

the difference is referred to three distinct nationalities, *Hermon* of the Hebrews being called *Shenir* by the Amorites, and *Sirion* by the Sidonians.

<sup>3</sup> Hence *Isaiah* xix. 18 could, not improperly, understand Hebrew to be included in the term *language of Canaan*.

<sup>4</sup> This is one of the chief results established in the above-named treatises on the Phœnician.

<sup>5</sup> The two Aramaic words used as a translation of *Gilead*, according to a peculiar interpretation of the latter in Gen. xxxi. 47, may be ancient, as well as the entire verse; they afford, as is well known, the earliest testimony on the nature of Aramaic as a distinct language.

<sup>6</sup> Two special causes have contributed to this error. On the one hand, Jacob himself and his Mesopotamian connections are even in early writings often classed

In religion and manners, on the other hand, the Israelites certainly maintained far more individuality, as the whole following history shows. And the hero who could give such unity to a nation composed of these differing elements, that to bear his double name was ever accounted its highest honour, must in actual life have been so great, that in history proper he would have shone as brightly as in legend, if of him as of Abraham some great record had been preserved from far distant days. As it is, we can only pronounce with certainty that his individual deeds must have been worthy of a great historical personage, but are forced to relinquish the attempt to gain any close and connected idea of the details of his career; content to have brought together the scattered traces that remain to testify to the actual beginnings of this national history.

with the Arameans: but in what sense this is meant in the ancient narratives, and even by the Deuteronomist, has been already sufficiently explained, p. 342 sq. Abraham himself was never called an Aramean, and the Hebrews always knew themselves to be very different from the Arameans. On the other hand, it became the fashion with Hellenistic writers in the latest period of this history to call Abraham, and even Moses (*Philo's Life of Moses*, i. 2. 7), Chaldeans, and the Hebrew language Chaldee (*Philo especially does*

*so, ii. p. 138–140, 412 sq.; Aucher, ii. p. 208*). But this confusion sprang solely from the causes already stated, p. 335 sq. Rarely, however, did a writer go so far as to call the Israelites, by way of praise, 'descendants of the Chaldeans,' as in *Judith v. 6–9*, and *Josephus Against Apion*, i. 13; but as the latter in ch. vi. follows the custom of his age in using the name Chaldean as equivalent to *philosopher*, it is obvious why he and other writers like him were glad to find a Chaldean origin for the Patriarchs.

## SECTION II.

## THE MIGRATION OF ISRAEL TO EGYPT.

## A. GENERAL NOTIONS.

THE pre-Egyptian period of the history of Israel had, as we have seen, a certain grandeur of its own, to which the nation, even when transformed by the spirit of a higher religion, could look back with joy and pride; and some of the threads of the purer religion and upright lofty tone of mind, which after Moses was inseparable from the national life as regulated by law, may be traced back to the glorious heroes of that primitive age. A mystic bond of uniformity of feeling and consistency of aim often runs for centuries through the fortunes of a nation which preserves the best elements of its life from ruin. The modern Germans may see in their national hero Arminius and his Romanising brother Flavius only too true a prototype of their own good and bad elements. In the same way, many a characteristic of the people of Israel, which developed its full power only after the time of Moses, may have had its root in that early age.

But it is (as was remarked on p. 287) in the Egyptian period that we first perceive a distinct preparation for this nation's especial mission. Egypt, both through her wealth and treasures, and through her incomparably early and high culture, was in the earliest times for the less civilised nations surrounding her, very much what in later times Athens and Rome were for the northern tribes: a magnet, attracting or repelling, but from which all departed other than they came; a high school for all migrating races, whether conquering or conquered. Much indeed both of art and of practical experience she had to impart; mingled however, even thus early, with too much that was degraded and repulsive; and a simple primitive people, when submitted to her strong and manifold influences, necessarily received an impress varying in strength with its native force of character. Even after Egypt had for centuries lost both strength and independence, and become the prey of invader after invader, it still retained for the adjacent lands of Asia something of the magic charm,

which 'the Thousand and One Nights' so vividly describe. How mighty then, must the influence of Egypt have been, in her first flush of prosperity and culture, to us well-nigh inexplicable, but attested by those wondrous monuments, the accurate investigation of which has been reserved for our own days, and for the hands of such scholars as Rosellini, Wilkinson and Lepsius.

But certain as it is that the intimate connection of Israel with this earliest-civilised among the nations alone enabled him to take the first step which introduced him into the great world-history, it is equally evident on the other hand that the first step in this change, the migration of Israel into Egypt, formed only a transition-period between the preliminary and the proper history of the nation. For as the narrative now stands in the Old Testament, the history of this period is concerned with the twelve tribes simply as individuals, sons of Jacob. And whilst in the early traditions (see p. 288) even Joseph, incomparably the most illustrious of those sons, is never placed on an equality with the three great Patriarchs, but put as it were one step below that Heroic age, yet his history almost coincides with the closing portion of Jacob's; and in death the two appear all but equal. But important as are in themselves these opening scenes of the Egyptian period, it is not there that we shall find the germ of that great history which was to make Israel immortal. This transition-epoch must therefore be regarded in close connection with the prehistoric period, and kept distinct from the subsequent history of the nation.

A close examination of this beginning of Israel's life in Egypt is indeed beset with serious difficulties: the age is still so remote, the sources of information are so scanty. It is true that the Biblical narratives, which appear copious rather from their volume than from the amount of strictly historical information which they contain, receive here for the first time something like completion by contributions from without. While Herodotus and Diodorus, in their accounts of Egypt, are almost silent on this remote section of history, it is fortunate that of a work compiled from good native sources—that of Manetho on the thirty-one Egyptian dynasties, from the first mortal sovereign Menes down to Alexander and the Ptolemies—some extracts, unfortunately scanty and corrupted, have been preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, and others in Georgius Syncellus,<sup>1</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> In several passages in the *Chronography*, Bonn edition; especially pp. 99–146. Even such obscure notices as those in Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, may probably be ultimately derived from Manetho. Farther references will be given later, in treating of the Exodus.

quotes from the History of Julius Africanus. Still more fortunate is it that Flavius Josephus, who in this part of his *Antiquities* adhered closely to Biblical and Jewish authorities,<sup>1</sup> was induced by the violent opposition of certain contemporary writers to quote at full length, in his work against Apion, two long passages of Manetho, whose work is unfortunately lost.<sup>2</sup> But in his application of these passages of Manetho to the history of Israel, Josephus himself falls into serious errors; and it is difficult to say how much mischief was done by premature attempts on the part of Jewish and Christian scholars of that day to reconcile the Biblical and the Egyptian accounts. To this cause may be principally attributed the confused state of the few remaining extracts from Manetho. Nor have even the labours of modern scholars in deciphering Egyptian inscriptions been rewarded as yet by much reliable information with respect to this particular portion of early history. Moreover, some who undertook most confidently to interpret the inscriptions, and whose services in deciphering have in some instances been most meritorious, have been hitherto the least disposed to an impartial consideration and comparison of the Biblical records. Besides which it must be borne in mind that the number of monuments requiring examination is constantly receiving accessions, and the deciphering of those already found is still far from complete. At this very time, indeed, fresh discoveries are again looked for.<sup>3</sup> Under these circumstances, the following is pretty nearly all that can be affirmed with certainty.

I. That the whole Hebrew movement from the north could terminate only in rich and beautiful Egypt may be inferred, as we have seen (p. 309 sqq.), from the general mutual relations of the nations of those times. But we possess besides sufficient

<sup>1</sup> That he was aware of the existence of other opinions, is however evident from his passing intimation, 'that Israel was derived not from Egypt, but from Mesopotamia' (*Antiq.* ii. 7. 4); an assertion which in his work *Against Apion* he defends at length, against opponents whom he mentions by name. Indeed none but Pagans were then capable of such an error as to refer the origin of Israel to Egypt and Africa.

<sup>2</sup> *Against Apion*, i. 14–16 and 26–31.

<sup>3</sup> Since this was written in 1842, Bunsen's work on Egypt appeared, the first volume in 1845, and the fifth and last in 1857; also Böckh's *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode*, whose assumption, that Manetho's chronology, commencing with Menes, was based upon a scientific calcu-

lation of revolutions of Sirius, 1,461 years in length, does not appear to me sufficiently proved. The great work of Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, the first vol. of which appeared in Berlin, 1849, is not yet completed; but an instalment of its completion was furnished in 1858, by his *Book of the Kings of Ancient Egypt*, containing valuable documents. And in the last few years new excavations and investigations have been carried out by Mariette and others, in the north-east of Egypt, the very district most important to our present subject; and from these much new light may be expected. See *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 249–56, 338–40, 1862, p. 297 sqq.; Chabas in Langlois' *Numismatique des Arabes*, pp. 145–46.

evidence to prove that even from the first this great migration, especially as connected with the name of Abraham, took this direction. According to one account,<sup>1</sup> no sooner is Abraham settled in Canaan, than he journeys, though but for a short time, into Egypt; and according to another,<sup>2</sup> Isaac was restrained only by express Divine prohibition from carrying out a similar purpose. It is true that these two accounts come to us in their present form only from the Fourth Narrator; and that in both a famine in Canaan is assigned as the immediate motive of the journey into Egypt; which looks as if the later great migration of Israel through famine floated before the narrator's mind, and these two earlier Patriarchs were intended to present a type of that later history. But unless some ancient and already written legend of Abraham's journey into Egypt had come down to the Fourth Narrator, he would not have ventured so to relate it. Of this we are assured by a correct appreciation of his character. But this shows us at least how faint the memory of those earlier migrations had become in his day. So much the brighter and clearer appears in both earlier and later records the migration brought about by Joseph. Yet even here those distant times are regarded so exclusively from an Israelitish point of view, and so little notice is taken of the internal affairs of Egypt, that we are only the more anxious to compare the narrative with the accounts given of these great events by the Egyptians themselves.

Now it is clear from the fragments of Manetho, that before the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose great power and well-established rule the monuments sufficiently attest, Egypt was the scene of numerous and prolonged contests with the races called by the stationary Egyptians *Shepherds* (that is Nomads), and towards whom, as even Hebrew tradition bears witness,<sup>3</sup> they cherished for centuries a deep-seated aversion. According to the very scanty fragments quoted in Julius Africanus, and again from him in Georgius Syncellus, the Fifteenth Dynasty consisted of Phœnician (that is Canaanite) foreigners, who reigned 284 years; the Sixteenth of other 'Shepherds,' who reigned 518 years; the Seventeenth of forty-three 'Shepherds' and forty-three Theban (that is, *native*) kings, reigning altogether 151

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 10-20.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxvi. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvi. 34, compared with xlivi.  
32. Judging by the many expressive representations on sepulchral monuments, the rich Egyptians took especial pleasure in the possession of numerous flocks and shepherds. And as in the time of Herod-

dots at least (ii. 46-47, and compare 164) only the caste of swineherds was regarded by them as necessarily unclean, and all other herdsmen held a higher position, we must limit the application of the Hebrew proverb to the free herdsmen, and to very early times, shortly after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

years. According to the fragments in Eusebius and others, however, the Seventeenth Dynasty consisted for 106 years of Phoenician Shepherd-Kings, whose personal names are given, and who are the same that were assigned by other writers to the Fifteenth. Confusions and inaccuracies, which we have not as yet means to correct with any certainty, have evidently entered here.<sup>1</sup> But we may safely infer, in general terms, a long continuance of the supremacy of the Shepherd-Kings in Egypt. Josephus, though leaving out of view the succession of dynasties, gives a detailed account, of thoroughly Egyptian complexion, concerning the Shepherd-Kings (who according to Manetho were called in Egyptian *Hyksôs*<sup>2</sup>). Its chief points are as follows:—The Shepherds, coming from the east, conquered the country by a sudden blow, burnt down the cities, destroyed the temples, and in general treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The first king, Salatis by name,<sup>3</sup> settled himself in Memphis, but selected Avaris, a newly-built city in the province of Sethros eastwards on the Bubastic branch of the Nile,<sup>4</sup> as a strong place to be defended by a permanent force of 240,000 men, and also as a summer residence for himself, where he might annually review and reward the soldiers. He also fortified strongly other positions towards the east, in fear of an Assyrian invasion. This king, who reigned 19 years; Baeon, 44 years; Apachnos, 36 years and 7 months; Apophis or Aphôphis, 61 years; Janias, 50 years and 1 month; and Assis,<sup>5</sup> 49 years and 2 months; were the first six sovereigns of the *Hyksôs* (as if another family, also of the *Hyksôs*, had suc-

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, as we see in his Canon (*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 78), supposed the appellation Shepherd-Kings to refer to Joseph and his brethren; but was doubtless misled by the error on the part of Josephus, mentioned below.

<sup>2</sup> Many Egyptians, according to Manetho, preferred interpreting this name as *Captive Shepherds*. This perversion of the sense is evidently only a bitter jest against the former rulers of the land; as in Rosellini's *Monum. Storici*, plates xxvi.—viii. (compare Lepsius, *Denkmaeler*, iii. 61 sq., 87 sq., 109, 128 sq., 139 sq.), the *Shôs* are represented upon the triumphal monuments in chains; and I cannot understand how Rosellini could sanction an interpretation so irreconcilable with history. Josephus, of course, seized eagerly upon it, in order to make out that it referred to Joseph's captivity in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> This name is such good Semitic, and corresponds so strikingly with Gen. xlvi. 6, that we must suppose *Saites*, which occurs

in the other abstracts to be a corruption of the same word.

<sup>4</sup> This Avaris is evidently the city alluded to by Georgius Syncellus, as built by the *Hyksôs* in the Sethroitic Nomos; and this shows that Josephus wrongly speaks of the Saitic Nomos, instead of the Sethroic, which is on the south-west of Pelusium.

<sup>5</sup> This name is perhaps more correctly given in the other extracts as Archies, although Assis, like Salatis, is good Semitic (אָסִיס potentate); and an Aziz, king of Emesa, is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx. 7. In the *Jewish War*, v. 9. 4, Josephus incidentally calls the king in whose time Abraham visited Egypt, Nechao. It is quite uncertain whence he took this name, which occurs nowhere else, not even in his own account in his *Antiquities*; Theophilus however (*Ad Antidolycum*, ii. 45) calls the first Egyptian king after the deluge *Nexaôs*.

ceeded them). At length, after 511 years, the kings of the Thebais and the rest of Egypt conducted a long war against them to a successful issue, and the king, Misphragmuthosis,<sup>1</sup> shut them up in Avaris. There, however, they entrenched and defended themselves so well that his son Tethmosis (also called Tuthmosis, Thummisis, and Thmosis<sup>2</sup>), although besieging them with 480,000 men, was forced to allow them to leave the country. They accordingly marched out without molestation, about 240,000 strong, and in fear of the Assyrians (whose power was far to the north), immediately settled down in Judea, and built Jerusalem.

This story bears, it is true, unmistakable signs of good remembrance; indeed the fragments of Manetho, even from the history of Menes the first king downwards, generally testify to a conception of occurrences very accurate for so remote a period—a sign of the extraordinarily early cultivation of letters and documentary science among the Egyptians. The great city Avaris, on an eastern branch of the Nile, which was built by the Hyksôs as a great fortified camp, indicates from its position the quarter from which they entered Egypt, offering an exact parallel to Gilgal, the strong encampment of Israel on the west of the Jordan, whence that people under Joshua and his successors subdued Canaan. The names of Judea and Jerusalem may indeed have got into the narrative only through the historical ideas about the south of Canaan current for several centuries before Manetho; for although the name Jerusalem is older than David, yet to our modern knowledge it must be doubtful whether here, especially in connection with the name Judea, any city of sufficient antiquity can be meant. But a welcome indication that the fear of the Assyrians (or northern nations) felt by the Hyksôs, was not without reason, and a hint as to what nations are to be understood under the term Assyrian, is presented in the often-quoted passage, Gen. xiv. And this historical view is corroborated not only by Ctesias in his account of an early Assyrian empire, but by many other traditions, as will be further shown below.

But Flavius Josephus, in understanding by the Hyksôs only the Israelites during their settlement in Egypt, and identi-

<sup>1</sup> In Josephus wrongly spelt Ἀλσφραγις.; the Αλ being evidently a mistake for Μ, since L occurs in old Egyptian (except in the Basmurian dialect) no more than in Zend.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest pronunciation, however, must have been *Tōmōse*, i. e. *son of Taaut*,

born of the god Taaut or Tôt. The second member is from the Coptic root *mas*, taking in the noun first a long *â*, and then modifying it into ô. Moses, the great leader of Israel, when grown up, probably preferred to call himself simply thus, and to drop the Egyptian god from his name.

fying the expulsion of these Shepherd-Kings with the Exodus of Israel under Moses, manifestly falls into great error. Not only is he thereby compelled without any sufficient ground to reject as fabulous a later account of Manetho's, but even this first account contains no single proof that Israel, at least that people alone, was understood by the name of *Hyksôs*; still less does it refer to Moses, or to any circumstance of the Israelitish Exodus under him. Such an assumption also confuses the whole chronology. The statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that 480 years elapsed between the Exodus from Egypt and the commencement of the building of the Temple of Solomon, and the corresponding statement in Ex. xii. 40, that Israel sojourned 430 years in Egypt, are derived in all probability (p. 76, 81 sq.) from the Book of Origins, and consequently from very reliable sources; their accuracy is confirmed by every fresh investigation; and they constitute the only two fixed points by which all Hebrew chronology is held in place. Putting the foundation of Solomon's temple in one of the last decades of the eleventh century before Christ, the Exodus will fall near the end of the sixteenth century. Many of the learned, however, even before Josephus, had for reasons to be explained shortly, pushed the date of the Exodus further back. And Josephus, whose object in the books against Apion was to establish against pagan writers of the day, the two propositions that Israel was not an offshoot from Egypt, and that it was a very ancient nation, seized with evident eagerness upon this story of Manetho's of the settlement and subsequent expulsion of the *Hyksôs*, because, once assuming the identity of these with Israel, he could not only represent Israel as utterly distinct from the Egyptians, but push the date of Moses back to 2,000 years before his own time.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he might have attained all that he wished to prove in vindication of the good name of his nation, by another and a safer way; unable to find that course, he was seduced into this bypath, which deprives the early history of Israel of all its light, but secures to us some compensation in the important extracts from Manetho.

Abandoning the view of Josephus on the subject, one might suppose that the Phoenician Shepherd-Kings of whom Eusebius and Syncellus speak (and no doubt Manetho himself used this name), were to be understood in the most obvious sense of the

<sup>1</sup> That Moses lived 2,000 years before, and that 5,000 had elapsed since the Creation, is assumed by Josephus throughout all his writings; see the introduction to his *Antiquities* and his work *Against Apion*, i. 1, 7, 8, 16. The present reading, however, in *Ant.* viii. 3. 1, certainly does not agree with these figures.

words, of an immigration of Canaanites into Egypt, perhaps at a time preceding the advance of the Hebrews into Canaan. Many isolated facts might be adduced in favour of this view, as for instance the great ethnological myth which puts Canaan, as the son of Ham, into a very close connection with Egypt (p. 239 sq.); and the 'Tyrian Camp' at Memphis, in later times,<sup>1</sup> which might perhaps be a relic left by a Canaanite population in very early times. But Manetho's second story, of which we shall speak presently, cannot be brought into accordance with this view, and even in itself the hypothesis is beset with improbabilities. The Canaanites, as far back as we can trace them in history, were not shepherd-tribes at all, but had long passed that stage of civilisation. Even such branches of them as the Amorites, who were least given to the arts and trades of cities (p. 234 sq.), never appear like nomads, or like the camps of conquering hordes such as Manetho graphically describes the Hyksôs. Moreover, as ancient tradition (p. 239) brought them into the land of the Jordan from quite a different quarter, so also historical indications show their constant tendency to have been still further to the west. Towards Egypt they turned with eagerness only for the sake of trade, but appear from many indications<sup>2</sup> to have always been well received there in that capacity. But this would be scarcely credible, if they were identical with the detested Shepherd-tribes. We pass over other still less probable opinions respecting the Hyksôs, propounded by modern scholars.<sup>3</sup>

I have always recognised that the Hyksôs must stand in some close relation to the Hebrews; understanding this word, however, not in its ordinary acceptation, but in the primitive sense in which, as above explained, they first appear in the land of the Jordan. Coming, according to Manetho, from the east, the Hyksôs established on the north-eastern boundary of Egypt an entrenched camp, on which they could easily fall back at any moment. They are even called according to one

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See Is. xxiii. 3, and Jos. *Agt. Apion*, i. 12, with reference to later times; the earlier intercourse between the nations is attested by the frequent connection between the Egyptian and the Phoenician religious rites and usages of all kinds. A remembrance of it is even found in Greek mythology, Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 1, 4 (where 'Εγχιρόν probably arose from the river Ἔρυθρῷ).

<sup>3</sup> Such as Rosellini's opinion that they were Scythians. He believed with Cham-

pillon that the *Shôs* of the hieroglyphics were identical with the *Shêtae* (Chetae) and that these were Scythians (*Monu. Stor.* i. 1. p. 173 sqq. ii. 1. p. 56-88). Later, however, he gradually retracted this opinion, but without arriving definitely at anything better (ii. p. 433-45; 2. p. 246-58). In fact the vanquished in the illustrations (i. pl. xxvi.) look much more like people from the deserts adjoining Egypt; they are bringing gazelles as their tributary offering.

reading *Phœnician Shepherds*, which, considering that the Greeks called all the inhabitants of Canaan indiscriminately Phœnicians, or even Palestinians, is almost identical with *Hebrew Shepherds*.<sup>1</sup> The description of them as wandering and encamping tribes, agrees exactly with the reminiscences preserved in the Old Testament of the primitive Hebrew race, gradually pushing forwards from the north-east, towards the south and Egypt; for it cannot surprise us that the Egyptians should dwell chiefly upon the offensive characteristic of the invaders, and the ravages committed by them. The six kings' names which have been preserved, differ from all the numerous names of Egyptian kings found in Manetho's long lists; and not only has the first king, Salatis (i. e. *Lord*), a name easily recognised as Semitic, but even that of the great camp, Avaris or Abaris,<sup>2</sup> signifies in all probability the *Hebrew Camp*.<sup>3</sup> And they may very possibly have ruled in Egypt for several centuries without serious injury to the higher culture and science of Egyptian life. For even according to Manetho's expressions quoted by Josephus, representing the Theban (or Southern) and other Egyptian kings as in the end suddenly rising up and expelling them, they can have been only suzerains of the land, surrounded by their vassal-kings, and satisfied with a mere recognition by these of their own supremacy.

This, however, does not decide what particular Hebrew tribes are here to be understood. We must indeed at once recognise the broad fact that this conquest of Egypt, placed by Manetho (to speak in round numbers) considerably more than 2,000 years before Christ, must refer to the very earliest Hebrew migration into Egypt of which any memory has remained.

<sup>2</sup> In both places where this city is mentioned (*Against Apion*, i. 14 and 26), the reading varies between 'Αβαπις and Αβαπισ.

<sup>2</sup> In the second passage, indeed, Jose-

thus adds that according to an old Theology (i.e. the Mythology) Abaris was called the *City of Typhon*. This however, was not intended as an explanation of the name Abaris, but only to show that the Egyptians devoted this hated city to the Evil God. Very recently the name *Hawâr* has actually been found on Egyptian monuments relating to the time of the Hyksôs; see De Rougé in the *Révue Arch.* 1860, p. 309; 1861, ii. p. 215; Brugsch's *Geograph. Inschriften*, i. p. 51. But the exact site of this Hyksôs-city still remains doubtful; it was certainly not the same as Tanis. Whether the name was formed from Egyptian elements may require further investigation; but to suppose that the Hebrews themselves had their name from this Avaris (as Brugsch suggests, *Geog. Ins.* i. 90), is the reverse of any possible historical truth.

We cannot therefore refer it to the immigration of the *People of Israel* into Egypt; since that appellation (see p. 341 sqq.) implies a settlement of Hebrews in Canaan, which took place later; and the nation so called is represented in the Old Testament as moving from Canaan into Egypt only on the summons of Joseph—a Hebrew who had already become powerful there, when his father Israel was already old and grey. The Biblical reminiscences of Abraham's and Isaac's connection with Egypt are much more likely to be connected with the events in question. In their present state indeed, these reminiscences, as was shown on p. 388 sq., retain only a faint outline, and have received a strongly Mosaic colouring, both moral and historical. Moreover the idea that the migration of the two Patriarchs was occasioned by the same cause as the later national migration to the same country, viz. a famine in Canaan, is very vague and general, since Egypt must always have appeared to the neighbouring nations a land of inexhaustible plenty. But in these early legends the two elder Patriarchs evidently stand in almost the same relation to Egypt as the third; although Abraham's brief visit, and Isaac's projected migration, hindered by express Divine prohibition, appear like types of Israel's great migration to the same country, which also was not to result in a permanent settlement.<sup>1</sup> Abraham's migration also appears from the legend to have been from the far north to Egypt; and both Patriarchs, according to the constant tenor of this tradition, appear, even when in Canaan, to have always remained in the south, close upon the Egyptian frontier (p. 305 sq.). On the other hand, it would be an equal violation of history to understand Abraham and his family alone by this Hyksôs people. It is only in the extant Israelitish legend that he appears as the great father of all the Hebrews far and wide around Canaan. According to Genesis xiv. (p. 286 sq., 307 sq.), he was originally a powerful individual Hebrew in Canaan, like many others; in accordance with which his visit to Egypt, even in the extant legend, appears as of no great length or importance; and in the tradition which in many ways subordinates Lot, Ishmael, and the sons of Keturah, to him, we are already prepared (by p. 309 sq.) to see nothing absolutely primitive. It would therefore seem more correct to represent the Hyksôs as comprehending all those various tribes, some small and some great, which were generally united only by their common Hebrew origin, and at that particular time also by a

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gen. xlvi. 1-4 with xxvi. 1, passed under the hand of the Fourth 2, and xii. 10-20, passages which have Narrator.

common movement southward; some of whom pressed forward into Egypt, others established themselves in Canaan and the adjacent countries; probably with many shifting backward and forward, of which now only some faint reminiscences can with difficulty be traced; Abraham being only one among many leaders of these tribes. This view is actually confirmed by other indications. The Midianites and the Kenites, from whom Moses (as will be afterwards shown) received so much assistance in his exertions for Israel, may themselves, according to Manetho's account, have belonged to the Hyksôs formerly expelled from Egypt, and have assisted Moses the more zealously on this account. It cannot be for nothing that the oldest tradition gives to Ishmael an Egyptian mother and an Egyptian wife,<sup>1</sup> and makes him dwell on the very borders of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Lot, moreover, according to the Fourth Narrator, accompanies Abraham into Egypt: this, if not expressly stated in Gen. xii. 10-20, is made all the more distinct in Gen. xiii. 1-18, where the old authorities have probably been more strictly adhered to.

But we must here especially call to mind (from p. 253) that Arabian tradition attributes to that people also an early conquest of Egypt. Most writers fix upon the Amalekites as the particular Arab tribe who have a claim to this renown; others the 'Adites,'<sup>3</sup> also an aboriginal tribe, but not mentioned by the Bible. Preserved as this tradition has been through Moslem writers, it certainly comes before us adulterated by the learned with Biblical ideas and incidents, which have evidently determined its special character. The Pharaohs sprung from Arabian blood, are said to have dwelt in the city *Awar*,<sup>4</sup> and to have reigned there under Jacob and Joseph, and even under Moses; the names of some are very precisely given, and sound quite Arabic no doubt, but with some foreign additions, clearly testifying to the fusion of heterogenous elements.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to doubt that all these stories, as they at present stand, originated in a mere desire of blending and enriching the legends of the Koran (especially that of Joseph) with other well-known histories; and this fresh zeal may have been very active even in the first century of

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvi. 1, 7, 14, xxi. 9, 14, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 21, xxv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See the extracts (only too short), in Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 7-13.

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviated from Avaris (p. 394). Here we perceive most plainly an infusion of details from the Hyksôs story, such as a pedant would attempt; and it is actually pretended that *Awar* stood on the site of the later Alexandria!

<sup>5</sup> See the names in Wakidi, *Expugn. Aeg.* ed. Hamaker, p. 41, 60; Tabari, *Chron.* i. p. 209, 210, 261, 262; Abulfid., *Hist. Antcid.* p. 30, 70, 100; Abdalhakami, *Lib. de historia Agypti antiqua*, ed. Karle, Gott. 1856. In any case they are the names of the Pharaohs in Joseph's and Moses' times only; the name *Arslus*, corrupted in most manuscripts into *Arasha*, points to the Archies of Manetho.

Islam. Yet it cannot be denied that some memory of a former Arabian conquest and long dominion over Egypt might remain among the Arabians even in the time of Mohammed. Such memories of former greatness do not easily pass away from a nation's recollection. Upon this foundation the accounts of the Hyksôs, given by the learned in the early days of Islam must then have been piled, and gradually mingled with the national reminiscences. It had indeed been mentioned even by Manetho, that some thought the Hyksôs were Arabs,<sup>1</sup> but important as this short comment must seem to our view of the subject, it is too incidental to have been the sole origin of the later Arabian stories. The mere names, Amalek,<sup>2</sup> and still more Ad, occurring in them may have been employed at a later time only as a designation of extreme antiquity; but they prove at the same time that these stories were not originally derived from Josephus and the Fathers of the Church.

We must therefore suppose that a great movement of nations from the north to Egypt took place in the earliest times, and carried the inhabitants of northern Arabia in multitudes thither: a movement which we can describe by no other name but *Hebrew*, and in which Abraham bore a part, although only as a small prince. This actually throws the first ray of light on the obscure relations of the early world. Internal dissensions, and the first rise of the Assyrian or rather Aramean power in the north, may have impelled the Hebrews southwards, and then driven them, conjointly with the aboriginal tribes of Palestine and northern Arabia, into Egypt, where they founded the dynasty of the Shepherd-Kings. Thus that early age may have presented the first example of those persevering and varied contests of the Asiatic nations with Egypt, which were repeated under the later Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Persians, and again under Islam by the Arabs, Persians, and Turks.

But if we consider farther, that Egyptian records always

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ λέγοντιν ἀρόβις Ἀράβας εἶναι, Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 14. The Greek myth also connects Arabia in ancient times very closely with Egypt; Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 1. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> In Numb. xxiv. 20 the Amalekites are expressly called aborigines: but it is inconceivable that a passage like this, little understood or noticed at a later age, alone induced Moslim scholars to regard this people as their ancestors. It seems more probable that in هارام, compared with בָּרָם (Job iii. 14), we possess a genuine Egyptian word preserved from

the Hyksôs period, adopted both by the Arabs and the Hebrews, though in each case with some variation in the pronunciation. For this word accords with πυραΐς, excepting that it is without the Egyptian article; and is certainly derived, with the change of *p* into *m*, from ΕΡΗΠΕ *sanctuary*, as the pyramids might be called, being the most ancient of sanctuaries. At a much later period, the same word with the article passed into Arabic, as بَرَام with the meaning of an ordinary sanctuary; see *Götz. Gel. Anz.* 1856, p. 1069 sq.

speak of several successive Hyksôs dynasties, and ascribe to them all the same dread of the Assyrian power; and again, that the complication of nationalities in the adjacent country of Canaan, ancient as it is, must have arisen about the time when these different lines of Hyksôs bore sway in Egypt, implying great and repeated revolutions in the possession of the two neighbour-countries, we may hope to gain a still clearer understanding of these circumstances when we add all other testimonies and indications that meet us. Such details as we are able to ascertain distinctly from the general history of so many centuries may be stated somewhat as follows.

The settlement of the Canaanites in the land which ever after retained their name occurred probably about the middle of the third millennium before Christ; when Abraham entered the land they were believed to have been long settled there.<sup>1</sup> But the original inhabitants, whose Semitic dialect (see p. 383 sq.) always remained the basis of the language, may thus have been hard-pressed, and have begun to throw themselves in full force into Egypt, even before the outbreak of the struggle in the far north between the Hebrews and the Arameans, which resulted in the former pushing on farther and farther to the south-west, and ultimately conquering Egypt. Their princes, the Hyksôs, once having forced the Egyptian power in many battles far back to the south, could now hold their ground undisturbed for centuries in northern and central Egypt; and for a long time they no doubt had more contests among themselves, and against repeated assaults from Asia, than against the Egyptians. Thus they assumed more and more of the brilliant and long-established royal state of the old Egyptian Pharaohs; thinking thus, probably, to add greater security to their empire, still threatened on many sides; just as in later times the Parthian kings seemed to adopt all the refinements of Greek culture. Abraham and Joseph in the Pentateuch come to the courts of apparently native Egyptian kings; yet this semblance does not make it impossible that the sovereigns then reigning in the north of Egypt may have been Hyksôs. For the reason just alleged, some blending of the native Egyptian with the more Hebraic

<sup>1</sup> The words in Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7, cannot possibly mean to say that when Abraham entered the land it had never been unpeopled since the Deluge; for by the fundamental idea of the ancient traditions this was a matter of course with regard to the beginning of the Third Age of the world, and by Gen. xi. 1, it was only at the commencement of the Second Age that any such depopulation was conceivable.

Hence there is a contrast here between those particular inhabitants, the Canaanites, and the earlier ones whom we have described as Aborigines. And the force of the remark lies in pointing out that those worst and most hostile tribes, the Canaanites, were then already in possession. The contrast is then brought forward more clearly in xiii. 13, xv. 16,

Hyksôs civilisation was unavoidable ; but beyond that, these tribes evidently retained marked peculiarities in language, customs, and religion, distinguishing them from the Egyptians, and bringing them nearer to the people of Israel, who were in many respects their followers. In fact the peculiar culture of this evidently very enlightened youthful race, perfected in the seat of the old Egyptian philosophy and art, may be plainly traced far into succeeding centuries ; though we have to regret that so little definite knowledge of them can now be recovered. From them, for instance, was unquestionably derived the Semitic name of Egypt, which must have spread from them to all other nations of that race ;<sup>1</sup> and many similar instances will be hereafter noted. One thing is clear—that the city Zoan (or, as the Greeks called it, Tanis), on that eastern branch of the Nile to which it afterwards gave its name, was long their seat of empire, and owed to them its greatness and its ancient renown. For the foundation and early history of this city were long remembered even in Israel ;<sup>2</sup> as if this were the only Egyptian city of which the origin was so exactly known, and was preserved in as vivid remembrance as that of the oldest and most celebrated cities of Canaan. And whereas before the time of the Hyksôs this city had never been the residence of any Egyptian dynasty, it became afterwards the seat of empire for several native Egyptian dynasties, and notably so of the Twenty-first and Twenty-third. The very name of the city,<sup>3</sup> which in Semitic signifies *Wandering*, seems at once to point it out as the royal seat of the *Wandering Shepherds*, or Hyksôs.<sup>4</sup>

When later writers, on the other hand, speak of a powerful

<sup>1</sup> *Micraim*, or according to a later abbreviation *Mizr*; see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 174. Whether any of the gods common to the Phœnicians and the Egyptians, as for instance the Cabiri, can be derived from the Hyksôs period, is a subject deserving closer investigation; compare Raoul-Rochette in the *Mémoirs de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xvii. 2 p. 373 sq.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hebron was built seven years before the Egyptian Tanis,' Numb. xiii. 22, from the Book of Origins.

<sup>3</sup> The very designation 'the Egyptian Tanis,' in the Book of Origins, suggests the existence of other cities of the same name beyond the Egyptian boundary; and in fact *תְּנִיסָה* is derived from the genuine

Arabic root *تَنِسْ* to wander, to journey; and this Arabic letter shows how easily the sibilant might be changed into *t*, though in the country itself it is preserved to the

present day in the name *تانيس*. As in Coptic also the name is pronounced *ΧΑΝΙ* or *ΧΑΝΗ* (wholly different from the *ΘΩΝΗ*, of Upper Egypt, likewise named Tanis by the Greeks), it becomes yet more improbable that it is identical with the *Avaris* noticed p. 394, as Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, i. p. 88 sq.) and do Rougé think.

<sup>4</sup> To this must now be added the important excavations on the ancient site of Tanis just accomplished under Mariette: the peculiar character of the remains discovered there point to the Hyksôs, and afford additional proof of the fact that under them Egyptian art assumed a new form, and was loved by them. Besides the references on p. 388 sq., see the *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, for Apr. 1862, p. 25 sq.

Assyrian empire existing in the time of the Hyksôs, and menacing them, we may leave it doubtful whether the great northern power was already known by the name of Assyria. But certain it is (see p. 311 sq.) that the Arameans were then already advancing in great strength from the north-east towards the south-west. The four allied kings, whom Abraham has to combat (p. 301, 307 sq.), and whose speedy overthrow gained him gratitude even from the Canaanites, came from the north-east,<sup>1</sup> and were doubtless bent upon a plundering incursion into Egypt. Even the comparatively recent Armenians retain a dim remembrance that their empire began towards the end of the third millennium before Christ.<sup>2</sup> And we may fairly assume a connection between this belief and the great movements of races in those early times.

II. Under these circumstances it seems certainly at first sight less difficult to understand how the Israelites, a Hebrew people, could be transplanted to Egypt, especially if at the time of the migration the Hyksôs were reigning there; but it becomes all the harder to define accurately the external and internal conditions of the times which witnessed the lasting removal of Israel thither. There must have been something quite exceptional in the circumstances affecting that one nation, if it were only from the fact that they are known to have been able to remain long after the expulsion of the other Hyksôs; inasmuch as not only the decisive passage of Manetho (hereafter to be fully explained), on the actual exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, but also the chronology of 1 Kings vi. 1 (discussed p. 76 sq.), together with all other indications, prove that they left Egypt at a much later time and virtually alone. But those circumstances are in truth still involved in obscurity, which we have no present means of effectually dispelling by any simple and clear testimony. In order, therefore, to work our way as near as possible to the dark centre, we must begin with the remotest point which can be ascertained with certainty, that is, with the exact chronology of Israel's migration into Egypt.

The testimony of the Book of Origins (according to p. 81 sq.) is that Israel dwelt 480 years in Egypt, Ex. xii. 40. This evidence, reliable both from its antiquity and from its position, fixes the period, if not exactly to a year, at least within a cen-

<sup>1</sup> Further proof is needed whether the position of Ellasar is correctly determined in Oppert's *Expédition scient. en Mésopotamie*, ii. p. 224. See the Persian opinion on the question in Chwolson's *Ueberreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Compare St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 407 sq. Primeval relations of this kind must be the foundation of the story given by Alexander Polyhistor, that Judaea and Idumaea were daughters of Semiramis. See Stephanus Byzant. s. vv.

tury, or even ten years. It is true that a somewhat plausible objection may be urged against its accuracy. Abraham comes to Canaan in his 75th year, lives in all 175 years, and has Isaac in his 100th; Isaac lives 180 years, and has Jacob in his 60th; and Jacob goes to Egypt in his 130th.<sup>1</sup> This gives 215 years,<sup>2</sup> exactly the half of the 430, as the period assigned by the Book of Origins to the residence in Canaan. This coincidence between 430 and 215 is the less likely to be accidental, since all the chronology of the Patriarchal times is evidently stated only in round numbers. But in the Alexandrian translation, as well as in the Samaritan text, we find this number 430, not bodily altered, but by an insertion in the text made to bear a totally different meaning; it being here said, that 'Israel abode 430 years in Egypt and in Canaan.' The lives of the three Patriarchs in Canaan are manifestly here included, so that only just the half, 215 years, is left for the residence in Egypt; and thus it became the general custom with those authors who adhered to the Pentateuch,<sup>3</sup> to assign only 215 years to the sojourn in Egypt. But this reading betrays itself to be spurious, were it only through the occurrence in it of the name Israel, which is out of place, since the residence of the first two Patriarchs in Canaan must be included in the calculation; on which account the Alexandrian Codex of the Septuagint, with the Samaritan text (consistently enough), inserts also the words 'and their fathers' after Israel. We can therefore regard this reading only as an attempt to provide an easy solution of the difficulty which the chronology appeared to present, similar to the numerous well-meant but mostly unsuccessful attempts to remove certain difficulties from history, of which the last few centuries before and the first four or five after Christ are full. It is clear that the stumbling-block in the present case<sup>4</sup> was the impossibility of reconciling the statements made in other passages of the Pentateuch<sup>5</sup> on the ages of the four successive Patriarchs:—

Levi . . . . .	137 years
Kohath . . . . .	138 "
Amram . . . . .	137 "
Moses at the Exodus . . . .	80 "
	487 , in all,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 7, 26, xlvi. 9, for Israel's sojourn in Egypt; and he speaks compared with ver. 28.

<sup>2</sup> This is also distinctly seen from the

<sup>3</sup>  $100 + 60 + 130 - 75 = 215$ .

<sup>4</sup> As the Apostle, in Gal. iii. 17. On the other hand, Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolyc.* iii. 9, 24) still counted 430 years

<sup>5</sup> *Seder Olam R.* ch. iii.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. vi. 16-20 and vii. 7; compare Deut. xxxiv. 7; Numb. xiv. 34.

with these 430 years, so as to allow for the birth of Kohath before the migration,<sup>1</sup> and for the necessary subtraction of the uncertain number of years that Kohath may have lived after the birth of Amram, and Amram after that of Moses. For if the son was born in the father's 30th year, only 140 years will be left for the whole period ; and even if the son was not born till the father's 65th or 70th year, only 215 years will remain. The discrepancy is all the more startling because it is the Book of Origins itself that gives all these particular data side by side with the general statement as to the 430 years. But no other inference can really be drawn from this, than that the specifications of the age of each individual Patriarch must have been derived from a source quite distinct from that of the general statement as to the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt ; and while there is every sign (see p. 28 sq., 211) that the former have passed through the stream of tradition, the latter may very probably be drawn from some more exact chronological memory, such as might be preserved in the writings even of other nations, Egyptians or Phoenicians for example ; since the Book of Origins knows the exact date of the building of very ancient cities, such as Hebron, and Tanis in Egypt (p. 52). So that the very contradiction between the two calculations affords strong evidence in support of the 430 years. We fall back, then, upon the full 430. This number was undoubtedly found in this place by the earliest reader whose existence we can detect with certainty, namely the Fifth Narrator, as we must conclude from his rounding off the number to 400, according to prophetic usage, in Gen. xv. 18. Besides, more complete genealogies have also been preserved, which satisfactorily prove this number of years to be the correct one.<sup>2</sup>

Here indeed we meet a new difficulty ; that it is impossible to suppose the number 215 of the years of the Patriarchs' residence in Canaan to have arisen quite independently of this 430, its double. One might fancy the 430 to have originated in an intentional doubling of the 215. But if artifice is to be assumed on either side, the above remarks, as well as the pre-

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. xlvi. 11, compared with verse 26.

<sup>2</sup> According to the true interpretation of 1 Chron. vii. 20-27, there were exactly ten successive generations between Joseph and the grandfather of Joshua, granting that once, in ver. 25, after נָמֵן, לְבָנָה is omitted (compare Numb. ii. 18); even if the average length of each generation be reduced under forty years, we yet obtain

the requisite 430 years. The high princely power of Joseph and Joshua accounts for the accuracy of this list. It was not until after the days of Moses and Aaron that the generations of Levi were noted with equal minuteness. A similar instance of the coexistence of a brief and a full genealogical table for the same period has been already noticed, p. 24 sq.

vious investigation of the Patriarchal age, leave little doubt, that the length of the three Patriarchs' joint lives in Canaan is much more probably determined from the 430 than *vice versa*, through bisection of them, because the half of that period seemed to allow suitable and sufficient scope for the lives in question (see p. 324 sq.).

Assuming then the accuracy of the 430 years as the time of Israel's stay in Egypt, the Egypto-Israelite chronology appears to be somewhat as follows. According to Manetho's narrative (hereafter to be noticed) the Exodus of Israel took place under a king Amenophis. Now if we compare the 430 years that intervened between the commencement of Solomon's Temple and the Exodus with the Egyptian chronology according to Manetho, we find that this interval just allows for the three dynasties which reigned before King Sesonchis, the founder of the Twenty-second or Bubastic dynasty (known to us by the later history of Solomon and of Rehoboam)<sup>1</sup>; since

	According to Africanus.	According to Eusebius.
the 19th dynasty reigned	209 years	194 years
the 20th      "	135      "	172      "
the 21st      "	130      "	130      "
being altogether <sup>2</sup>	<u>474</u> "	<u>496</u> "

the smaller number of years assigned by Africanus to the Twentieth dynasty (in which the length of the separate reigns is omitted by both writers) being in some measure compensated by the smaller number given by Eusebius to the nineteenth. Even if we accept the larger total, 496 years, as the basis of our calculations, we shall not exceed the limit; since the building of the Temple was begun in the fourth year of Solomon, and Sesonchis, who only reigned twenty-one years, certainly coincides with Solomon's advanced age. Now the famous Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, the longest and most flourishing of which we have any definite knowledge, is said by all authorities to have ended its line of sixteen or seventeen kings with Amenophis, who reigned according to Eusebius forty years, according to Africanus nineteen; a discrepancy which may be safely attributed to the transcribers only; but whatever was the length of his reign, the Israelitish Exodus can be brought within it; and we have thus a very important instance of agreement between the accounts

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xi. 40, compared with verse 18, xiv. 25 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh (pp. 262, 313) proposes to read 114 instead of 130 in Africanus for the

of Manetho and those of the Old Testament; which elsewhere, as will be presently shown, appear to differ widely from each other. Now since the Eighteenth dynasty lasted, according to Eusebius 348, according to Africanus<sup>1</sup> 263 years, the migration of Israel into Egypt will fall in the very middle of the Hyksôs period; unless we follow Eusebius in reducing this to 106 years, which would certainly be too short a period, being in direct contradiction to Josephus as well as to Africanus.

This is fully confirmed by such faint indications as are contained in the early Israelite history. Israel there appears as a younger branch of the Hebraic race, making its first southward movement later than the rest, just as it afterwards entered Egypt later; and it always remained one of the principal features in the legend that Joseph had gone first to Egypt, and become the ruler of the country, before he sent for his brethren and assigned them a habitation there. In this picture of the powerful brother who prepared the way into Egypt for the Twelve Tribes, has been preserved no very obscure remembrance of the historical relation subsisting between Israel and the other Hyksôs, which we must interpret by the fuller information derived from Egyptian sources.

III. The only point, therefore, of these histories, now almost faded from the knowledge of posterity, which still remains obscure, is the question how Israel, after having entered Egypt under the protection of the kindred power of the Hyksôs, escaped the expulsion from the enchanting Nile valley which these suffered, and on the contrary was able to remain in Egypt during nearly the whole period of the powerful Eighteenth dynasty, the conquerors of the Hyksôs? This problem is not solved by assuming that Israel was simply subdued by the new conquerors, and preferred remaining in Egypt as a subject people, while their kindred tribes preferred entire expulsion, or, if we choose so to consider it, a return to their former seats in the east. For although the Israelitish history says much of Egyptian bondage, yet it speaks not as if this had subsisted and been legally recognised for centuries, but as if it were a ca-

<sup>1</sup> Here, however, he is certainly mistaken. On the arguments which have been recently revived against the numbers 430 and 480, I have spoken in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1850, p. 817 sqq.; 1851, p. 425 sqq., 1858, p. 1448 sqq. Much weight has been given to the work of Engelstoft (*Historia Populi Judaici Biblica usque ad occupationem Palæstinae ad relationes peregrinas examinata et digesta*. Havn. 1832) as having proved that Moses did not leave Egypt

till 1350, and that the time of Israel's abode in Egypt did not exceed about 100 years; but I find it weak and unsatisfactory. Recently, however, Vic. de Rouge and Brugsch have adopted the opinion of Bunsen and Lepsius, that the Exodus occurred in the year 1314 B.C., which would throw the commencement of the entire Hyksôs-period much later; but positive proof of this is still wanting. See *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1858, p. 1448 sqq.

pricious innovation on the part of ‘a king who knew not Joseph,’ and against which Israel rose at last in indignant resistance. And the actual Exodus of Israel is represented—especially, be it noted, by the oldest narrator<sup>1</sup>—as effected by a fully equipped and disciplined army. But how could a nation which had been thoroughly enslaved for more than three centuries march out all at once in perfect martial array? in Egypt, too, whose defenceless inhabitants have never risen with any success against a power holding the whole country, except under favour of great internal dissensions? Moreover, the Israelitish traditions make not the slightest allusion to any breach among the Hebraic races in Egypt, through which, whether by coercion or by a voluntary act, Israel alone among these might have been brought to side with the Egyptians. The essence of the Israelites’ tradition on the commencement of their connection with Egypt is simply that Joseph, already settled with his sons in Egypt, in the service of a royal house whose manners at least were strictly Egyptian,<sup>2</sup> calls the rest of his kinsfolk out of Canaan, to establish themselves honourably in Goshen, the easternmost province of Egypt.

If we try to combine all this into a consistent scheme, the following is almost the only conception which, in the absence of further direct testimony, we can form of these occurrences. The smaller part of the Israelite nation, distinguished in the extant tradition by the name and fame of Joseph, and consisting essentially of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, afterwards separated, migrated to Egypt first, under the rule of the Hyksôs; and the 430 years of the residence in Egypt may be supposed to go back to this commencement of the Israelitish migration. Perhaps it may also be assumed as certain that the tribe of Benjamin took part in this first migration, partly because this seems obscurely indicated by one incident of the existing narrative,<sup>3</sup> and partly because the tribe of Benjamin was especially in the very earliest times closely connected with Joseph. Joseph indisputably did much for the education and elevation of his people, and was also a real potentate in Egypt; as is implied by his very name, the original meaning of which answers exactly to the Latin *Augustus*.<sup>4</sup> Not for nothing did his people at the Exodus

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xiii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Even if we attach no weight to such isolated indications as the Egyptian word in the royal command in Gen. xli. 43, the whole tone of the narrative would lead to the same conclusion; especially the antipathy then entertained by the Egyptians

against the Shepherds, xlvi. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvi. 15 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Explained independently of the two interpretations given in Gen. xxx. 23, 24; which are merely deduced from the general spirit and connected meaning of the existing story, as shown above, p. 377 sq.

carry his mummy with them as a sacred relic, and carefully preserve it, until after the conquest of Canaan it could be interred at Shechem,<sup>1</sup> which was for centuries a gathering-place of the congregation. But his position as the father and only hero of a tribe most important in early times may have been determined later, on account of his historical greatness, and the benefits conferred by him on the nation generally and his own tribe in particular (see p. 382 sq.). What adventures befell him in Egypt, before he became ruler there and drew all Israel after him, will probably never be determined by strict history. The wrong which he is said in the legend to have endured there, the imprisonment from which he was summoned to Pharaoh, may very possibly have been due to some other cause than the enmity of Potiphar's wife, which we shall see to have been woven into the history only by the Fourth Narrator. For the assumption, which naturally results from the historical relations of parties as explained above, that this smaller part of the Israelite nation became involved in serious contests with the kindred Hyksôs, resulting in danger and distress to themselves, would at once explain how, on the expulsion of the Hyksôs, they would side with the king of Egypt, and their leader Joseph confer the greatest benefits upon Pharaoh and the country, and yet not consider that he had put the crowning stroke to his work, till he had attracted the remaining and stronger portion of his own people to the eastern frontier of Egypt. As the Romans during their career of victory and defeat gladly employed Germans against Germans, so to the new Egyptian dynasty nothing could well have been more welcome, on the expulsion of the Hyksôs, than to have one vigorous uncorrupted Hebrew tribe to use against the others. The Hyksôs, who had fled back to the east, doubtless still hovered long on the frontiers, only biding their time to renew their incursions; and the nature of the situation, as well as the frequent allusions to such battles discovered on the Egyptian monuments, make it certain that the struggle was very prolonged. Joseph may then, with the sanction of the king of Egypt, have adopted a measure identical with that of the modern Military Frontier, which proved the only efficient defence to the civilisation of Europe against the Turks—summoning Israel in a body out of Canaan, and establishing them in Goshen as a frontier-guard of the kingdom against any new attacks of the Hyksôs.

This view is favoured by all the historical indications, and

<sup>1</sup> According to the earliest historical work: Gen. 1. 25; Ex. xiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32; compared with Gen. xlvi. 22.

opposed by none. The land of Goshen may certainly, as is said in the extant stories, be a very suitable part of Egypt for a pastoral people;<sup>1</sup> but it was evidently chosen for Israel as being the frontier province towards the east, and an advanced post on the side of the Arabian desert, whence the Hyksôs might easily renew their incursions. It has been already shown (p. 379) that the Israelites were in early times very warlike and powerful; and so when making their final Exodus from Egypt they appear well equipped for war (p. 405). It will soon be apparent that the whole course and close of the history of Israel in Egypt can be satisfactorily understood in no other way.

#### B. JOSEPH ACCORDING TO THE ISRAELITE TRADITION.

The Israelite tradition, however, now lies before us in a highly elaborated form, which does not connect the migration to Egypt with the affairs of the great world, as was probably done by those who lived nearer the time. During the best ages of the religious life and thought of Israel, a deep mystical idea gradually connected itself with the memory of that extraordinary son of Jacob, and transfigured his history into the form in which we have it. One characteristic impulse of the true religion, which in Israel gradually penetrated the life and spirit of the people, was to foster the feeling for domestic affection and virtue. In the light of that religion, the domestic instincts of every home became glorified. So also the warm sense of mutual relationship in the larger home of the community and the nation naturally assumed in this people a strength proportioned to their religious isolation. To the Israelite, therefore (see p. 290 sqq.), the world of the Patriarchs became a sort of grand ancestral hall, in which he sought and found the best types of all forms of domestic virtue. But there the brightest types are generally the fathers and mothers. Not till Joseph was the type of the best of brothers and the closest fraternal union found;—standing, however, near enough to the age of the Patriarchs (see p. 387) to be similarly glorified by the light of their religion. At the call of the one brother who has risen to high station in Egypt, his ten or eleven brothers come with their families to the fertile land of Goshen, under the protection of Pharaoh:—this is the simple fundamental idea, the memory of which has been always preserved. The fortunate exchange of a region so uncertain in its produce as Canaan

<sup>1</sup> Little more than this is implied by the expressions in Gen. xiv. 18, 20, xvii. 6, 11, compared with xlv. 10, xlvi. 28, xlvii. 1-4.

for one of so much more constant fertility as Egypt ; the invitation of the powerful Egyptian brother, joyfully obeyed by all ; the happy reunion in Egypt ;—these simple ideas are the most prominent features of a tradition, which manifestly originated not with the Egyptians or with Joseph, but in the midst of the great multitude, first settled by Joseph in Egypt, and afterwards trained under a higher religion : for theirs are the feelings which it reflects. It is true, some more immediate cause of this migration of an entire nation into Egypt is still required ; and this is found in an emergency which might occur not once only but very often. Since Egypt is known far and wide through all surrounding countries as a land of exuberant fertility and resources which no famine could ever utterly exhaust, and since in those early times, as in later years, its garners doubtless often averted famine from the neighbouring countries, it was natural to think of Joseph, the Egyptian minister, as a careful manager, providing for the wants of many lands, and calling his own people into Egypt during a long-continued famine ; as if thus to secure them for all future time against any possible recurrence of such scarcity. This plainly shows with what feelings the dwellers in Canaan from the very earliest times regarded the rich corn-fields of Egypt ; and it is quite in accordance with this feeling, but at the same time most characteristic of the Mosaic religion, that the Fourth Narrator has transferred this same innocent motive to Abraham's and Isaac's expeditions into Egypt also (p. 389).

It is curious to observe what capabilities of expansion were latent in this simple basis of old tradition ; and still more so to see into what grand proportions this tradition at length unfolded itself in the warm sunshine of such a religion as the Mosaic. Since the heads of the twelve tribes are to be regarded as brothers, whereas Joseph must be thought of as far surpassing the others, it may easily be conceived what tempting opportunities were here offered for working up the old legend of the migration of the tribes at Joseph's bidding into a picture of fraternal and domestic life. And any established notions of the mutual relations of the tribes, which were formed in the post-Mosaic times, might naturally contribute to give a definite outline and life-like colouring to the old tradition of Joseph ; just as Jacob and Esau are depicted in the legend with the characteristic traits of the races which they severally represent (p. 300 sqq.). And so it is most instructive to observe, through what successive stages the history of Joseph must have passed before attaining the matured and attractive form in which it has become an heirloom of the human race, and may serve both as a beautiful

monument of antiquity and as a testimony to the old Hebrew genius.

But as with regard to Abraham (p. 301 sqq.) we found one ancient fragment preserved which throws a clear light on the real nature of his history, so respecting Joseph we have in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 22–26), at least one poetical passage which seems to speak to us from a far more distant time.

Joseph is son of a fruitful vine,  
     Son of a fruitful vine by a well,  
     With exuberant branches upon the wall.<sup>1</sup>  
 Then they envied him, and shot,  
     And assaulted him, the men of arrows:  
 But his bow abode in strength,  
     And the arms of his hands were kept nimble,  
     From the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,  
     From there where is the Shepherd of the Stone of Israel,<sup>2</sup>  
 From the God of thy father—may he help thee,  
     And from the Almighty—may he bless thee,  
 With blessings of the heaven above,  
     Blessings of the deep that lieth below,  
     Blessings of breast and womb!<sup>3</sup>  
 Thy father's blessings overtopped the summit of the everlasting  
     mountains,  
     The bounds of the ancient hills:  
 May they come upon Joseph's head,  
     Upon the head of the Crowned among his brethren!<sup>4</sup>

The diction of these lines certainly bears the stamp of extreme antiquity. The language itself here moves laboriously, and is

<sup>1</sup> The *fruitful vine* alludes not to Rachel, but to Ephraim, as is evident from the general spirit of this blessing; we must moreover decide to read בְּנֹת עֲזָרָה 'daughters,' i. e. branches, shoots of growth, of exuberance. The very commencement thus transports us only into the landscape of greatest fertility, the land of Ephraim; this luxuriant soil drew upon him the envy of his most powerful brothers.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. from heaven, from whence the Shepherd's God, adored at the sacred stone (p. 343, 354), stretched down his mighty hands to uphold the hands of Joseph in battle. See also Ex. xvii. 12; тְּבִרְעָה there, and would not be so suitably combined etymologically with בְּרַכְתָּה, *iron*. The same phase of thought continues in verse 25, and then breaks suddenly into a distinct prophecy of future blessing. Probably instead of בְּרַכְתָּה שָׁרוּ we ought to read with the Samaritan text שָׁלָל.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. blessings of fruitfulness in every quarter—on the soil through rain and dew and springs of water, and on animal nature, both man and beast. All this lies concentrated in the words of these three little lines. Equally pregnant with blessing is the whole speech.

<sup>4</sup> As if this blessing of fruitfulness upon Joseph were still inadequate, the infinite blessing bestowed upon Jacob himself is finally invoked by him upon his son. The second בְּרַכְתָּה must be combined with בְּלָקֵבֶת τύρπος, and is chosen only for the play upon the word. Moreover, חֲלוּצֵי תָּהָרָה is to be read, and תָּהָרָה to be derived from תָּהָרָה (see my Lehrbuch, 7th ed., p. 481). The words might indeed be supposed susceptible of the following meaning:—'The blessings of thy father surpass the blessings of the eternal mountains, the joy (according to the meaning elsewhere borne by תָּהָרָה) of the everlasting hills,' i. e. perhaps, all the fruitfulness of mountains and hills; and a still

weighed down as it were with redundancy, to a degree which we find in no other of the oldest lyric fragments extant; and the words are stranger, the images bolder and sharper, than we meet with elsewhere. The complexion of the language and poetry thus transports us into the remotest antiquity, and assures us that these lines, if not literally spoken by the dying Patriarch, but by the usual poetic artifice put into his mouth by another, must yet proceed from some poet of the time before Moses.<sup>1</sup> And the substance of the lines leads us back into the immediate presence of those early days. We here observe at the very outset that Joseph is put into the closest connection with the ancient tribe of Ephraim, but in a sense quite different from that afterwards received (p. 382 sq.); while the concluding words bring Jacob before us as a prince possessing a power and dignity of which the ordinary histories would never allow us to suspect the existence. Also what is said of God, as the '*Shepherd of the Stone of Jacob*,' breathes the spirit of pre-Mosaic times. But the most remarkable part is the clear and circumstantial declaration about Joseph himself. As Joseph had been from the first the most highly blest, and subsequently enabled by Divine help to triumph over the assaults of enemies whom that very prosperity embittered against him, the Patriarch wishes for him not only all earthly blessing, but the continuance of those far higher spiritual gifts which he had himself enjoyed; in token of which he calls him the *Crowned among his brethren*, thereby designating him as his own successor. Such is the simple meaning of these words, which have been often considered obscure. But in this exaltation of Joseph above his brethren, it is of course implied that the powerful warlike antagonists over whom he triumphed at length, were no others than his brethren.<sup>2</sup> The contests must therefore have been very different

closer connection might be thus imagined between the blessings in verse 25, and these in verse 26. But the play on the word would then be very obscure; and a word such as **לְקָרֶב** *desire, joy*, cannot be merely identical with fruitfulness of soil; and it would also be unsuitable to speak of the blessings possessed or *dispensed* (if we were so to understand the word) by the father, as surpassing those mentioned in verse 25, which proceeded directly from God. Very pointed, however, is the intimation conveyed in these final words, of the extraordinary dignity and power formerly possessed by Jacob, and which was now to descend to Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> The whole Blessing of Jacob, as given in Gen. xlix., dates indeed (according to

p. 69 sqq.) from the age of Samson, and is therefore comparatively very ancient; but the special declaration about Joseph is so obviously distinct in its whole tone and manner from all the others, that we must consider it much older than they, and even as the model and earliest known example of this species of poetry. Similarly in the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. also, it is the passage about Joseph (verses 13-17) which must evidently have been borrowed by the poet of that song from some composition of earlier date, though less ancient than that which we are now considering. See the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 1192 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This must not be referred to the struggles between the tribes in the time

from that spiteful boys' play among the brothers of which we hear in the history of Joseph's boyhood ; and these ancient words transport us into the midst of the most ancient contests among the tribes of Israel, in their harsh undisguised reality. And it is just possible that we may trace here some foundation for the notion which seems to have held its ground as late as the time of Artapanus,<sup>1</sup> that Joseph, being oppressed by his brethren, himself implored some neighbouring Arab tribes to take him with them into Egypt. This is the simplest possible version of the story ; it is one which indicates most plainly a connection between Joseph and the Hyksôs ; and is the easiest to harmonise with the account given by the Third Narrator of the Midianite merchants, who carried Joseph into Egypt. And thus, as the Third Narrator often follows the earliest, it may possibly be derived from the very oldest authority.

But the poetical passage in question, above all others, here deserves our closest attention. In these lines and in Lamech's song (mentioned p. 267) we possess the only existing relics of the Hebrew poetry of the pre-Mosaic period, and may see from them how very early the art originated in that race. Their poetry was even then essentially the same as regards mere form, that we find it from the times of Moses and David ; but how different the spirit which pervades it ! especially in Lamech's song, which dates perhaps from a time before Abraham, and may be a genuine popular song, brought by the race from their last dwelling-place in the north. But even in Jacob's words we meet at every step a spirit which transports us into the life of the old pre-Mosaic age, and can even obtain a near view with our own eyes of the possibility of the formation of such oracles. That the spirit of a great father hovered invisible over his children after death with a power as indestructible as had been his influence during life, and that the three Patriarchs especially were still very near to their people, held by the mystic bond of a glorified fellow-life and sympathy,—was a faith which, as we have seen (p. 296), was long and firmly held by the nation, even after the transformation of their ideas by Moses. But this faith must have possessed the greatest force in the early ages, before either the mind of the individual or the soul of the nation had raised and concentrated itself upon the full reality and glory of the God who not till later, through Moses, became the one great possession of Israel. Among the Egyptians, a

of the Judges ; this would only be possible but not if these lines are derived from a if the poet were the same who wrote the far earlier age.  
blessings on the other tribes in Gen. xlix., <sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Prep. Ev.* ix. 23.

similar belief in the unquenchable vitality of the spirits of the mighty Dead, led early to the Oracle of the Dead; which from all indications appears to have attained its earliest and fullest development in that land of magic, and to have propagated thence its elaborate arts, and of course also its early degenerate superstitions, over the adjacent countries. It is a sign of the higher religion aspired after in Israel from the time of Abraham, that among them in Egypt itself we find, instead of those vulgar oracles, this eagerness to hear the voice of the resuscitated Patriarch, which was most to be expected when the weal or woe of the whole people was at stake. So it was in the earliest ages that such words of Jacob would most naturally be expected. All the various declarations in a similar sense put by later poets and poetical narrators into the mouth of Jacob and other Patriarchs,<sup>1</sup> are only imitations, which were continued through many centuries, until in yet later times such revelations were daringly attributed to Moses,<sup>2</sup> and to other saints of still more recent date.<sup>3</sup>

But the words of Jacob which we have just been considering, bear witness in this connection to the greatness attributed to this Patriarch also. For when it is here said in antique words and figures that the divine blessings granted him were ‘high as the hills,’ we gain an idea such as is now attainable nowhere else, of the historical importance and power of this Patriarch; and this most ancient and independent testimony adds no little weight to the series of evidence already brought forward (p. 342 sqq.) upon his history.

Returning now to the ordinary history of Joseph in order to investigate its component parts, we discover the following facts:—

I. Of the Earliest Narrator’s history of Joseph only some fragments remain;<sup>4</sup> and these relate only to the issue of the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xl ix. 1–21, 27; then passages such as Gen. xii. 1–3 by the Fourth, and xxvii. 27–29, 30, 40 by the Fifth Narrator of the primeval history; as has been already fully explained p. 104 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiii., comp. p. 128 sq.

<sup>3</sup> In Daniel. All this constituted a special branch of poetical and finally of literary art among the people of Israel. That these outpourings, as conceived by their own authoress, are not to be understood in a coarse literal sense, is shown by the fact that such a writer does not scruple at times to abandon the poetic style, and speak in plain prose. Thus this very Earliest Narrator of the primeval history, after giving Jacob’s words on his twelve sons, immediately, and with ex-

press reference to those words, speaks of the twelve Tribes, as if in explanation of his own more elevated language, Gen. xl ix. 28.

<sup>4</sup> They are here interwoven with the words of the Book of Origins; Gen. xlvi. 28–30, xl viii. 7, 22, l. 24–26; sentences the whole phraseology of which is quite antique, and perfectly different from that of the Book of Origins. Compare also Ex. xiv. 6, with Gen. xlvi. 29; Ex. xiii. 19 (a sentence connected with verses 17, 18) with Gen. l. 24–26. The same early document is also occasionally recognisable in single words; in פָּרָב in xl v. 18, 20), compared with Ex. xxii. 4 [5] *bis*; and in תְּמִזְבֵּחַ after-

story, and give us no information how Joseph first came into Egypt, or sent for his brothers thither. The most important fact concerning this history is the statement that Jacob sent Judah on before, to show him the way to Goshen;<sup>1</sup> which is difficult to reconcile with the account given by the Third and Fourth Narrators, of Joseph's sending chariots to meet him, since if these were sent, the precaution of sending Judah on before was unnecessary. But the First Narrator's account certainly does not require the assumption of a previous journey into Egypt on the part of all the brothers. We are told by this author that Joseph had disappeared from Canaan, and that his aged father never saw him again till he met him in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> But how any tidings of him first reached his kindred in Canaan, or why he summoned them into Egypt, the writer does not inform us.

From the Book of Origins, indeed, several rather long fragments of this history have been preserved;<sup>3</sup> and here we find the migration of all the tribes of Israel attributed to a protracted famine under which both Canaan and Egypt suffered.<sup>4</sup> And here the peculiar characteristics of this author are plainly visible: with his keen eye for the affairs of empires and nationalities and his admiration for legislative wisdom in their rulers, he makes Joseph his ideal statesman, careful at once for the weal of populous nations, and for the consolidation and increase of the royal authority, and winning his best victories through the combination of these seemingly opposite aims. By providently storing up in his garners supplies of corn sufficient for many years of possible scarcity, Joseph was enabled not only to secure to the people the present means of existence and the possibility of better times in future, but to establish a more solid organisation of government, such as a nation is very loth to accede to except in a time of overmastering necessity. The character of Egyptian government from early times had its origin in the peculiarity of the soil itself, which renders

wards very frequent, but foreign to the Book of Origins, Gen. xlvi. 34; see Levit. xviii. and *supra*, p. 94 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 28. The LXX. felt the difficulty here, and endeavoured to overcome it by a transposition of words and a freer translation.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlvi. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlvi. 5—xlvii. 26, xlviii. 3—7, xlviii. 22—xlxi., l. 12, 13, 22—26; these passages being understood with the limitation explained above. The words №№ xlvii. 23 and №№ xlvii. 22, 26 surprise us in the Book of Origins; and the latter may perhaps point to the Latest Narrator as

having partially rewritten some sentences.

<sup>4</sup> Whether any certain notice of this famine and of the Israelite immigration will ever be recovered in the early Egyptian literature, it is difficult to say. But something bearing the same general character has been already discovered: see Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, i. p. 56, 63; Samuel Birch in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift für Englisch-theol. Forschung*, 1861, p. 246—247; and many expressions of opinion by De Rougé, as in the *Revue Archéol.* 1860, p. 94. The seven years' famine in Egypt through dearth of rain, mentioned in Ovid's *Art of Love*, i. 647 sq. are certainly derived from the Bible.

it necessary for the ruling power to take into its own hands the charge of irrigation and other fertilising measures, in order to win from it a greater productiveness than is possible to the limited means and capricious treatment of individual cultivators. The latter thus become peculiarly dependent on the government, and may then be regarded almost as mere hereditary tenants of their lands, which they hold on consideration of constant and heavy dues paid to the state; but at the same time their own best interests are evidently thus promoted, as the same plan has been maintained in Egypt under every change of dynasty. And this was indeed only the earliest establishment of a system the essential principle of which is eventually adopted in every organised state: the only difference being whether alongside of this growing dependency of the individual upon the ruling power, which inevitably accompanies the growing power of the nation, the constitutional freedom of the community and the individual is or is not carefully preserved and exercised. The Book of Origins, therefore, in relating how Joseph took advantage of the pressure of famine to offer great relief in the terms of tenure, and as an equivalent therefor to persuade the Egyptians to dwell in organised town-communities, and to bring them into the position of tenants, holding their land and other possessions from the king, and paying him yearly the fifth of the produce, the land of the priests (which was regarded as holy, that is immediately derived as a special gift from the gods) being alone excepted,<sup>1</sup> says essentially the same as is reported at a much later date by the Greeks;<sup>2</sup> only that these exempt the lands of the warrior-caste also from this law, and refer the authorship of the law itself not to Joseph, but to no less a name than the celebrated ancient king Sesostris. As to the latter point, however, there seems at present no reason to give up the tradition contained in the Book of Origins in favour of this far more modern Greek version of the story. It is very probable that this new constitution of the kingdom took place immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksôs. And the wisdom for which Joseph was celebrated is not likely to have consisted only in his having induced the Israelites to settle in the country; such an enterprise as the peaceful settlement of a foreign race among the Egyptians implies in itself a long preceding series of well-considered measures for the benefit of the kingdom; and perhaps the Israelites were stationed on the eastern frontier quite as much as a protection against any possible internal disturbances as against the expelled Hyksôs. But to accuse Joseph of promoting by this means the establish-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 13-26.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 168; Diod. i. 73.

ment of an arbitrary and cruel system of government is a folly which has been already sufficiently disposed of.<sup>1</sup>

This historian, however, gives no particulars as to the duration of the famine in Egypt, but relates the great change effected by Joseph in the internal administration of the kingdom, with as much minuteness as if nothing had been previously said of the seven years. On occasion of the settlement of Israel in Egypt likewise, no mention is made of the seven years of famine. On Joseph's call the twelve tribes came to the eastern frontier; then only does he inform the king of them, of their ways of life, and the advantage which he may derive from their services, as good shepherds and guardians of the royal flocks;<sup>2</sup> and not till this moment do they receive the royal sanction to their settlement; all which looks as if what is said in xlvi. 17 sqq. had not been said at all. Moreover they come not solely on account of the famine, but with a definite and permanent position and occupation in view. Since all this is tolerably sufficient to render the whole story intelligible, it is probable that neither the Book of Origins, nor the yet older historian whom it here evidently closely follows, had described the commencement of Joseph's history with anything like the minute and graphic detail which our extant account possesses; and it is certainly not the result of chance that the oldest notices of Joseph contained in the long piece of narrative now extant are introduced towards the end.

The 'seventy souls,' who according to the Book of Origins went with Jacob into Egypt, may probably be understood to have originally signified the number of the heads of the assembled people. The number seventy or seventy-two naturally suggests this.<sup>3</sup> But this book, dealing with the whole subject of the

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew historian has obviously no partiality for this heavy Egyptian land-tax, nor for the Egyptians themselves, who submitted to it because they had no means of helping themselves. But as the nation, so is the ruler; and where the nation is helpless, it must be content with whatever help the ruler will give. In Israel itself, the administration and taxation were quite different; and the Book of Origins here only intends once more to explain a curious origin.

<sup>2</sup> That this post was very important, and might be regarded as one of the places about court, is evident from the general character of the courts of ancient kings. Compare 1 Chron. xxvii. 28-31 with Gen. xlvi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Alterthümer*, p. 284 sqq. It

is curious what internal contradictions have crept into an enumeration evidently calculated at first with great exactness, Gen. xlvi. 8-27. There ought to be 70 souls; but in verse 15 we should have to take 33 to be a slip of the pen for 32; since to add the father Jacob to these 32 contradicts the distinct words of verse 15, according to which only the sons and daughters (that is all the children) of Leah are intended to be comprised here. The reckoning is also unnecessarily perplexed by a second mention of Joseph's sons in verse 27 after that in verses 19-22; for we see from the number 66 given in verse 26, that Joseph himself ought also to be omitted from the previous enumeration. We must, therefore, suppose that the calculation was made originally

migration merely as a passage of early Israelitish history, and with reference only to the progenitors of the future nation, enumerates exactly as many names of Jacob's children and grandchildren as will, with Jacob's own, make up this round number. For this purpose the author doubtless employed the ancient family-pedigrees, admitting, however, in order to produce the round number, many a name which in his own time had become obsolete. This at least would fully explain the discrepancies between this as an antiquarian account of the ramifications of the tribes<sup>1</sup> and the legal enumeration elsewhere given in the Book of Origins,<sup>2</sup> and especially how to Benjamin ten families are assigned in the former and only six in the latter (see p. 368).

II. It seems from all indications to have been the Third Narrator whose lofty prophetic genius first threw the history of Joseph into that attractive spiritualised form, which made it the never-failing delight of later readers, and led to various attempts to elaborate it still further in the same style.

That Joseph, either as a tribe or as the father of a tribe, very early disappeared from Canaan, and then in Egypt unexpectedly rose to great power which turned to the advantage of all the tribes of Israel, had been, as we have shown, a long-established tradition. Various replies may perhaps have been given to the question, how and why he vanished from Canaan: but none would appear to the notions of that day so satisfactory as that which found the reason in the quarrels of jealous brothers; since the internecine feuds of the tribes had never within the memory of man been quite laid to rest, and burst out with especial fury just after the time of Solomon. We seem here to recognise the expression of a feeling which agitated the better heart of the Northern Kingdom,—a lament for the lot of Joseph, their hero; who, despite of the preeminence which was his by birth and gifts, was pursued by the jealousy of his brethren, and by their treachery driven into banishment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father. The narrator himself probably belonged to the northern kingdom; as may be inferred, not only from the great elaboration and peculiar distinctness given to this particular legend of Joseph the hero of that kingdom, but also from the circumstance, that among the other brothers he assigns the principal part not, like the other narrators, to Judah, but to

somewhat differently, and that the total ought properly to be 72. Supposing the right number in ver. 15 to be 83, and consequently one of Leah's offspring to be omitted, we have exactly 70 children, sons

and daughters, of Jacob; and with Jacob and Leah, 72.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 8–27; comp. Ex. i. 1–5, vi. 14–27 (p. 81 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxvi.

Reuben.<sup>1</sup> The conception which this writer formed of the brothers' treachery seems from all intelligible indications to have been as follows. The brothers, among whom the sons of the father's concubines bore a peculiar hatred towards the nobler born son, were going to kill him, but at the suggestion of Reuben, who hoped secretly to rescue him, only threw him into a pit. When they were gone, some trading Midianites (from the other side of the Jordan) heard his cries, pulled him out of the pit, and carried him secretly into Egypt to sell him as a slave.<sup>2</sup> This must have been the simplest form of the conception of Joseph's history which we are considering; leading at once to the story of Joseph's unlooked-for elevation from a servile condition to a position of high authority in Egypt; and we have every reason to consider this Egyptian legend of Joseph's servitude as the oldest basis of his story (p. 406 sq.). And in this version the thread of the narrative runs on naturally, telling how it happened that Joseph was sold to the Captain of the Executioners, who as such was governor of the State Prison, and how for his remarkable talents Joseph himself was by him put in charge of the prison, and from thence summoned before the king.

With the idea that Joseph's servitude had commenced even before he left Canaan, it was quite consistent to suppose him still very young when the great experiences of life came upon him. He was seventeen years old when made captive in Canaan, thirty when he became Pharaoh's servant, says the Third Narrator.<sup>3</sup> How far this chronology accords with that of the Book of Origins, cannot now be discovered with certainty, since Jacob's age at the time of his marriage, which this book in its original form probably gave, as it gave Isaac's and Esau's,<sup>4</sup> is omitted in the extant narrative. If however we may assume, as most consistent with the extant portions of the book,<sup>5</sup> that the writer supposed Jacob's marriage to have taken place, not in his seventieth year (which would follow from the first assumption), but soon after his fortieth, he must then have placed Joseph's birth, which was believed in ancient tradition to have happened twenty years after the marriage,<sup>6</sup> between Jacob's sixtieth and seventieth

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 21-24, 29, xlvi. 22, 37, 38; on the other hand xlvi. 48, in the First Narrator, and xxxvii. 25-28, xlvi. 3-10, xliv. 18-34 in the Fourth. This change is especially perceptible and in itself inexplicable between xlvi. and xlvi. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Gen. xl. 15 with xxxvii. 28, 36. The insertion of the Midianites is cer-

tainly earlier than that of the Ishmaelites, because the latter name is more general and recent, the former much more definite and ancient, see p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2, xlvi. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxv. 20, comp. 26, xxvi. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Gen. xxvi. 34 with xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxi. 38, 41; comp. xxx. 25.

years ; whereas according to the Third Narrator it must have occurred in his ninetieth, if we assume that Jacob, as is stated in the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> was one hundred and thirty years old when he came to Egypt, and that only the Third and Fourth Narrators' seven years of plenty and two of famine intervene between Joseph's elevation and Jacob's arrival.<sup>2</sup> The irreconcilableness of these numbers is in truth a proof of the different origin of the narratives themselves.

The disjointed fragments of popular versions such as these of the story of Joseph now receive a new life worthy of the great subject, through one grand idea inspired by a narrator, who deserves to be distinguished from all others by the epithet of the prophetic. Through jealousy and folly the brothers would fain annihilate one whose goodness is inconvenient to themselves ; but he, by remaining always true to himself even in the depths of misery, becomes the unconscious instrument of a great deliverance which triumphs over all ills, and spreads its blessings upon all :—a glorious proof, that good, whether as the Divine will, or as the highest force of the human, is always mightier than its opposite.<sup>3</sup> To a God who thus always works out good, Joseph becomes the great instrument for good. He is therefore here not merely the great sage and the wise statesman as in the Book of Origins, but a hero of pure devoted love, and of untiring activity for the good of all. While love in its purity is thus the very essence of his own being, his severest trials are brought about by its two opposites,—by the false love of his too doting father, and by the hatred of his brethren. But, remaining ever true to himself, indefatigable for good even in an Egyptian prison, he becomes finally the benefactor, not only of those who had injured him, but even of a multitude of nations. But those who have offended against perfect love, whether by false love or by hatred, cannot be restored without first passing through a severe trial. The aged father had been already sufficiently punished by the long and woeful loss of his too fondly loved son. A more humiliating expiation awaits the brothers : he who in his own life realises the true love and wisdom himself becomes the instrument of their expiation. To him, without knowing him, they must have recourse in their own time of need, and to him must pray for mercy even when they have recognised him.<sup>4</sup> But he, with painful self-constraint and the semblance of cruelty, will not show them all his love, till he

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvi. 9.

conclusion (Gen. 1. 20), very clearly reveals the principle of his entire narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlvi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> This narrator himself indeed, at the

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xlvi. 1. 15-21.

has repeatedly probed them to the quick, brought them to a voluntary confession of their sin, and made new and better men of them.<sup>1</sup>

The general conception being thus maintained at the true prophetic elevation, the separate images and incidents also are here of a prophetic character. The dream, as a prophetic power, is the mainspring which brings about the events. In a dream the boy with innocent surprise first divines his future greatness;<sup>2</sup> a dream occurs twice in the Egyptian prison and forms the turning point of his destiny;<sup>3</sup> in a dream, lastly, the whole future fate of Egypt is locked up from the king, and the interpretation of that dream opens Joseph's path to greatness.<sup>4</sup> The prominence given to this agency is, as we saw on p. 99, characteristic of the narrator; but it is also peculiarly appropriate in a picture of Egyptian life, the belief in dreams having been from the earliest times very strong among that people.<sup>5</sup>

III. This narrative, already worked up so elaborately and attractively by the Third Narrator, was again amplified by the Fourth, who, as if fascinated by its beauty, drew out some of its threads to greater length and inserted new ones. He also introduces darker colours, as when at the very outset<sup>6</sup> he represents the brothers as deliberately selling their brother. From him proceeds a new trial which Joseph has to undergo, from false love of another kind, on the part of Potiphar's wife.<sup>7</sup> To insert this conveniently it was necessary to bring Joseph first into Potiphar's house, and from thence into the prison. This looks very much as if the governor of the prison whose favour Joseph enjoyed were not Potiphar but some one else. To this author is also due the prolonged suspense of the final trial of Joseph's brethren on their second journey.<sup>8</sup> Joseph's divining-cup also,<sup>9</sup> though apparently harmonising with the prophetic colouring of the Third Narrator, really belongs to the Fourth; and is found on consideration to represent a mode of prophecy very different from the dreams of the former writer.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlii, xlvi.

Narrators. See de Rougé, in the *Revue Archéol.* 1862, ii. p. 389. A similar story is given by Nicolaus of Damascus; see C. Müller's *Fragmenta Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 389 (56). Moreover, nothing can be more similar than the legend of Siyâvush in the Shâhnâme.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvii.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 25 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xl.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxxix.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xli.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xliv. 2, 5.

<sup>5</sup> That narrator depicts Egyptian customs throughout with great truth of colouring; but this the Book of Origins had already done in its own way (according to p. 413 sq.); and the intercourse between Egypt and Israel was very considerable throughout the life-time of all these four

It was the Fifth Narrator by whom all these various elements were wrought into a single narrative.<sup>1</sup>

But even under the hands of these later authors the history of Joseph in one respect faithfully retains its original character,—in so far as it remains perfectly distinct in character from the stories of the Patriarchal age. Joseph's blameless character has indeed much of the Patriarchal type; being in fact much superior to Jacob's, and notably distinguished from Moses and Aaron, the greatest of his successors. But in other respects he and his brothers move within the limits of ordinary life, without any of those revelations from above which were granted to the three Patriarchs. It was reserved for far later writers in the Old Testament to ignore this distinction, and to place Joseph on a perfect equality with the Patriarchs (p. 288).

In Greek and Latin authors, with the single exception of the passage mentioned at p. 411, we find nothing respecting Joseph, but what has been either derived immediately from the Old Testament records, or naturally inferred from them.<sup>2</sup> For the invention of weights and measures, referred by Artapanus<sup>3</sup> to Joseph, is perhaps only inferred from the wise division of land and produce which as we have seen was attributed to him, although it is possible that the Egyptians may have first received a system of weights and measures from the Babylonians or some other Semitic people (p. 336). And it is only from his repute as the fertiliser of Egypt, that some old Arabic writers, expressing evidently the popular notion then existing in Egypt itself, refer to him the formation of the great water-works and canals at Fayyum.<sup>4</sup>

But the history of Joseph, when once recorded for everlasting remembrance in the Pentateuch, ought not to have been so wonderfully attractive, if it were not to tempt early writers of the Hellenistic age to expand it still further in the style approved by the taste of that age. At least in the last century before Christ this history must have furnished the subject for a new ornate and imaginative treatment, on a large scale,

<sup>1</sup> From chapter xvi. the Last Narrator repeats the words of the Book of Origins, with slight alterations and additions; but the passages xviii. 9–21, l. 1–11, 14–21, are again by the Third Narrator, and prove that he also described the deliverance out of Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Artapanus and the poet Philo, in Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* ix. 23 sq.; Justin xxxvi. 2, 7–10; where Moses even becomes Joseph's son; Josephus *Ant.* ii. 2–8. Nor does the *Testamentum Sim.* ii.–v. contain

anything new.

<sup>3</sup> In Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 23. Josephus in like manner ascribes to Abraham the invention of geometry among the Egyptians (p. 336); nay, he even derives it ultimately from Cain, as the earliest tiller of the ground: *Ant.* i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Abdalhakam's *Hist. Aegypt.* ed. Karle p. 4, 11–14. But many other ancient buildings were also ascribed to him: see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 530.

originating just where a writer might feel impelled thereto, in Egypt. This work has not yet been recovered; but Fl. Josephus quotes from it a trait which pleased him,<sup>1</sup> though without saying or apparently remembering whence he had derived it. And it was perhaps this book which made the characteristic Egyptian comparison of Joseph with Sarapis,<sup>2</sup> a demigod who only appears in the Ptolemaic age, who was described as a beautiful youth who, having been through the infernal regions, imparts to men in this upper world various gifts of healing, and also plenteous harvests,—in token of which latter character he bore on his head a corn measure and a yard measure. Other authors, misled by the similarity of name, identified Joseph the sage with Æsop.<sup>3</sup> The twelfth Sura of the Koran,<sup>4</sup> remarkable on many accounts, contains a poetical enlargement of the legend founded primarily upon embellished versions of history, such as we find in Fl. Josephus; and this again was afterwards worked up more highly by Mohammedan writers, in their poems of ‘Yûsuf and Zalikha (Zulaikha).’ These however differ so widely from the original legend in tone and feeling, that they have no claim to be regarded as true offshoots from the grand old stem.<sup>5</sup> But in later times they even showed Joseph’s tomb beside the Nile,<sup>6</sup> though (according to p. 406) it must from the time of Moses have been only an empty sepulchre.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* ii. 4. 3–5. It deserves to be investigated whether the Syrian work treating of Joseph’s history, in a Nitrian Codex in the British Museum, be an old translation of this which was in use in the time of Josephus. And the same work may probably be intended by the title, *The Words of Joseph the Just*, in the *Ascensio Iesaiæ*, iv. 22; or by that of *The Book of Asenath*, so called from Joseph’s wife, mentioned in Gen. xli. 45, xlii. 20; the commencement of which is given in Greek in the *Codex Pseudepigraphus* of Fabricius ii. p. 85–102; and which according to Dillmann’s *Catal. Codd. Aeth. Musæi Britann.* p. 4 is found complete in the Aethiopic Canon.

<sup>2</sup> According to Melito in Cureton’s *Spic. Syr.* p. 24, 6; and something similar even in the *Gemâra*, at γγ iii. 3; and also in Suidas, under Σαράπις. On Sarapis see Taciti *Hist.* iv. 81–84; Plutarch *On Isis and Osiris*, xxviii. sq. If he was distinguished, as Plutarch says, by the sign of the *Cerberus* and *Dragon*, the question arises whether his name is not identical with Σέρπης (p. 322); Egyptian it evidently cannot be; and in Pontus, whence it

passed into Egypt, such a name might be indigenous.

<sup>3</sup> See Ebedjesu in Assemani’s *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 1. p. 74 sq.; Reiske in *Lessing’s Werke*, vol. xxvi. p. 355; J. Zündel, *Espace était-il Juif ou Egyptien?* *Revue Archéol.* 1861, i. p. 354–69.

<sup>4</sup> See further remarks on this in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1860, p. 1452 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Philo describes this son of Jacob, speaking the sense of the later legend, as the *Ever Young* (i. p. 309), but in his little work *On Joseph*, he gives as usual only a lengthy and rhetorical, often bad and offensive paraphrase of the Bible narrative, and yet gives an allegorical interpretation of the first half. On principle he follows no other authorities; but yet he sometimes deviates, and makes in xx. a remarkable addition. To make the narrative consistent, he also leaves out some facts entirely, e. g. the preparatory mission of Judah, mentioned p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> See Abdalhakam’s *Hist. Aegypt.* p. 15, and the Rabbinical passages in Heidenheim’s *Deut. Vierteljahrsschrift für Engl. theol. Forschung*, 1861, p. 248 sqq.

C. JOSEPH AS THE FIRST-BORN OF ISRAEL. CONCLUSION OF  
THE PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

The memory of that great change which took place in Israel some 430 years before Moses, took a form quite in the spirit of prehistoric tradition, in the brief and significant title given to Joseph, The First-Born of Israel.<sup>1</sup> ‘The Crowned among his Brethren,’ he had been also named in Jacob’s ancient Blessing (p. 409); yet well as this expresses the ancient preeminence of that one tribe, a still deeper meaning is conveyed in the words, First-Born of Israel. Tradition, seeking a new and fitting name and idea to express every important relation among men, could here find no image so happy as the conception that Reuben originally held precedence in Israel, and Joseph afterwards came into his place—that what the former forfeited for his arrogance (p. 373 sq.) the latter gained by wisdom and faithfulness. Nor let it be understood as referring only to the mortal individual Joseph; for it is the tribe of Joseph which remained the leading race, from the Egyptian period until many centuries after the time of Moses, and whose preeminence, gained in those early days, became so completely incorporated with the national life, as to give its peculiar impress to the later history. When Judah rose in later times to such importance among the twelve tribes as might have entitled him equally to the designation First-Born, the primitive modes of thought and expression had so far passed away, that such a title was scarcely likely to be applied to him.<sup>2</sup>

Reuben, the natural First-Born of Israel, whose right, even when he had trifled it away, could not be forgotten; Joseph, whose exalted virtues won for him the forfeited place; Judah, to whom in fact though not in name the honour finally fell: these three figures may be regarded as typifying three great periods of Israelite history, the two first of which belong to the dim twilight of the prehistoric age. And how long must even the first of these national conditions have endured, to impress its remembrance on the national mind, indelible through all the changes and convulsions of later years!

At the close of the prehistoric period of Israel, we may consider that this much at least has been made evident—that if

<sup>1</sup> This is referred to as early as in the *bullock*. See also 1 Chron. v. 1, 2. very ancient passage, Gen. xlvi.ii.-22; but also in the often retouched Blessing of Jacob, in Deut. xxxiii. 17, we find an allusion to it in the phrase, *a firstling*

<sup>2</sup> As is in fact expressly stated in 1 Chron. v. 2, compared with 2 Sam. xix. 44, according to the reading of the LXX.

only we diligently seek and rightly apply all the means at our command, many most important historic truths may be recovered even from that distant age. We have not telescopes of sufficient power to discern and describe each single star among the glittering multitude of that distant heaven; yet some single stars begin to shine with greater brilliancy, if we will but refrain from gratuitously throwing dust into our eyes. And it is not impossible that we may yet discover still more as we gain by degrees more efficient means of observation.

Nor is our view wholly limited to Israel as one of the nations of the earth,—to an acquaintance with some of its early habits and institutions. Imperishable fragments of Israelite Poetry and Prophecy have been borne to us safely on the waves of the far-off ocean of primeval history; thus revealing to us the antiquity of the origin of those two influential arts, which especially in that nation were to become so wonderful a power.

# HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

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## BOOK II.

### THE THEOCRACY.

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#### INTRODUCTION.

THE Migration of Israel into Egypt, and the history of Joseph, stand on the border-land between the preliminary and the actual history of the people. But during the long years of their fixed settlement in Egypt, we see the Israelites not merely enter as an actual people into the clear light of comparatively well known history, but also soon boldly aspire after, and attain to, the supreme rank in that kind of constitution and government which became the most marked and enduring portion of their whole two thousand years' history, and constituted that history's noblest life and its high importance for the general history of the world. This is the THEOCRACY—one among many kinds of rule and polity; as mutable and changeable as any other; passing through the most varied changes and admixtures in Israel, often distorted until all likeness was lost, and weakened so as to threaten total decay, and in semblance found among other nations of antiquity; and yet, in its actual form, unique in this one people, and wholly new on earth—the sole true life and undying breath of its history, always renewing itself on its deepest basis, all chances and changes notwithstanding, and in the course of its development only unfolding itself again to a fuller and riper perfection, till at length it attains to the only true and adequate realisation possible to it. For this Theocracy in Israel is in itself nothing else than the effectual commencement of all true religion in an entire people and realm; and this like every other necessary great effort and movement in the life of humanity, when once really begun, can find no repose until it attain its full development. As it first appeared, it ~~was~~ folded, like the grain before it begins to sprout and grow,

lowest compass; and then grew to be the purest, and inal purity the intrinsically strongest, but at the same

time, the most circumscribed and outwardly weakest—in a word what may be briefly called *pure* Theocracy.

But even this pure Theocracy—at once the commencement of the whole history, and the first of its principal divisions and epochs—did not attain its full maturity and influence as easily, or as rapidly, as a superficial survey might lead us to believe. For it is not until the glorious days of the first complete deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian rule and their irrevocable return from Egypt, that we see its real development and power; and the years which intervened between the giving of the law at Sinai, and the conquest of Canaan under Joshua—a period short indeed, but most influential and decisive for all future time,—constitute the highest point, as well as the grand central period of this first long epoch of the entire history. But this elevated point rises very gradually out of the low broad plain of the residence in Egypt; and it is incontrovertible—the history of the whole ancient world in its earliest developments being what it was—that this very Egyptian ground is the only one from which it could arise. For it is only where such an uncommonly high intellectual culture, accompanied by such lofty aspirations, had been already fully developed, as they were in Egypt apparently in the remotest times, and were even ripe enough to be tending to a new and still higher culture, that the living germ of so thoroughly new a life-aim could be first formed, and then developed at so early a date. It was certainly not by chance that the very highest gift bequeathed to us by a remote antiquity germinated on that soil alone, which had already for thousands of years been more deeply intellectualised than any other country on earth; and it is Moses, the greatest hero of this first epoch, and in many respects of the whole history of Israel, whose memory reveals to us most emphatically and distinctly the strict connection of the Egyptian times of Israel with the succeeding ones, and their highest result, the Theocracy. We have therefore full reason to consider all the 430 years of the residence in Egypt as the first stage of this first great epoch, and to examine narrowly, how much light may even now be thrown upon the long night that preceded the day of that era.

## SECTION I.

## ISRAEL IN EGYPT. TRAINING FOR THE THEOCRACY.

## A. INFLUENCE OF THE RESIDENCE IN EGYPT UPON THE ISRAELITES.

## I. THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION.

If the emigration of the Israelites to Egypt had the definite ground already assigned, it is explained how the influence of the Egyptians upon Israel could be as strong and lasting as it undoubtedly was. From their position, the Israelites could not bar themselves against the customs and ideas of the ruling nation. The Hyksôs were far more in a position to shut themselves off from the more or less subjugated Egyptians, and yet even they gradually adopted much from that nation of ancient culture.<sup>1</sup> This could not fail to react on the people of Israel also; whose heads, especially the leading tribe of Joseph, necessarily had manifold and important occasions of intercourse with the Egyptian court and the ruling classes. When it is related that Joseph obtained from Pharaoh in marriage, Asenath a daughter of Potipherah, priest of Ôn or Heliopolis;<sup>2</sup> and that Moses was brought up by a daughter of Pharaoh, and therefore initiated, as later writers naturally added, in all the wisdom of Egypt; when even Joseph's Egyptian title of rank and office is still very faithfully preserved:<sup>3</sup> we have every reason to see in all this only a few striking reminiscences of the strong influence of a people of ancient culture and established government upon a less cultivated nation associated with them. Even some Egyptian words naturalised in Hebrew serve as constant witnesses to the intimate connection between the two nationalities.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This follows from what was noticed on p. 388, 399, of the recent excavations by Mariette and de Rougé on the site of the ancient Tanis, though many of the views advanced by them may be as yet unproved.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xli. 45, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Φονθουμφαρήχ. Gen. xli. 45, according to the LXX., who here undoubtedly preserve more accurately the Egyptian pronunciation. On the Hebrew pronunciation see my *Lehrb.* § 78 b. The entire descrip-

tion of the elevation of Joseph ver. 40-45, with its peculiar words and accurate delineations is evidently derived from the earliest narrator; only ver. 44 appears added by the Fifth Narrator, as a mere explanation to ver. 40. How easily, on the other hand, an Egyptian slave was adopted into the noblest houses of Israel, is shown by the ancient narrative in 1 Chron. ii. 34 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The names for weights, פָּנִים and בְּנֵי נֶגֶב especially belong here, (comp. Böckh's

How penetrating Egypt's influence, especially on the mind of Israel, was, and how hard it was for many Israelites to forget the charms of the land and soil as well as of the peculiar intellectual life of Egypt, the subsequent history shows by no obscure indications; for, especially in certain gloomy moments of the Mosaic times, the heart of the people suddenly turned back, and the old longing awoke again for the customs and ideas to which they had been habituated during the long residence in Egypt.

Still we must guard against exaggerating the influence of Egyptian life upon the Israelites during those centuries. On this subject it is most instructive to form a clear idea of what this people really was in those old times, and what powerful instincts it possessed which separated it widely from the Egyptians. Though some of these traits have been already noticed, they must now be discussed more fully and systematically.

Above all, the Israelites, on their settlement in Egypt, were much simpler in habits and culture than the Egyptians, and therefore incapable of taking any pleasure in their religion, already degraded into superstition through artificiality and over-subtlety. The refined ideas on the personality and independent life of the spirit, the sacredness of life, the immortality of the soul, and the mysterious judgment after death reserved for all humanity, had long been held most vividly by the Egyptians, even in that distant age. But they had very early been so grievously complicated with many extraneous coarse and sensual notions, as to lead to that curious worship of animals and of the dead,<sup>1</sup> in which the priests kept the people implicated down to the latest times. No sharper antithesis to this ingenious and yet utterly sensuous system of religion could be found than the God and the worship of Israel. The religion

*Metrol. Unters.* p. 244 sq.), also נִילָה *Nile grass*, and נִילָה *Nile*, although these gradually attained a wider signification. Others, as בְּרַכָּה or בְּרַכָּת Job iii. 14, פָּרָם <sup>or</sup> pyramid (comp. p. 397, and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1851, p. 431), בְּרַכָּת *liberos* must from their wide diffusion belong rather to the period of the Hyksós. The question of the possible ultimate connection between these two families of languages, is quite distinct from this, and is treated in my two *Sprachwiss. Abhandl.* 1831 sq.

<sup>1</sup> How natural this animal-worship is,

particularly in Africa, may be seen from Livingstone's *Travels*, ii. p. 275, 301; but in Egypt it was affected by the influence of a peculiar and higher system of ideas held by the priesthood. Whether the oldest Egyptian religion was already refined up to so high a point as de Rougé describes in the *Revue Archéol.* 1860, p. 72 sq., ought to be more fully investigated. That Israel was ever attracted towards the true Egyptian animal-worship, is very improbable; and it is equally incapable of proof that the Bull-worship of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was borrowed from Egypt..

of this nation, as of the other Semites and their nearest kindred, was far simpler, more straightforward, and even more inclined to adhere to bloody offerings than the Egyptian; but (as was shown p. 317 sqq.) from the time of Abraham's influence, it had gained a striking upward tendency towards the lofty and elevating. By nothing are nations, and even the separate members of the same nation, kept asunder so sharply and permanently as by religious differences; and the oldest and greatest example of this which appears in the clear light of history is that which was to be given here. Difference of religion, indeed, divides most easily in cases where other powerful influences work in the same direction, but these also were not wanting here.

The Israelites, though they had entered into a close union with Egypt, had done so only for the special purpose of guarding the north-eastern frontier against Asia. They had therefore originally preserved full independence, and were inspired by all their earlier history with sufficient pride to maintain it for the future. They had obtained this honourable post for their military skill and ardour, at a time when the Egyptians had all this yet to learn; and they therefore remained long practised in arms and dreaded in war. After the times of Egyptian oppression, too, under Moses, and still more under Joshua, they immediately became again a nation of valiant fighters and conquerors.

Their outward habits of life were also quite different from those of the Egyptians. It would, however, be a great mistake to imagine them to have been then a merely roving (or nomadic) pastoral race. Between fixed and roving tribes there are many intermediate grades; on one of these Israel then stood. The love of freedom and independence inherited from earlier times, in conflict with the long-settled nations of Southern Asia and Egypt, created a distaste for being bound to the soil or enclosed in fortified cities, as those nations were. So they liked to till the ground where they settled, being already long used to agriculture; but along with this they were fond of rearing extensive flocks and herds, and had greater pride and pleasure in these, which also brought them greater wealth.<sup>1</sup> And, regarding simplicity and freedom as the highest element in religion also,

<sup>1</sup> Thus the lives of the Patriarchs and their relatives are always described, from correct remembrance, Gen. xxvi. 12, xxxvii. 7, Job. i. 14, xxix. 6 sqq., xxxi. 40. Nations of similar hybrid habits are not very uncommon, either in antiquity or now; see Wallin, in the *Journ. of the R. Geogr. Soc.*

xxiv. p. 131; Seetzen's *Risien*, ii. p. 328; Vanderveerde's *Syria and Pal.* i. p. 254 sq. Ishmael and Esau, on the other hand, were rightly regarded by tradition as gradually sinking lower and lower into the more savage habits of the desert.

they preferred easily movable sanctuaries, and altars open to the sky. They were indeed already in the stage of transition to the completely stationary life, and might soon be reconciled to the advantages as well as the demands of that, if driven towards it by any powerful new impulse from without. At one moment it might seem to a wise man such as Joseph as if the land of Goshen could bind the nation for ever to itself, and transform them into a completely stationary people. This land, extending eastwards from the Bubastic arm of the Nile to the great Arabian desert, has even now a more Arabian than truly Egyptian soil, and, as a pasture-land, has been left by the Egyptians ever since the days of the Hyksos chiefly to tribes which, besides the necessary agriculture, devote themselves principally to pasturage.<sup>1</sup> Many of the cities which flourished there in ancient times always retained names purely Semitic;<sup>2</sup> and the whole state of affairs in the very district from which the irruption of the Hyksos once set forth, offered great obstacles to any considerable blending of Egyptian and Semitic life. Here then, and especially so long as they kept within these their first confines, the Israelites long remained in considerable independence and fidelity to their nationality. This locality of the new home of the Israelites, on the border of Egypt, where it was easy to establish connections with Asia, was in itself unfavourable to a rapid absorption into Egyptian nationality. The utterly foreign habits of Israel also tended to the same result: to true Egyptians this hybrid life, divided between tillage and cattle-breeding, was detestable (p. 389), partly on its own account, partly from their vivid remembrance

<sup>1</sup> As Herodotus and the rest of the ancients expressly mention; the Copts too call this country *ti Arabia*; on the Pithom named below see especially Herod. ii. 158. Thence also we explain *Γεσέη Ἀραβίας* in the LXX., although it only occurs Gen. xlvi. 10, xlvi. 34, instead of the simple *Γεσέη*, and looks therefore in these two places like a later explanatory addition.

<sup>2</sup> As *לְקָרֶב* or, according to another pronunciation, *מַגְדָּלוֹן*, for which the Copts say *Meshtōl* i. e. *tower*, or *fortress*. This was the name of a place not far from Pelusion, which is alluded to Jer. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14; Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6; another lay more to the west near Myekphoris, Pithom, and Bubasti (for these two are accurately distinguished in the lists in de Sacy's *Abdolatif*, p. 617, and in Champollion *l'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 69, 79); a third, evidently different from both, is the one mentioned only in Num. xxxiii. 7, and

Ex. xiv. 2, because it lay not far from the northern point of the Red Sea; and in truth these three fortresses, north, west, and south, formed the best protection of the boundaries of the entire country for the Hyksos. Another place here with a Semitic name, is *תִּלְעֵד hut*, *תִּלְעֵד לְזָבֵד* is a Semitic transformation; in the same way as the ancient Peremón was translated by the Greeks into *Pelusion*, by the Arabs into *Thine*, and similarly by the Hebrews into *Sin*. But such names as *Vicus Iudeorum*, in *Itiner. Anton.* (169 Wessel.) and the Arabic *Till el-Jekid*, which are likewise found in that region, had their origin at a period with which we are not now accurately acquainted, but doubtless a late one; especially as these countries again come into near connection with the Jews at a far later age, the time of Ptolemy Philometer.

of the hated Hyksôs. Such deep-seated differences in the entire mode of life, inherited from the earliest times, always form a very sharp, and often in the long run an incurable separation between nations.

Yet the connection of the Israelites with the Egyptians was after all at first and for a long time so friendly and close, and the superiority of the latter in all the arts of civilised life so great, that in the undisturbed progress of national development the Israelites must inevitably be entangled more and more in the Egyptian habits. Above all it cannot be denied that the Israelites, from that near connection with a people highly civilised even at that early period, learned many of the higher appliances and arts of life, which, as we shall see, they certainly possessed on their Exodus from Egypt, and never afterwards wholly lost. The skilful artificers who assisted Moses in the erection of the sanctuary with their various handicrafts<sup>1</sup> were true Hebrews, but they had doubtless laid the foundation of their art in Egypt. Nor was the case very different with the Semitic art of writing, which the Israelites certainly practised after their abode in Egypt (see p. 49 sqq.); and which, according to every indication, was a genuine product of the reciprocal action of Egyptian and Semitic culture. For the idea of moulding the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing to a simple fixed phonetic system would most naturally arise when a nation of non-Egyptian language wished to adapt it to its own wants. Whereas a most imperfect mode of writing may go on essentially unchanged and unimproved among one people and for one language for thousands of years by the mere force of custom,<sup>2</sup> it may yet receive great simplification and improvement, so soon as it is transferred to a perfectly foreign language, for which it was not calculated, and to which it is nevertheless to be applied; because then reflection becomes necessary as to what is really essential, and a new spirit is breathed into the old materials. Just as the Chinese writing has led among the Japanese to syllabaries, and among the Coreans to an alphabet,<sup>3</sup> so the Egyptian must have received from the Hyksôs that momentous simplification and new adaptation, which passed over to the other so-styled Semitic nations. This much we may safely assume generally, because the circumstances themselves warrant it.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxi. 2 sq., xxxv. 30 sq., xxxviii. 22 sq., comp. 1 Chron. ii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Of which the best proof is found in the Semitic writing on the one hand, and the Chinese on the other.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Abel-Rémusat in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. viii. 1827, p. 34–59, and in the *Éléments de la grammaire japonaise*, par le P. Rodriguez, Paris, 1825.

But to which of the numerous tribes designated by the name Hyksôs the discovery is due, cannot now be ascertained. That it was Israel cannot be proved, and is in itself improbable (p. 50 sqq.) ; but the Israelites undoubtedly appropriated the invention in Egypt, and never lost it again.<sup>1</sup>

This same close contact with Egypt, however, involved the great danger to the Israelitish character, of gradually melting away entirely into the Egyptian, and of thus losing that undeveloped germ of better things which they possessed. The influences which a nation long civilised and grown grey in all the arts of life, exercises on a martial people still quite young and untainted in heart, are seldom improving or salutary. Perhaps there is no country in the world which equally with the luxurious valley of the Nile, by its facilities for the enjoyments of life, permits its old inhabitants to grow perfectly effeminate and morally corrupt, or which so swiftly infects its newly settled children with the thick and poisonous atmosphere exhaled around them. That on this spot, from the earliest times, an amazing degree of culture was joined with great depravity, the very pictures on the splendid national monuments are unable to conceal ; though the dark side of life was the last thing that they would intentionally so perpetuate.

But in the case of a people such as we must imagine Israel to have then been—so full of fresh aspiring energies, and doubtless of ennobling ancestral recollections also ; recently raised so high by Joseph, and proud of his memory ; and, notwithstanding its intimate connection with the most civilised kingdom of the then world, remaining legally so independent as to its occupation, habits of life, and place of abode—this very danger was in the end more likely to beget a violent reaction against all such Egyptian influences, and an irreconcilable antagonism in the respective tendencies ; provided only they did not prove utterly false to themselves, but still preserved a sufficient store of their ancient honest and simple spirit. The greater the error that confronts such a spirit, the more extraordinary may be the new truths to which it is brought in the conflict with that error, and the more resolutely will it hold these hardly-won spoils of the battle ; and the many directions in which Egyptian life then went astray afforded a possibility for just so many higher truths, which could only be won in that struggle. Egyptian life had long resigned itself to too

<sup>1</sup> Some attempts have quite recently been made to demonstrate the origin of the 22 Semitic letters from the hiero-

graphic, or rather from the hieratic writing (see *Revue Archéol.*, 1864, i. p. 226) ; but they are not yet completed.

sensuous a conception of divine things ; and with the multitude at least, images of all sorts were obliged to supply the place of the living God. In fact there, earlier than among any people, images of most alluring and seductive aspect became the objects of adoration. Accordingly, by the very power of contrast, the truth that the living God must be quite different from these, broke forth at length with all the greater force. The division into castes and the sacerdotal power were early developed in Egypt ; and in particular, foreigners, as being hateful to the Gods, were declared unworthy of participation in sacred things. But a people who, like the Israelites, approached the Egyptians in civilisation, and were yet thus repulsed by them, would become all the more jealous of their own dignity ;<sup>1</sup> and the truth, that the whole people and the whole congregation ought to be priestly shone forth in the end with the greater brightness. The kingly power, although often in collision with the priestly, was early carried in Egypt to its furthest limit, and transformed into pure caprice : but this only enabled the truth, that the eternal and purely beneficent sovereignty must be sought elsewhere than in the mortal body of an earthly king, to come forth at length with more irresistible power.

Concerning this long abode in Egypt we possess only scattered fragments of recollections ; for the nation, during the bright era which succeeded the deliverance by Moses, looked with gloomy aversion upon a period which had ended in a wearisome oppression. It is therefore utterly impossible here to fill in the details of the history. But regarding only its general result, a single glance shows what an immense advantage the Israelites possessed over all cognate tribes, in standing thus early in such close and enduring contact, whether friendly or otherwise, with the most cultivated nation of that age. For though their life might thus become more harassed and oppressed than that of their kindred tribes who wandered free in Asia, or settled down where their own fancy directed, they early attained that greater dexterity and suppleness, which raised them intellectually high above those ; of which tradition has preserved an emphatic image in Jacob's Victory in the contest with Esau. And it is clear in the second place that, owing to their peculiar relation to the Egyptians, the only two courses open to the Israelites were, either to suffer their own individuality to be absorbed by the powerful attraction of Egypt, or else to

<sup>1</sup> This feeling is expressed very clearly in the earliest narrative respecting the circumcision, particularly in the words Josh. v. 9 : 'This day is the reproach of the Egyptians (that you are an impure race) taken from you.'

maintain it by most strenuous opposition. And the great events of the time soon compelled them to decide for one or the other, as no third course lay open.

## II. THEIR ALTERED POSITION.

That the connection between Israel and Egypt could not long continue such as it had been when first cemented, and such as it might have lasted during Joseph's life, lies in its very nature, if that has been correctly determined. Though the Israelites may at first have been indispensable for the defence of the frontier against the nations of the east, and so have been joyfully received by Pharaoh as is recorded, yet that usefulness might come to an end so soon as that object appeared to be fully attained. It is always a misfortune for a civilised realm to be obliged to tolerate within its own border a distinct nation with its own law and polity; especially if armed and well equipped. Should the momentary advantage which drew the two parties into such a position towards each other, appear secured, and the danger be no longer pressing, or should irritating differences spring up, then either the more warlike ally, even if inferior in numbers, will absorb the nation it was called in to assist, as the Germans did the Roman Empire, and the Turks the Mohammedan Empire; or else the nation aided will be compelled to use efforts to bring its ally under the influence of its own habits and laws; and, should it encounter opposition, will be only too prone to have recourse to force.

We cannot look upon the people of Israel during this period otherwise than as an uncorrupt, manly, warlike nation, especially in comparison with the Egyptians; for even at its close, after a long course of tyranny, they appear not much depressed. Of this the account of the easy delivery of the healthy Israelite women, in contrast with the Egyptian,<sup>1</sup> may be taken as a significant instance. The Egyptians, greatly their superiors in the sciences and arts as well as in numbers, were doubtless individually less strong and warlike; but had just then, after expelling the Hyksôs, attained a higher unity and moral strength and a new development of power. If the balance between the two dissimilar nations was so far equal, or if it already inclined on the Egyptian side, the ancient hatred of the Egyptians to the Hyksôs and all their kindred nations, to whom the Israelites belonged, might on the first occasion turn the scale against them. And the fear felt by the rulers (as expressly mentioned in the

<sup>1</sup> Ex. i. 19.

Book of Origins<sup>1</sup>), of the rapid multiplication of this powerful and healthy people, and of the possibility of their leaguing themselves with the enemies of the kingdom—and especially therefore with the Hyksôs—might determine them to begin cautiously to accustom the Israelites by degrees to Egyptian habits and deprive them of their former independence.

We cannot now exactly determine the way in which all this took place, and how the oppression of the people was increased probably by their resistance. Even the Book of Origins, generally so accurate in its chronology, could determine only three stages in the long period of 430 years, and those only by the reigns of three kings, whose names are not recorded: ‘there rose up a new king who knew not Joseph, and gradually laid upon Israel the heaviest burdens; and again in process of time that king died, and Israel sighed, and cried urgently and not in vain to God for help.’<sup>2</sup> Such is the brief and childlike description of the vicissitudes of that long dreary period. It begins with the king who was gracious to Joseph and Israel; in its middle is the tyrant who knew not Joseph, and who chose to know nothing of the promise made to him; and at its close is the king on whose accession the Israelites, as if incapable of further endurance, sent up the most ardent prayers to heaven, and were at length really set free.<sup>3</sup>

There are, however, other accounts preserved in the Book of Origins which show more distinctly at what time the heavy oppression of Israel began. Among the cities which Israel was compelled to build the Book of Origins, obviously following an ancient tradition, expressly mentions Raamses,<sup>4</sup> which subse-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. i. 9 sq. comp. p. 406, 414.

<sup>2</sup> The passages Ex. i. 1–14, ii. 23–25, belong together, and are derived from the Book of Origins. Hence it is obvious that it is unnecessary and erroneous to imagine the new king, i. 8, to belong to a new dynasty; this is contradicted by the Egyptian history itself (see p. 400 sqq.) This error is to be met with as early as Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9); in his later work against Apion, however, he unintentionally refuted it himself.

<sup>3</sup> We find here, in its pristine distinctness, an instance of a general chronology of particular events, which is very instructive for other cases, especially for the calculation of the three generations of Levi (p. 401) belonging to the same period.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. i. 11. The difficulty of determining the exact site of this Raamses is mainly due to the fact that no city of this name occurs subsequently. We cannot

however doubt from the LXX. Gen. xlvi. 28 sq. that at the time of the Ptolemies the city Hero (in Greek, *Heroopolis*), was regarded as the metropolis of the eastern part of Egypt; although the chief reason why the LXX. introduced *Heroopolis* here was that they erroneously imagined it to be the *נַרְמָתָן* (p. 413) which they did not understand. It is evident from the connection of their words, that they did not consider it the same as the city Raamses. In modern times, it has been erroneously assumed that it is the same as the city *Avari* or *Abari*, mentioned p. 394. The sounds of the two words differ considerably. Even if *Avari* were related to the Coptic *vari* i.e. *curse*, as some late writers (following Champollion *l'Égypte sous les Phar.* ii. p. 87 sq.) have conjectured, on the ground that according to Josephus *Contr. Apion.* i. 26 *Avari* was by the Egyptians also called *Typhon's city* (though this ex-

quently became the most important city in the land of Goshen,<sup>1</sup> so that the whole region was named from it.<sup>2</sup> But this city undoubtedly received its name from some king of the same name; yet no king of the name Raameses, shortened Ramses (Rampses), alternating with Ramesses, Armesses (but probably not with Armais), occurs at all until the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty (p. 403); and even then, according to the extracts from Manetho by Josephus,<sup>3</sup> not until the fourteenth ruler of that house, Armais, the fifteenth Ramesses, and his successor the famous Ramesses Mai-Ammun, under whose long reign Egypt reached the highest degree of power and glory that it ever attained after the expulsion of the Hyksôs. Whether then this city was built and named by this or some earlier Raamses, its building

planation is quite arbitrary, and in my opinion false); yet the sounds are too unlike to be compared with Hero. On the contrary, the Egyptian name for *Abari* was undoubtedly *Typhon's city*; of which the Hebrew equivalent is יְהוָה תַּפּוֹן i. e.

*God Typhon*. According to Num. xxxiii. 7, Ex. xiv. 2, 9, it lay to the north of the Red Sea, and thus just where the point of conflict was between the Egyptian and Asiatic Hyksôs. And Steph. Byzant. (s.v. 'Ηρόη), in making Heroëpolis the scene of Typhon's violent death, as though the word signified *blood*, doubtless mentions the later metropolis of the entire country instead of some definite locality. But we also know that in Egypt *Hero* was the name of a god and a man; and it is remarkable that on the obelisk at Rome, deciphered by the ancient Hermapion, Hero is named as the father of King Ramesses (Am. Marcell. xvii. 4), whereas the form Ἡρόεων τὸν οὐαὶ i.e. *City of heroes*, in the LXX. and in Strabo, is evidently a mere Greek modification of the name of the city. Now this Hero, from which the ancients named the western arm of the Red Sea, for no other reason probably than because it lay on the Nile-canal which led thither, has, since Bonaparte's Expedition, been identified by modern scholars (in accordance with the *Itiner.* of Antoninus, p. 170, ed. Wess.) with *Abu Keshab*, so that Raamses would be found in the neighbouring *Turbet Jehudi* (i. e. *Jew's grave*), see *Descrip. de l'Egypte, état mod.* tom. xviii. P. 3, p. 171; if it did not more probably lie still farther to the west. The site of Etham is the principal thing that now enables us to fix its place. At any rate Josephus is mistaken in identifying it with, or in placing it in the neighbourhood of Letopolis, which occupied the site which Babylon subsequently filled

(Arch. ii. 151); and he is also refuted by the correct view of the direction of the route taken at the Exodus. Comp. also Lepsius, *Chron. des Egypter*, i. p. 345 sq.; and Brugesch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. p. 262-66, where is a very instructive old inscription on two cities of Ramesses in this district.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xii. 37; Num. xxxiii. 3. Just at the time of the Exodus it must have been the capital of Goshen.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlvi. 11; where the territory is thus designated even for Joseph's and Jacob's time, by the author of the Book of Origins, who however is quite aware that the city of that name was of later origin. The only other place where the two names are confounded, in speaking of that ancient time, is in the LXX. Gen. xlvi. 28. This confusion, however, would more easily occur if (as we may well suppose) king Raamses built the city that bore his name on nearly the same site which had been occupied by an ancient city of Goshen once inhabited by the Hyksôs, from which the whole adjacent country received its designation. For the name Goshen, or Γεστή, according to the LXX., has not an Egyptian sound, and afterwards disappears altogether; but that it was an ancient Hebrew name for a city, is clear from Josh. xv. 51; and that it had somewhat the same meaning as *fortress*, so that the whole surrounding district might naturally take its name, is shown by Josh. x. 41, xi. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Contr. Apion.* i. 15; slightly different in Africarus in G. Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 134, 136, edit. Bonn, and in Eusebius *Chron.* i. p. 215, Venetian Ed. of the Armen. translation, and according to the better reading. According to Rosellini's *Monum. Storici*, i. p. 240 sq., the 11th and also the 18th king of this house bore the same name.

cannot at any rate be earlier than the last century of the duration of that dynasty ; and even should the heavy oppression of the Israelites have commenced somewhat earlier, we have, according to this, no reason to think of it as lasting much more than fifty years, or at the utmost a century.

It is quite compatible with this very general statement respecting the succession of the Egyptian sovereigns that the Book of Origins has preserved a more accurate memory of the ‘hard and cruel service’ to which the Israelites were subjected, and must certainly have long submitted; for it must have occurred as described during the latest period of the sojourn in Egypt, the memory of which must have been most vivid. To break their spirit, it is said, forced labours were imposed on them and task-masters set over them; and by such labours they built royal cities of commerce,<sup>1</sup> two of which, Raamses and Pithom,<sup>2</sup> situate in Goshen, are mentioned by name. The object of this was probably to accustom the Israelites to the stationary town-life already prevalent in the rest of Egypt (p. 414 sq.) ; of course not under terms such as to secure them certain civil rights, which in case of need they could make good against the sovereign power; but so that they were brought under a strict discipline which gave the whole advantage to the Government. Since the royal will was absolute, they were forced to build these commercial towns, admirably

<sup>1</sup> Ex. i. 11. The LXX. everywhere understand שְׁלֵמָה קְרַבּוֹת as *fortresses*, which, as intended to overawe the Israelites who built them, would suit very well; but those are named עֲדָסָה. That mercantile towns (properly store-cities) were meant, is seen by the context in such passages as 1 Kings ix. 19, 2 Chron. viii. 4, 6, xvii. 12; comp. xxxii. 28, where they are mentioned with Tadmor, but are distinguished from fortresses and encampments. We have therefore to think of such cities as those commercial cities on the frontier of the Chinese Empire, or those town-like *horrea* which the Romans built in Africa, as described in the *Annuaire de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, 1862, p. 145 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> In Pithom, the Patum of Herod. ii. 158 has long been recognised; and in later times it was named Tham or Thd, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, p. 163, 170. ed. Wessel. (pp. 73, 75, ed. Parth.) According to this it lay to the west of the Raamses mentioned on p. 434 sq., and yet considerably to the east of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. That it lay

west of Raamses follows also from the fact that Israel did not assemble for the exodus at it, but at Raamses. But these two names of cities and their mutual relation were obscure at a very early date, as appears from the fact that the Lower-Egyptian (Memphitic) translation of the LXX. at Gen. xlvi. 28, 29 puts ΗΕΘΩΠ, which is identical with this Pithom, for Heröopolis. The LXX. indeed here add On or Heliopolis, which lay not far to the north-east of the Egyptian Babylon, and the present Kahira (Cairo); but that truly Egyptian city was much older, and is certainly introduced here only because, according to p. 426 sq., it was connected with the history of Joseph, and in the age of the Ptolemies they liked to fancy Moses himself as having had some connection with it. Still less can we confound Raamses with this On, as Saadia does, Ex. i. 11, actually putting ‘*Ain elshems* (i. e. Heliopolis) for Raamses, and explaining this name (following Ibn Ezra) as the sun’s eye, as if it was derived from PH ‘sun,’ and C&EAC ‘to sea.’

placed on the Asiatic boundary of the kingdom, with their walls, their storehouses, their warehouses and other public buildings, all in the service of the one great monopolist, who in modern Egypt under Mehemet Ali was represented by the Pasha. We are further told that, as the people appeared still to remain too numerous and prolific (for oppression up to a certain point may serve to invigorate a people), the Egyptians made their lives more bitter, by heavy tasks in brick-making, servile field-labours, and other work of the hardest description.<sup>1</sup> The tradition is rather concise, but is explained by similar occurrences in Egypt at the present day, where, according to European travellers, the Pasha occasionally compels the inhabitants of an entire district to make a canal or execute some other public work, without furnishing even to the poorest the most indispensable tools or materials. Such helps may have been withdrawn more and more towards the close from the Israelites, as a punishment for their obstinacy; which would greatly aggravate their despair.<sup>2</sup> Josephus mentions other tasks laid on them—the building of pyramids for instance, and the making of canals;<sup>3</sup> but as he does not indicate his authority, and as the account of the Book of Origins is amply sufficient, and much better suited to the locality, the pyramid-building at least may be merely inferred by late writers, whom Josephus follows, from the frequency of such buildings in Egypt.<sup>4</sup>

The Third Narrator,<sup>5</sup> indeed, goes a step further, when he relates that Pharaoh commanded the two Hebrew midwives (p. 296 sq.) to kill every new-born Hebrew male child on the spot;<sup>6</sup> and that when these women were found at once too

<sup>1</sup> Ex. i. 12-14.

<sup>2</sup> It is thus described in the long account of the vexations of the people during the last part of their stay, Ex. v. 6 sq. Wilkinson, indeed (*Mann. and Cust.* vol. ii. p. 98 sq.), maintains that the brickmakers in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* t. xlix. 4 and t. ii. p. 254 sq., are not Israelites, as had been asserted; but the lighter colour of their skin shows them at least to have been captive Asiatics. All this has been made still clearer by later published discoveries; see Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 106, 174 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ant. ii. 9. 1. Philo also, in his *Life of Moses*, i. 7, which, however, is pervaded by a very free style of description, mentions the making of canals; and certainly it is more easy to imagine this than the building of pyramids in that part of Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> Proofs of these facts are now thought to be discovered in Egyptian writings; see *Revue Archéol.* 1863, vol. i. p. 228;

*Theol. Studien und Kr.* 1863, p. 719 sqq., 727; but the subject must be more fully investigated.

<sup>5</sup> The idea that the passage Ex. i. 15—ii. 22 is derived from a later narrator, is far from confirmed by its general spirit and colouring. I believe it to be a fragment of the work of the Third Narrator, who on other occasions gives great prominence to the person of Moses.

<sup>6</sup> This is the meaning of the controverted expression מִלְאָכֳנִים Ex. i. 16; properly ‘upon the (two) wheels,’ (since the earliest carriages had only two); hence in the midst of driving, without stopping in the course; just as we (Germans) say *flogen* ‘on the wing’ for *instantly*. This is also the simplest interpretation of נִבְנֵי Prov. xxv. 11, ‘a word nimbly spoken,’ Germ. *flink*, i. e. quickly and without hesitation; comp. عَلَى جَنَاح طَيْرٍ Freyt. *Chr.* p. 53, 9.

wise and too pious to obey, the order was extended to every Egyptian. But that this command was not so imperative as the one relative to the building of the cities, and that this story is not to be taken as literally as that, is evident from the fact, that besides Moses, who was saved from the Nile, there were so many thousand male Hebrews ready to march with him out of Egypt. Besides it presupposes the whole nation's dwelling near the Nile, which is not quite accordant with the other accounts. It is undeniable that the object of such a tyranny must have been to annihilate the manhood of the people; the narrative however in its present form is mainly occupied with Moses, and is intelligible mainly in reference to his history.

Even from the shorter accounts in the Book of Origins it is quite clear, that the relation established by Joseph between Israel and Egypt was now entirely dissolved, and that something new must of necessity take its place. From the very commencement of this connection, the Israelites had the option of either losing themselves entirely in the life of Egypt (as, in our own day, has been done by the Islamite Fellahs, who migrated from Arabia into Egypt, and have wholly lost their nationality) or else of freeing themselves by a determined effort from its dominion; and the course of events had only brought this alternative before them in a mere distinct and urgent form. How the die was cast, we must learn from the following period of the actual rising of Israel and from the sublime genius of Moses.

#### B. INSURRECTION OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT: MOSES.

##### I. SURVEY OF THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF MOSES.

With the history of the ultimate rising of the people, as it now lies before us, is closely interwoven that of Moses, its mightiest hero; and thus we here approach one of those periods with whose exceptional grandeur every good man loves to quicken his own spirit, and which he therefore desires to bring fully before him even to the minutest details. For, taking only an outside view, we may discover the surprising greatness of Moses from the fact that it is not merely in this story of the gradual rising of the Israelites and their deliverance from Egypt that his name shines preeminently bright, but also, and if possible with even greater lustre, in the succeeding very different history of the development of the liberated people in Asia. Thus he is the unparalleled hero who sustains the

grandeur of two perfectly distinct yet equally exalted epochs. But nearly all these glorious times lie too remote from the mature development of the Israelitish literature preserved in the Old Testament, for us easily to ascertain very many particulars concerning it with historical fulness and certainty; so that an inquiry into the sources of the history becomes an imperative preliminary. And as we cannot, with regard to these sources, completely separate the whole long life of Moses into two halves, we must here treat of the authorities for the history of his whole life and his times generally.

To fathom such an actual life as that of Moses, would be one of the most difficult of historic problems, did we even possess the most abundant materials. For we here approach a power which produces the mightiest and most lasting results, but which works in a mysterious privacy, which in its own nature is hard to apprehend, and is especially difficult for us of a later age to penetrate. Our life moves in the midst of those very truths which received their first currency and acknowledgment from Moses and other minds like his; we are sustained and protected by them; we live in the hourly enjoyment of their blessed fruits. But the very ease with which we now move in their sphere, tempts many, learned and unlearned, to regard their first establishment and promulgation as a light affair. How few are now able to appreciate the power which first and alone grasps such truths, and is then able also to connect them with the innermost life of a nation, and thus permanently establish them in the world! There is still great difference of opinion among us about Muhammed, although we can all judge him without bias, and although we possess numerous and well-preserved documents by which to discern his life and character.<sup>1</sup> How much more difficult is it to conduct such an inquiry satisfactorily, when it concerns the founder of a religion, who towers far above Muhammed both in depth of spirit and permanence of influence, and whom nevertheless the extant historical records do not exhibit to us in anything like the same vividness and authenticity!

Hence some and in other respects by no means contemptible writers of our own day have turned the light of history into total darkness over the head of this—next to Christ—greatest founder of a religion; and some among us have doubted whether Moses ever lived, or whether anything certain can

<sup>1</sup> I pointed this out in the *Zeitsch. für das Morg.* vol. i. p. 87 sqq., and in a notice of G. Weil's Life of Muhammed, in the *Zeitsch. für Geschichtswiss.* vol. i. (Berlin, 1844) p. 170 sqq.

now be asserted respecting him.<sup>1</sup> But this is only the language of a despair that knows not how to use the still extant records, and restore by their means distinctness to the historic picture.

Of the early life of Moses up to the Exodus the present records of the Old Testament furnish, it is true, only meagre accounts, and chiefly such as have already passed through several forms. But precisely for this period of the history we encounter some Egyptian traditions, which have taken root independently of the Hebrew narratives, and are therefore all the more welcome as filling up many blanks in our historical survey. These we shall subsequently examine in one series.

As soon as ever the history passes from Egypt to Asia, we completely lose the advantage of being able to compare foreign reports, or at least traditions, with the Hebrew ones. The nations with which Israel then came in contact already possessed some kind of historical records, as several indications show (p. 52): and their annals may have contained much respecting the conquests and the wonderful qualities of the people of Israel: but all such documents are lost to us now. The perfect silence of all foreign accounts of that period, however, is compensated by the fuller and more authentic records preserved by the people themselves, which only require to be correctly brought together and consulted.

When we review the records of the Old Testament, as our chief means of reconstructing this history, we perceive on a closer survey that their number is made up of such various kinds, that we must commence any nearer acquaintance with the history as a whole, by distinguishing and describing the varied fragmentary recollections of those times.

**1.** This is the earliest period of which several notable external evidences, enduring in the life of the community itself, and thus constituting an indestructible basis of genuine historical reminiscence, had been preserved at the date of the older Narrators and particularly of the author of the Book of Origins. These are primarily objects of art, which, as well from their nature as from the way in which they are described, could only have come into existence during that period, and be handed down from it to succeeding generations, as venerable heirlooms of the glorious Mosaic age. As surely as the Ten Commandments are due to Moses (as we will soon show), so likewise the two tables of stone, the oldest and most sacred

<sup>1</sup> I have spoken of it in the Berlin *Jahrb. für Wissenschaftl. Kritik*, 1836, No. 11 sq., and elsewhere.

monument of the Mosaic religion, date from that age. The duality of the stone tables corresponds exactly with the true division of the Ten Commandments into two equal halves, of which the one contains the five precepts respecting what the Romans called *pietas*, and the other the five relating to social duties. Even the older chief Narrator knows these tables of stone as the most sacred of visible relics, inscribed by the finger of God himself, and, like the Palladium of the Trojans, brought down<sup>1</sup> from heaven to earth. We also know that in Solomon's time they were still in the Ark of the Covenant, an especial relic almost too sacred for the touch of human hands, and therefore were also deposited unchanged in their wonted place, in the new Temple.<sup>2</sup> As to the other sacred relics, the ark at all events belongs to this period, as it contained and preserved the tables of stone, and was the outward sign of the holy place to the congregation; and it was therefore also transferred almost unchanged into Solomon's temple.

Besides these antiquities, derived without doubt from Moses, many of the other things which the author of the Book of Origins ascribes to the Mosaic age, may really belong to that early period. If we examine the tabernacle, we cannot indeed be sure that it descended from Moses complete and unchanged, with all the specialities described by the author of the Book of Origins; for the most ancient account shows that altars of a much simpler kind sufficed at an early part of the Mosaic age,<sup>3</sup> and in particular the golden altar<sup>4</sup> from its entire character and position may have been a somewhat later addition, although one which in David's time had long been considered indispensable. But as a whole the tabernacle is proved by unmistakable indications to have been derived from the early times of the wanderings. It was only the most sacred of the many tents of a migratory people, resembling the general's tent in the midst of a camp; and according to the minute description of it, all the objects belonging to it were adapted for carrying, like those of an ordinary tent. In fact by the use of the word *tent* at a much later period to designate the holy place,<sup>5</sup> the Temple of Solomon itself, notwithstanding all its splendour and its expanded proportions, shows itself to be only a tent on a large scale, though no longer portable. In like manner it is not without reason that the Book of Origins, besides the Tabernacle and its vessels, ascribes the costume and

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxi. 18; comp. xxxii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings viii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xx. 24 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxx. 1-7. See *Alterth.*, pp. 134

sqq., 374 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. xxvii. 5 sq., lxi. 5.; Ezek. xli. 1.

decorations of the priests to a heavenly pattern and sanction.<sup>1</sup> From this we at once conclude, that in David's time these things were considered to have descended from the sanctity of the Mosaic age; and a closer examination confirms their high antiquity. A memorable tradition<sup>2</sup> expressly ascribes the origin of the staff of the High Priest, and its deposition in the sanctuary, to the time of Moses; and in fact in those antique times this sceptre must have had as high a significance, and been as carefully preserved as the imperial insignia in any other realm. Even the small pot of manna which, according to the Book of Origins,<sup>3</sup> was preserved as an eternal remembrance, must, if we rightly estimate the character of that book, be supposed to have actually existed in the sanctuary at the time when it was written, and been publicly exhibited at the usual repetitions of the sacred history in that place.

Still more important, however, is the conservation of actual laws, sayings and songs by Moses and his contemporaries; a considerable number of which are discoverable by a careful examination, although we ought to be perfectly satisfied if only a few thoroughly authentic utterances of so remote a time could be proved to be genuine. There is no well-founded doubt that the Ten Commandments are derived from Moses, in their general import, their present order, and even in their peculiar language. They are genuinely Mosaic in essence, and comprise the highest truths which the new religion brought into the world, insofar as they may be summed up in a few short sentences for everybody, and are expressed with so much precision and order as of itself to indicate a superior mind. Their arrangement possesses the most antique simplicity imaginable, and has itself become the model of many similar series of laws, in groups of five and ten. They are moreover twice (Ex. xx. and Deut. v.) placed at the head of all expositions of the Mosaic religion; and in both cases distinctly marked as most sacred and peculiar words. And whereas there are several peculiar expressions<sup>4</sup> even in the ten very brief sentences of which they undoubtedly originally consisted, both the copies now extant insert several additions and explanations—an infallible criterion of a very ancient text variously interpreted in after-times; of a text in this respect without

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxv. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xvii. 16-28 [1-13]; comp. xx. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvi. 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Ex. xx. 3; no other gods 'יְהָוָה  
before me, i. e. as if they desired to

obscure me and take my place; an unusual expression, comp. Psalm xvi. 2; and ver. 17, to covet *the house*, i. e. as it is correctly explained in Exodus, any sort of real property belonging to the neighbour.

a parallel in the Old Testament. In Deut. v. we discover still greater license in the transcription of an ancient copy.

We are not indeed able to point out many large series of laws as derived directly from Moses. But beyond doubt, single utterances of an archaic and very peculiar character, which from their whole spirit, and generally from their position also, can be ascribed to no other master-mind than Moses himself, can be detected in various places. The identical explanations<sup>1</sup> which we find in the first five of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy, improbable though it be that they were on the Table of Stone, may yet, as to their meaning, and mostly as to their tone also, very likely belong to Moses; since their meaning and expression are not less peculiar than those of the Ten Commandments, and since, as we will show, they are connected with these by an internal tie. Again, the peculiar and pregnant description of Jahve as to his twofold moral characteristics, which is interwoven as an explanation in the Decalogue, Ex. xx. 5 sq., Deut. v. 9 sq., is repeated with but little variation in other passages of an elevated tone; as if all later writers on the Mosaic Age regarded it as being, like the Ten Commandments, an ancient set phrase by Moses himself. It occurs as Jahve's designation of himself, by which he, like a king, announces himself with all his titles;<sup>2</sup> and it is more freely introduced into Moses' prayer.<sup>3</sup> And as the Ten Commandments were law for every one without exception among the whole people, they have a worthy counterpart<sup>4</sup> in a similar emphatic declaration concerning the Priests: their distinction from the laity, as well as the heavy responsibility of such a position, could not in the genuine Mosaic sense, be more sharply defined than it is there; and that declaration is there quoted as ancient and well known. We may certainly also include in this class the glorious words of the true Gospel wherewith the Jahve-religion is announced to the whole people.<sup>5</sup> Moreover all these statements—those in the Ten Commandments as well as the others—have this in common, that the purely prophetic declarations respecting Jahve are given in the first person, Jahve himself speaking the command;<sup>6</sup> and it is matter of history that this is found only in Moses himself. There are other sayings which we may well conjecture to belong to this class.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of those which are not identical we do not speak.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 6 sq.; comp. xxxiii. 19, just as in the Decalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xiv. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Lev. x. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xix. 4-6.

<sup>6</sup> In the expression, '*I am Jahve!*'

<sup>7</sup> As in the remarkable discourse, Ex. xvi. 6 sq., which has already received a different exposition, ver. 8, from a later narrator.

Further, those hymns and songs or fragments of songs which every indication shows to belong to Moses' time, occupy an important place here. The beautiful and simple blessing pronounced by the priest upon the community, which was ever retained in after times,<sup>1</sup> evidently sprang from the Mosaic period, as certainly as did the military words of command,<sup>2</sup> which were spoken when the sacred camp set forward or halted. In these antiquely simple but powerful and beautiful utterances there is nothing contrary to the age and spirit of Moses; the first poetically describes the peaceful, and the second the warlike feelings of the community during that primeval age; and it is remarkable how both—the peaceful and the warlike congregational chant—became the foundation of all later congregational songs, and were reproduced and remodelled for a later age in two successive Psalms, lxvii, lxviii. What a joyous exultation of feeling animated the whole people in the Mosaic age, and on what varied occasions it flowed forth in the brief winged words of popular song, is shown by two songs preserved entire<sup>3</sup>—speaking memorials of the glory of the last days of Moses. We also discover traces of other songs which belong to that early period;<sup>4</sup> and the fine triumphal song in Ex. xv. belongs, in its present extent, at latest to a period very soon after Moses, but its basis and germ are certainly to be referred to the fresh enthusiasm of the time of Moses.

**2.** But we also find connected records of the course of events during the long period of the wanderings, which must have been written very early, and which, if we only possessed them in greater abundance, would still enable us to trace the outlines of the entire history of that period. Of this kind there has come down to us complete a very remarkable catalogue of the places where the Israelites encamped, from the time of their departure from Egypt to their arrival at the Jordan.<sup>5</sup> This catalogue, in its present form and position, betrays indeed that it has not only been inserted, but also dressed and shaped, by the author of the Book of Origins; for we easily recognise his peculiar style from the first, and trace it consistently throughout the whole. The Book of Origins, when it before described the various marches, and treated at length of the memorable events occurring at each encampment, always enumerated the very same encampments in the very same terms as we find here.<sup>6</sup> And in here, at the close of the wanderings,

<sup>1</sup> Num. vi. 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxiii. 1-49.

<sup>2</sup> Num. x. 35 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 17 sq. and 27-30.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. iii. 15 and xvii. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xxi. 16-20. *וְיַעֲמֹד בָּאָזְנָךְ כִּי* and *בְּיַדְךָ כִּי* used quite differently in the passage Num. xxi. 16-20.

summing up all the encampments in one series, the writer evidently only means to bring the history, previously minutely detailed, and often with long pauses at the several encampments, closer together, and to conclude it, according to his practice, with a brief summary. At the same time, however, he does not scruple, in his partiality for fulness and pleasing refrains, on mentioning some encampments, briefly to repeat some events which have been more fully described before,<sup>1</sup> in their proper place. Nevertheless it is equally certain, that the author of the Book of Origins met with this catalogue as a very ancient and authentic document, and as such made use of it; for he himself expressly mentions that it was written by Moses,<sup>2</sup> and how much that phrase signifies in his mouth, and how certainly therefore this document must be very ancient, has been explained, p. 122. In fact he so evidently makes this summary of the encampments of the Israelites the groundwork of his entire minute description of that period of forty years, that he divides the numerous and various occurrences which he has to represent in detail, in accordance with the encampments therein named, which is inexplicable unless he had really received the catalogue from tradition and considered it the most ancient and trustworthy record of the events of that period. And how otherwise could he have known so accurately these forty-two encampments? Observe moreover that they appear on examination to be quite historical, and contain the most correct memorials of the whole varied course of the nation's fortunes during that period, and represent them with greater accuracy and vividness than the Book of Origins is able to do in its detailed narrative. Now a series of forty-two encampments may be readily retained in the memory of one or two generations, and partly at least with the greater ease from the fact that occasionally the people passed through the desert upon long known caravan-tracks. But when we reflect how dim and confused the recollection of the commonest things of the desert—manna, for instance, and water—must have become at the time of the Book of Origins, it will appear perfectly impossible that the memory should have retained this long series of forty-two desert-stations, some of them otherwise quite unknown. We may add that the ancient catalogue has peculiarities of

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 3 sq. comp. Ex. xii. 1-51; ver. 6, comp. Ex. xiii. 20; ver. 7, comp. Ex. xiv. 2, 9; ver. 8 and ver. 9, comp. Ex. xv. 22 and 27; ver. 14, comp. Ex. xvii. 1; ver. 37-39, comp. Num. xx. 22-29; so much so that even Num. xxi. 1, which commences another narrative and has little connection with the present passage, might seem to be repeated here, xxxii. 40, unless this verse 40, which seems out of place, be here repeated through the mistake of a later transcriber.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxxiii. 2.

nomenclature: in it the name 'Desert of Paran' current in the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> is wholly unknown; and it is only through an easily discernible alteration that the name Kadesh,<sup>2</sup> a favourite in that Book, has been admitted into ver. 36 sqq. of the catalogue.

It is certain then, that the author of the Book of Origins made this very ancient catalogue, Num. xxxiii., the basis of his enlarged narrative; and yet it is surprising that not nearly all the forty stations therein enumerated, are separately named by him during its course.<sup>3</sup> We might easily account for this circumstance by the supposition that all the encampments were originally mentioned in the Book of Origins, each in its own place, without omitting one; and that a later reviser had left out those now missing. That many names may really have been lost in that revision, cannot well be denied, considering its general character as described at p. 113 sqq.; just as many links must likewise have dropt from the chain of the chronology of these forty years. Nevertheless, when we reflect that the author of the Book of Origins clearly allowed himself some freedom in the use of this document,<sup>4</sup> and that the eighteen camp-stations, which are wanting in Num. xii. 16, are given by him in the final summary in Num. xxxiii. without any parenthetical observations, of which in general he is not sparing: we feel more inclined to the view, that he is himself responsible for the chief omission, that of the eighteen encampments, and hurries the narrative over that break with so slight a hitch, only because he was without any clearer or more complete tradition respecting that section of the wanderings. Hence arises a fresh argument for the high antiquity of the catalogue in Num. xxxiii., as well as for the expediency of at any rate introducing it in full at the close of the detailed narrative.

But this important catalogue, Num. xxxiii., was not the only one of its kind. We find elsewhere some small fragments in a different style;<sup>5</sup> and the list of seven camp-stations in Num.

<sup>1</sup> Num. x. 12, xii. 16, xiii. 3, 26, comp. Gen. xxi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xiii. 26, xx. 1, 22, comp. xxxiv. 4; Deut. xxxii. 51.

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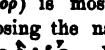
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As these narratives now stand, we can discover in them three separate groups by different authors, and from very different ages.

1) A small, but in some respects very remarkable, group consists of the scattered fragments of the earliest accounts of the Mosaic times. To these belong the passages enumerated at p. 64 sqq.; and at the same time, many short notices derived from these earliest writings may be interwoven in later narratives. Their distinguishing characteristic is, that in simplicity and accuracy of recollection, as well as in fulness and variety of original matter, they greatly surpass even the Book of Origins, and must therefore be of much earlier date. The incidents and peculiarities of that remote antiquity can nowhere else be so certainly learned as in them, so that there is scarcely any loss of this nature to be more deplored, than that they have not come down to us entire. They give us such accurate information as we find nowhere else respecting the direction of the journey through the desert, and the stations of the camp;<sup>3</sup> they also allow to Jethro a considerable share in the glory of the Mosaic age;<sup>4</sup> they do not restrict the solemn period of instruction and the giving of the law so exclusively to the encampment at Sinai,<sup>5</sup> as is done in the Book of Origins; and, among other more simple conceptions, they exhibit the Divine guidance of the people under Moses, only by the simple and beautiful image of an angel of God going before the host.<sup>6</sup> Moreover the work of the Earliest Narrator comprised probably the beautiful song of praise Ex. xv. 1–21, and certainly the Decalogue, and the ancient attempt at a complete code of law Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 19, making a slight change in the narrative in the case of the last two; see also p. 64 sqq.

2) By far the largest group appertains to the Book of Origins, the character and age of which is described at p. 74 sqq. To it belongs great part of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus, with the exception of xxvi. 3–45, the chief part of Numbers, and

in Ex. iv. 18; besides which the LXX. always have Γερέρ) is most easily explained by supposing the name to have been formed like  and other Syriac words (see my *Lekhr.*, § 202 a, note). If so, this Nabataean formation shows it to be not an Israelitish name.

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Deut. xxxii. 48–52, and xxxiv. 1–9. Yet when we regard the contents of this mass of records as they now lie before us, we cannot be surprised (p. 82 sqq.) that they subserve rather the detailed exposition of the Mosaic laws and institutions than the proper history of the events of the Mosaic age. This narrator makes legislation his principal object; even when he speaks of Moses and the events of his life, he seizes every opportunity of explaining the laws, and it is chiefly then that he becomes eloquent and full of detail. He indeed sets all his representations of what he mentions as legislatively handed down from Moses and his time, in a solid historical frame; he even carries out the chronology exactly in details, after his fashion: but nevertheless, being a late writer and having so circumscribed an object, he has necessarily a far more contracted historical horizon than those earliest historians. To him, at all events, Moses is only the lawgiver and leader of the holy congregation, as Aaron is the head of the priestly tribe; and therefore he purposely selects out of a large circle of stories about the Mosaic times<sup>1</sup> those portions only which he can easily render subservient to his object; and makes no other use of several records of memorable events than as occasions for expatiating on legal enactments or certain sacerdotal doctrines. Hence too many original and undoubtedly genuine narratives, as given by him, appear quite disconnected, or are even scarcely intelligible—as for instance, on the punishment of individual transgressors of ordinances.<sup>2</sup> Contemplating the whole Mosaic age mainly in relation to the laws and to the blessings accruing from their observance, he uses the far from joyful and elevating memories in which he finds the Mosaic age rich—accounts of the frequent murmurings of the people, or the rebellion of individuals—mainly for the special purpose of showing in eloquent language the dignity of Moses as the leader appointed by Jahve, and the perniciousness of all false desires and transgressions.<sup>3</sup> But at the same time he has such an antique simple reverence, not so much for the holy personages as such, as for the great truths of the Mosaic age, and so true

<sup>1</sup> Observe, for instance, how many undoubtedly historical names of men belonging to that period, are mentioned by this narrator, and often on apparently very trivial occasions; Ex. xxxi. 2; Lev. x. 4, xxiv. 10 sq.; Num. i. 5 sqq., xiii. 4 sqq.; and then it will be admitted that an abundance of early and very complete traditions must have lain before him. For the most part we are unable to define with any accuracy the nature of these

authorities, but it would be great folly to deny their existence at the time of our narrator. For a special proof of the historical character of these names, see the section on the name *Jahve, infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xxiv. 10 sq.; Num. xv. 32; Ex. xvi. 20 sq.; Lev. x. 1 sq.; comp. Num. xvi. 5 sq.

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an awe of the actual words and laws of Jahve alone, that throughout he has no scruple in telling that even Moses himself, and still more the persons surrounding that holy man, were in certain moments not sufficiently firm and full of faith, and were therefore compelled by a higher power to endure each his own share of the chastisements of the time.<sup>1</sup>

3) The last important group belongs to the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators (see p. 96 sqq.) At their late period, the principal aim of the writers (as we can discover from their own conduct) could no longer be to gather and relate oral traditions, nor to attempt the first full pictures of the Mosaic time. But the special elucidation of the great truths of this history seemed then to become more than ever important. Moreover the time gradually arrived when it might seem desirable to recompile and perhaps occasionally to curtail the multifarious and often prolix writings respecting Moses; and in fact the chief peculiarity of the Fifth Narrator consists in combining and working up all the older books accessible to him into a new whole. Nevertheless it was by no means their whole aim to reproduce and remodel the older works on the history of Moses; they evidently wished to renew the glorious memories of the Mosaic age, then scattered through a multitude of books, in such form as was best adapted to the wants of their contemporaries. And since the era of those writers had already become predominantly *prophetic*, we can readily understand why they regard Moses in his prophetic character only, strive to represent him as the almost unattainable model of all prophets, and seize every occasion presented in those histories to glorify in animated and graceful descriptions the prophetic truths which had attained so great an elevation in their own age. To awaken faith, particularly faith in Moses as the great hero, the bearer of power and salvation, far surpassing all ordinary prophets—faith in him who had himself proved that the highest faith is that in Jahve; this was a requirement of that prophetic age, and therefore plainly a primary object with the Fifth Narrator.<sup>2</sup> Led by such considerations, these writers enlarged or altered many portions of the history of Moses, especially towards the beginning in Exodus, less so towards the close.<sup>3</sup> They did it chiefly by means of fuller descriptions, but also occasionally by single words and sentences merely; and many of their new

<sup>1</sup> Lev. x.-xii.; Num. xii. 1-3, xx. 12 sq. probably substituted by the Fifth Narrator for another word; comp. xxvii. 14; 23 sq., xxvii. 12-14; Deut. xxxii. 48-52.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iv. 1-9, 31, xiv. 31, xix. 9; Num. xiv. 11, xx. 12; comp. Gen. xv. 6. In the passage Num. xx. 12, יְהוָה נָתַן has been

<sup>3</sup> Num. xi. xii. xiv. 11-25.

nomenclature : in it the name ‘Desert of Paran’ current in the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> is wholly unknown ; and it is only through an easily discernible alteration that the name Kadesh,<sup>2</sup> a favourite in that Book, has been admitted into ver. 36 sq. of the catalogue.

It is certain then, that the author of the Book of Origins made this very ancient catalogue, Num. xxxiii., the basis of his enlarged narrative ; and yet it is surprising that not nearly all the forty stations therein enumerated, are separately named by him during its course.<sup>3</sup> We might easily account for this circumstance by the supposition that all the encampments were originally mentioned in the Book of Origins, each in its own place, without omitting one ; and that a later reviser had left out those now missing. That many names may really have been lost in that revision, cannot well be denied, considering its general character as described at p. 113 sqq. ; just as many links must likewise have dropt from the chain of the chronology of these forty years. Nevertheless, when we reflect that the author of the Book of Origins clearly allowed himself some freedom in the use of this document,<sup>4</sup> and that the eighteen camp-stations, which are wanting in Num. xii. 16, are given by him in the final summary in Num. xxxiii. without any parenthetical observations, of which in general he is not sparing : we feel more inclined to the view, that he is himself responsible for the chief omission, that of the eighteen encampments, and hurries the narrative over that break with so slight a hitch, only because he was without any clearer or more complete tradition respecting that section of the wanderings. Hence arises a fresh argument for the high antiquity of the catalogue in Num. xxxiii., as well as for the expediency of at any rate introducing it in full at the close of the detailed narrative.

But this important catalogue, Num. xxxiii., was not the only one of its kind. We find elsewhere some small fragments in a different style ;<sup>5</sup> and the list of seven camp-stations in Num.

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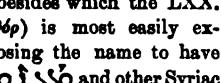
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itself to him. The meaning of that religion, and the meaning of Moses also, is, that before Jahve even the greatest leader should again be on a level with all other members of the community. Now in the life of a community based on such a principle, so long as it steadily advanced on the track thus opened to it, the name of its founder would become indifferent to it. The great change in the external position of the nation directly after the death of Moses, and the prevalent disorder of the period of the Judges, doubtless contributed to obliterate the memory of Moses. As a compensation, we know certainly that the narrators of events subsequent to the Mosaic age, whenever there was necessity for speaking of Moses, did so with historic accuracy.<sup>1</sup>

If in the case of every great historical phenomenon it is only by a vivid retrospect over the whole period and its results that the scattered fragments of remembrance can be arranged in a new series, this necessity for a free survey is far greater in the case of the hero of a very remote antiquity, who must live more indelibly in the great results of his efforts and his victories than in the fleeting remembrance of the specialities of his life. Among the Hebrews there must certainly have been in obscure antiquity a wonderfully elevated period, a focus of most surprising power, resolution, and activity. The entire people of late ages look back with wonder to its elevation, its well remembered fame, and its sharply defined requirements; the earliest national songs in Canaan resound with the praise of Sinai, as the venerated origin of all the historical glory of Jahve and his people;<sup>2</sup> to distant Sinai Elijah flies for refuge in the utmost desperation of his soul, as to the primeval hearth and the last retreat of the holy fire in Israel, there to watch for the voice of Jahve and for light;<sup>3</sup> and above all, all the special arrangements and the very existence of the community, with its spiritual truths and high objects of endeavour, point most distinctly to a period which had the power and courage to produce such results, and to establish them firmly during many centuries. In fact, it is scarcely possible for us to realise the eminence of a period fruitful in such results, which gave to the nation all its fame and splendour, and determined its entire tendency and aim for many centuries—nay, for the whole of its ancient period. Be it granted that the leader of that age and originator of that most pregnant development, from the very fact that he obtruded himself so little, but gave the glory

<sup>1</sup> From passages like Jud. iv. 11, xviii. 30 (according to the correct reading).

<sup>2</sup> Judg. v. 4 sq.  
<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xix. 8 sq.

to his God, gradually disappeared from the recollection of posterity behind his great work, and for long was distinctly known to but few: yet, that he was possessed of a soul of extraordinary greatness, and that he worked, and worked with wonderful power and success, remains perfectly clear, unless we choose to ascribe to chance whatever is most spiritual in the world, and so to plunge ourselves into blindness. The true problem before us is, first of all to recognise as accurately as our materials render possible the inner life and movement of that great spiritual activity, and thus to understand the commencement of an age so rich in results for future centuries; nor, until this is done, can the special facts and events, so far as recorded, be rightly estimated or truthfully depicted. And it lies in the very essence of the thing that precisely those spiritual impulses and efforts, inasmuch as they last far beyond Moses, and determine the course of the history in its details, can be most fully and certainly recognised here.

## II. BEGINNING OF THE INSURRECTION OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT.

According to the present narrative, the great change in the history of Israel in Egypt, proceeds wholly from the birth, growth, and active efforts of Moses, the Man of God. This view of the origin of that era, however, is evidently only a consequence of such a general conception of the history of that great epoch as could not fail to spring up in the consecrated centre of the ancient community. For, as that community knew that it was only through the strong arm of a Divine deliverance that it had sprung up and was still supported, so the memory of the separate events of its history transformed itself in an ever fuller and purer degree into a history of the real Divine redemption — a history which is at once the most striking and mighty instance of such redemption, the true model of every similar though less grand and extensive deliverance, and the hopeful assurance of every future one. In presence of the one exalted thought, that they were the ‘People of God,’ which formed the basis of all the recollections of the liberated community, the lower, earthy portions of the remembrance have gradually disappeared and given to it a larger space. And if ever the whole mass of the single experiences of a great history can at last be concentrated in one essential fundamental thought, and this, enclosing within itself a purely spiritual truth, is adequate to inspire a whole nation with a higher life and the courage of a nobler existence, then must

we acknowledge that an example of this did occur on a large scale in that primeval age; in fact, the purer that thought became as time went by, the better was it for the community in all respects, since the purest thoughts are the mightiest and the most indelible. Moreover, according to a fundamental principle of this ancient community, every real Divine deliverance can be attained only by the instrumentality of a true prophet. Therefore from this point of view the entrance of Moses on this earthly scene formed a commencement to the whole history, before which all other recollections gradually faded away.

If the early beginnings of this new era form altogether the obscurest portion of its history, this is yet more especially true of the dawn of the rising in Egypt itself. According to the present narrative in Exodus it might be supposed that the prophetic power of Moses, on his return from Asia, had first raised the nation, sighing under Egyptian oppression, to a spiritual elevation ; and possibly in a very short time, although nothing definite is said on that point. But even general considerations may lead us to conclude that important portions of the history have been less completely preserved. For so remarkable a spiritual phenomenon as Moses must always be only the climax of a long enduring powerful movement, and constitutes the highest oscillation in a series of efforts constantly increasing in intensity, and then exhausting themselves. We see this afterwards very distinctly in the case of those heroes, Samuel and David, who represent the highest point of the second great epoch of the Israelitish history ; and if even in the New Testament the Baptist precedes the historical manifestation of the Messiah, how much more must we look on Moses as only the crowning point of a long enduring movement which originated before his energetic arrival on the scene !

And in fact, when we look with stricter attention into the Bible narratives, we meet with many indications which may verify this. We will not infer too much from the flight of Moses into Asia on account of the murder of an Egyptian,<sup>1</sup> although according to the narrative itself Moses can scarcely have been at that time at the Court of Pharaoh as a favourite

<sup>1</sup> An example, showing how superstitiously, and how contrary to its original meaning, the Mosaic history was understood in later times than those of the Old Testament, is seen in the assumption of later teachers (e.g. even in Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 23), that Moses killed the Egyptian by a word only ; which they thought might be inferred from Isaiah xi. 4, comp.

Rev. xix. 15, 21 ; as if Moses at that early time had been a prophet at all ! But we mark an unmistakable transition towards this idea, even in Acts vii. 25. What a radical change in the mode of viewing the history of Moses was effected, to judge even from this one example only, between the earlier and the later times of Israel !

of his daughter, the description being rather that of a man of importance living among his own people. Nor will we further insist that Moses, returning to Egypt, must at least have returned thither at a suitable time, when he could hope to act not wholly without result. But if, according to an extant account, unhappily sadly isolated,<sup>1</sup> at the very moment that Moses was preparing to return from Asia, Aaron went to meet him as far even as Sinai, and they both together then penetrated into Egypt: then this necessarily presupposes a movement in Egypt, corresponding to that in Asia which must have preceded it. During the absence of Moses, therefore, his elder brother Aaron had evidently not been quite inactive in regard to the work for the sake of which he afterwards went to meet him in Asia. And when we subsequently see these two noble brothers, after their meeting at Sinai, continue to work out their great scheme in common, although not constantly agreeing in opinion, and sometimes even opposed to each other, we feel as if the truth everywhere met us, that the great rising of Israel sprang from the meeting of two great movements in Egypt and in Asia, the leaders of which were respectively Aaron and Moses.

Further, when we look at Levi, the tribe of Moses and Aaron, it will become evident that it was not until the time of Moses and subsequently that it was elevated to be the sacerdotal tribe; but even in Egypt it must have raised itself around its great clansman Aaron to noble thoughts and deeds, and have become habituated to his leadership. For we see it from the time of the Exodus constantly forming a close circle round Aaron, and when necessary protecting the purer religion proclaimed by Moses and Aaron against all the other tribes. Now as Levi was possessed by a wholly different spirit during the Patriarchal age (p. 379), and the tribe of Joseph was the dominant one in Egypt at first; and as Aaron and Moses by no means belonged to the ruling family of Levi (p. 364), and the tribe therefore did not rally around them merely as hereditary leaders; it becomes clear that a great change must have taken place in Levi towards the close of the Egyptian period. The new rising of Israel in Egypt certainly issued principally from the tribe of Levi and from Aaron, and in Egypt that tribe commenced those noble struggles which it afterwards continued under Moses, and perseveringly carried on to a victorious issue.

Finally, the ancient Egyptian recollections handed down through Manetho, point with the utmost distinctness to such

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iv. 27-29, from the earliest narrator; while the Fifth Narrator only applies this in his usual way, ver. 14.

a conjunction of two great movements, an earlier one in Egypt and another in Asia. Of this we shall have to speak again further on.

It is a more difficult matter to determine what form that rising took on its spiritual side; and whether that phase of it was strictly confined to the Israelites from the very beginning, or possessed further ramifications among the Egyptians. The only view we can adopt is, that this gradual rising sprang from no mere revolt against Egyptian oppression, but was chiefly kindled and fanned to a flame by a high thought and a new-born spiritual truth. But that this thought was not that peculiar to Moses, which we shall hereafter describe, we must assume just as assuredly as we do that it had a certain connection with it; nor can we ascribe to this early period the introduction of the use of the name Jahve as the brief symbol of the religion founded by Moses, as it came to be used after his time. But what is presupposed by Moses' peculiar thought, even with respect to the Patriarchal age, and forms one of its deep foundations, is the truth of the unity and spiritual nature of the true God. Now, in opposition to the then degraded state of Egyptian idolatry (see p. 431 sq.), this truth must have been established by so profound a necessity, we may say, that we cannot hesitate to find in it the mightiest lever and the surest basis of all that rising. This was the precise point where this movement could connect itself with the really national past in the history of Israel. For though we now possess but little detailed information respecting the religion of the Patriarchs (p. 317 sq.), we are yet sufficiently acquainted with its essence and its relation to the development of this later age. The Patriarchs acknowledged but one God, and to him as invisible and supernal they offered sacrifices upon altars without images and without temples,<sup>1</sup> under the open sky; so simply and so justly did they even thus early think of their God.<sup>2</sup> Still, to them he was but as their own household God, and they placed him beside the Gods of other families, tribes and nations. As heads of a great tribe or ruling family, they insisted that sacrifices should be made to this invisible heavenly God only; they were not behindhand in apprehending the purer thought of a supreme God encompassing

<sup>1</sup> That the Patriarchs built altars only, is a constant tradition; indeed even under the Jehovahistic religion these were originally deemed adequate, see *Alterthümer*, p. 123 sq. When thus designately left without image and temple, they certainly had a meaning of their own, as opposed to the

more elaborated systems of worship.

<sup>2</sup> According to a very ancient phrase, indeed (p. 319, comp. 346 note), this is true primarily only of the *God of the father of Israel*, i. e. of Jacob; but there is no reason to think that the case of Abraham and Isaac was different.

all, which was already cherished by the most enlightened men of Canaan ; and they were undoubtedly superior to these in the energy and faithfulness wherewith they adopted this truth to guide their own aims and deeds.<sup>1</sup> But in separate houses under their sway, especially among the women and slaves, they could not prevent the *Teraphim*, i.e. images of the Deity, from keeping their place and being regarded as the innermost shrine and fixed centre of each household ; and in fact these Teraphim kept their place in private houses from those early days until long after Moses.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly, therefore, the unity and spirituality of God to which they clung was in many respects unstable and faint, as but the first germ of the entire truth ; yet it is truly wonderful, how firm an impress the perception of the unity of God in that early age left even on their language. For it was an antique usage, more especially in this Semitic tribe, to designate God, as also every other superior, externally by a plural form, by which no more than the sense of a kind of dignity and reverence was simply expressed.<sup>3</sup> But the fact that in the usage of the language this Elohim was always treated strictly as an individual, and never considered or construed as a plural, unless when employed in speaking to heathens or of angels and spirits,<sup>4</sup> is a remarkable evidence how long anterior to Moses the conception of the unity of God was rooted in the national consciousness (see p. 319 sq.). For while we can still clearly trace the gradual progress in the use of the name Jahve, which was first exalted so high by Moses, this usage of the name Elohim had at his time obviously been long immutably fixed. And even though no more than the germ of the truth of the unity and spirituality of God was inherited from ancient time, yet it is clear how easily the same truth, when it now sprang up in Egypt in a far more defined and developed form, could the more readily establish itself in Israel, because it rested upon a foundation previously laid.

<sup>1</sup> This is the way in which we must regard Abraham's relation to Melchizedek in Gen. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> See *Alterthümer*, p. 256 sq. where this is stated in more general terms. The small work of Laz. Bendavid, a Kantian philosopher, 'über die Religion der Brüder vor Mose,' Berlin, 1812, treats of this difficult subject very inadequately.

<sup>3</sup> The plural in *Elohim* undoubtedly forces us to assume that the idea of Polytheism had had an actual historical existence, because otherwise the word would have been an impossibility ; but in its actual usage this plural is to be under-

stood as stated above, and bears no analogy to the stiff and awkward 'plural of majesty' in modern languages.

<sup>4</sup> See *Lehrbuch* § 318 a ; even where only one visible spirit is spoken of, rather in a heathen fashion, Elohim is construed like a real plural, 1 Sam. xxviii. 13. According to the latest historical discoveries we may compare with it the mode in which, in the *Shahnameh*, a pl. پریان for God has been formed from the Zendic *jazata*, as if the former boundless number of divine beings had been merged in this unity.

Now, did Egyptians second Israel's struggles for such higher truths, even if sympathising in the search and inquiry only—in the same way as Melchizedek supported Abraham? We regret that we are not yet able to answer this question satisfactorily. It is not in itself improbable that a more spiritual religion should have endeavoured to penetrate into Egypt, a country which had been long highly civilised;<sup>1</sup> the recollections respecting Moses in the Old Testament imply a certain connection as well as opposition between the wisdom of the Egyptians and that of the Israelites, and the Egyptian traditions sufficiently indicate that about that time a religious war did actually burst out. But with our present means we cannot follow this out into detail: at all events the power then retaining rule in Egypt only aimed at the subjugation of the Israelites, and pursued that object with the greater zeal, the less they understood the new spirit which animated the people. And in accordance with this we certainly cannot doubt that before the return of Moses from Sinai the Israelites in Egypt had risen up energetically against the dangers which threatened their nationality and their religion, and were in the midst of a movement which the arrival of Moses, as their deliverer, only brought to a climax; the right understanding of which is important for the immediately following history of Moses himself.

For even if we knew more than we do of the history of Moses' youth, we yet could not undertake to follow into its historical beginnings a spirit like that of Moses—a spirit that governs by its own original power, independent of all external events, that shows us things divine, and more or less completely fulfils its allotted task. We of a later age can only admire and reverence a spirit whose original grandeur and power all the

<sup>1</sup> If the observation of Lepsius (*Denk-mäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*. Berl. 1849, p. 18 sq.; *ib. d. ersten Ägyptischen Götterkreis* in the *Abhand.* of the Berlin Academy 1861 p. 196 sqq.; and see also Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte*, i. p. 114, 118, 124, 166, 175) and others is further confirmed, a religious reformation, such as could only be the result of violent religious contests, must have been introduced into Egypt by royal command, just towards the close of the 18th dynasty, a period belonging to the present history. At the very beginning of that dynasty Amosis abolished human sacrifices, at all events at Heliopolis, as is distinctly reported in Porphyry *de Abstinentia*, ii. 56, and Eusebius *Theoph.* ii. 56 sq., and *Prep. Ev.* iv. 16, on the

authority of Manetho. These sacrifices are actually never represented upon the public monuments, and were therefore probably always thenceforth forbidden by royal edict (Herod. ii. 45), although in certain cases still continued, according to Diodorus i. 88, and Plutarch on *Isis and Osiris*, lxxiii. Unreliable later ideas, such as that of Lucian (*on the Syrian Goddess*, iii.) that in old times even the Egyptians had temples without images, have no claim on our attention; but it is nevertheless remarkable that Heliopolis, which bordered closely on Goshen (p. 436) and was, according to all tradition, the dwelling place of Moses, is described by Strabo, xvii. 1. 29, as a sort of regular sacerdotal and university city for northern Egypt.

vicissitudes of fortune serve only more firmly and definitely to develop and complete; we can only seek encouragement and instruction from him, only draw nearer to him as equals to an equal: but explain him, derive him from previous antecedents, we cannot, for we here stand in presence of the mystery of all creation and of all spiritual power. But we can and indeed must clearly apprehend the temporal conditions, under which alone it was possible even for him to carry out and to attain what he did attain: for even the noblest mind in its early manifestation is only like a germ which cannot unfold its inner power except under certain conditions.

And undoubtedly the first condition is, that such a spirit should appear at a time and place where a great problem of the human soul is striving after a solution, and the ground of life is duly prepared for new seed from heaven. Many things are requisite to make such a juncture, and rare must such times and places generally be; for centuries may elapse in which an already received truth can only strike deeper root, and during which it may be impossible to prepare the soil for a fresh one; and the new truth itself can only make its appearance when it is a deeply felt necessity, in opposition to a fully developed antagonistic principle. In our times, indeed, such intellectual conflicts, in a certain range of height and resemblance, spread with ease over many countries; but we know that this was not the case in remote antiquity. But when Moses appeared, as we have shown at p. 426 sqq. and 386 sqq., such a height of intellectual life had already been attained in Egypt, that its antagonistic principles could impinge upon each other most sharply and fully; and thus early did the people of Israel encounter the necessity of either succumbing as slaves to Egyptian idolatry and sovereignty, with the sacrifice of its own peculiar spiritual blessings, or else of encountering Egypt in open stern antagonism and thus advancing to something newer and better. In no other known country, at so early an age, did a contest for the highest truths of religion reach such a height that some decisive crisis could not fail to arise; and it is precisely in such grand historical crises that the true greatness of a soul like that of Moses manifests itself.

But then such a spirit must at the same time find corresponding instruments capable of entering into his wishes, and, what is still more necessary, of acting in accordance with them. In later ages indeed, when from various causes the old exclusive nationalities were being gradually broken up and obliterated, Christianity, though proceeding from Israel, could at once turn

to all nations, and did not require to associate itself indissolubly with one. But during those early ages, in which mankind were separated into numerous small and sharply-defined nations, nothing spiritual could flourish except in closest union with some definite nationality. But if a people is to receive a new universal life-truth, and thus to renovate its existence in fresh forms, it must certainly possess some elasticity and health of mind as well as of body : for a people may sink so low, either by pressure from without or by their own perversity and corruption, as to become really incapable of any radical improvement, even when needed to the uttermost, and brought close to them by the insight and counsel of some great spirit among them. We have seen in modern times, what has become of the Italians, Spaniards and Poles, as also of the Persians and the Turks ; everywhere history presents to us the same warnings, and Germany must take heed lest some future day she pay a higher penalty than she has yet done for neglecting to listen to its voice. Now had Israel been deeply depressed during the greater part of the four hundred and thirty years passed in Egypt, as without careful inquiry we might be tempted to suppose,<sup>1</sup> Moses could hardly have found a people capable of real enthusiasm, perseverance and improvement ; for after too long oppression only individual minds at best retain much vigour, certainly not the nation as a whole. But since according to page 434 sqq. we have trustworthy evidence to the contrary, the severe oppression, at least, can scarcely have lasted more than fifty or a hundred years, and thus a tolerably vigorous and uncorrupted nation was able to respond to the call of its great deliverer.

### III. BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF MOSES.

If Moses was met by such a people engaged in so decisive a crisis and in such an aspiring movement, and he himself possessed greatness of soul equal to every dangerous temptation in the hour of strife as well as in that of success, he was able to achieve the very highest that was possible at that epoch, and no earthly power could frustrate the eternal destiny of a spirit which had a wonderful divine work to do on earth. The story of his birth and youth in the present book is based

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 9. 1, really thinks that the Israelites bore their sufferings in Egypt during the space of 400 years. The similar expression of the Fifth Narrator,

occurring Gen. xv. 13, in a poetical discourse, is at all events used in a more general sense.

on this high aspect of his whole earthly career. The child Moses, the son of Amram the Levite, on his entrance into the world, runs the risk of perishing in the waves of the Nile, through the command of the Egyptian king, and is nevertheless saved: this story is one of the simplest and most beautiful of the many by which antiquity expressed its feeling of the truth, that no power can prevent the uprising of so great a hero.<sup>1</sup> The world, as if dimly foreseeing that he would destroy its work, strove from the very beginning to annihilate him, but by his preservation in infancy the child, the predestined instrument of higher designs, gives an earnest of his all-subduing energy; and we are thus aroused to eager attention respecting the further development of such a life. It is not possible for us to follow further back the track of this story; for though as to its meaning and origin it dates from early times, in its present form it is derived only from the Third Narrator.<sup>2</sup>

That Moses was brought up in Egyptian learning and knowledge,<sup>3</sup> but yet, when driven to an act of patriotic indignation, obliged to flee to the peninsula of Sinai, and to take refuge with Midian (or according to Hellenistic pronunciation, Median),<sup>4</sup> the ruling nation there, and that he formed a friend-

<sup>1</sup> Compare for instance the story of the childhood of Perseus in Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 4. 1, and that in Moses Choren. i. 5 (6), and the Tamul in Bernh. Schmid's *Zerstreute Blätter* (1843) No. 2. We must however never forget, how early and how powerfully the grand example of this story about Moses may have influenced other similar ones, e. g. those respecting the youth of Záliš and Abraham in Tabari's *Annals*, i. p. 124, 128, Dubeux. A Vedic story more remotely similar is given in the *Journ. As.* 1859, ii. p. 416.

<sup>2</sup> The entire passage Ex. i. 15—ii. 22 is derived, in its present form at least, from the Third Narrator. We are led to this conclusion not only by the style, and by the agreement in the description of a shepherd's life here, ver. 15–21, iii. 1, with the similar one in Gen. xxix, but also by the following special reason. If the Book of Origins had desired to mention here the parents of Moses, it would neither have named them so indefinitely as is the case in Ex. ii. 1, nor have put off the entire account of the family of Moses and Aaron to a later and less suitable place, Ex. vi. 11–25. Moreover, the mother of Moses here, ii. 1, bears the general designation of Bath-Levi; whereas the Book of Origins preserves the proper name of this the only daughter of the Patriarch

Levi known to tradition, in Ex. vi. 20 (where the נָנָה or father's sister, against the law in Lev. xviii. 12–14, xx. 19 sq., is still allowed to marry her nephew), Num. xxvi. 59. The statement respecting the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, Num. xxvi. 58 from פְּנֵי to ver. 61, is indeed introduced at an unsuitable place, but according to all appearance has been only transferred thither from another part of the Book of Origins by some early reader.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. ii. 10; Acts vii. 22. In the Pentateuch this is everywhere taken for granted as self-evident: at a later time Philo, in his *Life of Moses*, i. 5, gives a description of it, very detailed indeed, but only filled up by the loose and free kind of description with which he also restores the histories of Abraham and Joseph to suit his own peculiar ideas. But we cannot fail to observe that especially the Egyptian Jews from the age of the Ptolemies traced with especial interest the contact between Israel and Moses and the ancient Egyptians, and formed many new theories on the subject.

<sup>4</sup> From the passages Ex. ii. 15, iii. 1, xviii. 1, L. de la Borde in his *Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombrs* (Paris, 1841 fol.) endeavoured to prove that the ancient city of Midian was situated on the peninsula of Sinai itself,

ship with a prince of that people Hobab (or Jethro), and married his daughter, is also in its present form<sup>1</sup> reported only by the Third Narrator. But the narrative is without doubt based on genuine history. The chain of high granite mountains towering up at the south of this peninsula under the name of Sinai or (as it is called elsewhere) Horeb,<sup>2</sup> was certainly, like Ararat or the Himalaya, esteemed sacred by the surrounding nations from the earliest times, and not one summit merely but the entire range.<sup>3</sup> When Moses, therefore, led the redeemed people to that region, and resided long with them there, as in a safe, homelike and hallowed spot, he did so because he was already familiar with it as a sanctuary, and knew he might reasonably expect a similar shelter there for the entire nation.

The Egyptians, indeed, had once endeavoured, long before Moses, to maintain possession of the whole peninsula as one of their frontier lands, and had obtained rich metallic treasure from some of the western mountains of this Sinaitic chain; so that even now we still discover there the most speaking evidences of their great art and love of agriculture:<sup>4</sup> but at the time of Moses they had clearly lost all dominion there. On the contrary, every discernible trace leads to the conclusion that the Amalekites, the original inhabitants, were at that time contending for the mastery of the entire peninsula, in

on its eastern coast, where we now find Dahab. But this supposition is utterly baseless, as we shall see when treating of the age in which the Midianites play the most important part in the history of Moses.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. ii. 11-22.

<sup>2</sup> The two names Sinai and Horeb are not interchanged as designating different points of the same mountain range, as has been assumed in modern times without any reason. But the name Sinai is clearly the earlier one, used also by Deborah in Judges v. 5; the use of the name Horeb cannot be proved before the age of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, comp. Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 8, xxxiii. 6; but then becomes very general, as is shown by Deuteronomy and the passages 1 Kings viii. 9 (see p. 76), xix. 9; Mal. iii. 22 [iv. 4]; Psalm cvi. 19. This is not contradicted by the fact that very late writers reintroduced the name Sinai from mere literary acquaintance with the old books. Through what means Horeb became the prevalent name after the ninth century, is indeed now unknown to us; possibly after the days of Elijah pilgrimages were oftener

made to Sinai, and the new name was found there; comp. the accurate itinerary in Deut. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ex. xix. 8 and the ancient name 'Mount of God,' Ex. iv. 27, iii. 1; Num. x. 33. The unbroken continuity of the whole range even in this respect, is still expressed in its modern Arabic name, *Jebel el Tûr* (or *Tôr*); for this name *Tûr*, which since the prevalence of the Aramaic has been given also to Mount Gerizim, Tabor (as by Kemâl-eddin in Freytag's *Chrest.* p. 112, 2 sq.), and the Mount of Olives, though properly signifying mountain generally, is nevertheless specially applied to a sacred mountain, and was in the early Middle Ages transferred to this whole range. That the earlier Arabs pronounced it *Tûr*, not *Tôr*, appears from the rhyme in Sur. 52. 1.

<sup>4</sup> In the Wâdi Maghâra and Sarbût (or Sarâbit) el Khadîm; see Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten*, p. 336 sq. and the *Ausland* for 1851, p. 288 sq., and the illustrations in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 45 sq. The book of Aristea ( appended to Josephus, *Opera*, ii. p. 114 sq.) also exalts the metallic wealth of the peninsula.

the north chiefly with the Canaanites, and in the south especially with the Midianites, who were more civilised through commerce and the arts; but that in some spots they were much intermixed with one or other of these nations. It could not be doubtful with which of these contending parties Moses would most closely ally himself, considering the ancient relationship which existed between the Israelites and the Midianites. For the connection between Moses and the Priest-Prince of Midian certainly did not consist only in his marriage with one of his seven daughters, as might at first appear,<sup>1</sup> but had a much more weighty significance. An ancient document<sup>2</sup> states that this father-in-law of Moses was really a Kenite, which signifies (according to p. 251), that he belonged to that large and very ancient nomadic tribe of north-western Arabia which bore the name of Amalek; so that, as he is generally spoken of as a Midianite, we can only infer that the Midianites, although reckoned among Abraham's descendants,<sup>3</sup> were at that time intimately blended with the Amalekites, and had obtained rule over certain portions of the peninsula. Though these Kenites were nomads, yet every trace of their history shows that even after the time of Moses they continued friendly to the Israelites, intermixed more and more with them, and, even when numbers of them had rejoined their old tribe of Amalek, were readily spared by the Israelites in battle, 'because they had formerly showed kindness to *all* the children of Israel as they came up out of

<sup>1</sup> From the mere words of Ex. ii. 15-22.

<sup>2</sup> Judges i. 16; comp. iv. 11, where יְהִי appears to be given to Hobab as his actual name; yet the LXX. have ἱοθέρ, which is an abbreviation of Jethro, and is also found in the Hebrew text, Ex. iv. 18, close to יְהִי; but punctuated יְהָיָה. The words בְּנֵי יְהִי Judges iv. 11 indicate a subdivision of the foregoing יְהִי and therefore show that the descendants of Hobab were properly only a part, though probably even later the ruling part, of the Kenites. See also respecting him p. 448 sq. In the Koran and among the Moslim generally he is named Shu'aib, and is brought into frequent connection with the Midianites as their prophet and the most excellent man among them, Sur. xxvi. 176-189, vii. 83-100, xi. 85-98, xxix. 35 sq., xv. 78 sq.; Tabari's *Annal.* i. p. 277, Düb. But the details there given, many though they be, appear all to spring from a combination of Ex. ii. sq. with Gen.

xxxvii. 28, and the name Shu'aib itself to be either only a modification of Hobab or confounded with it. Also the name of the place אֶדְרִיסָה (Edrisii *Africa*, ed. Hartmann, p. 452) is probably, as in many similar cases, only derived from the Bible; see however the various reading in Jaubert's edition, vol. i. p. 329; and what the Islám narrators tell of Shu'aib (as in Jelál-eddin's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 288 sq. Rein.) is of no service in clearing up the historical facts. In the Middle Ages Jethro's (Shu'aib's) grave was shown at the Tell Hattin in Galilee (see Carmoly's *Itinéraires* p. 131, 185, 259, 385; compare 447, 449; Kemál-eddin i. c. p. 120, 4 from below, and in other writers); but this is only connected with the general idea, which assigned the graves of most of the heroes of extreme antiquity to the Galilean hills, as far northwards as to Damascus, based upon Apocryphal books such as that of Enoch.

<sup>3</sup> According to Gen. xxv. 2.

Egypt.<sup>1</sup> If all these evidences lead us to draw the general inference that at the time of Moses there existed an alliance advantageous to both parties, between the Hebrews and the Kenite-Midianite nation, then predominant in the territory south of Sinai; then we are able fully to understand the significance of what the earliest Narrator<sup>2</sup> relates, that Jethro advanced to meet his son-in-law returning homeward as the leader of Israel out of Egypt, full indeed of joyful amazement at the wonderful deeds and deliverances of Jahve, but in the province of worldly wisdom also ready with good counsels, which Moses willingly accepted. Then too, we perceive how correctly the Book of Origins<sup>3</sup> relates that Moses, when on the point of advancing further from Sinai, entreated Hobab, who knew the desert tracks, to go with him, promising him an equal share in all advantages, but could not without some solicitation obtain his consent. The league between the two nations was indisputably voluntary, binding to mutual aid and securing equal advantages; wherefore tradition always mentions that Jethro passed freely to and fro with Moses.<sup>4</sup> But that the enmity which in the latest days of Moses<sup>5</sup> existed between the Hebrews and the Midianites, did not of necessity extend to the Kenites, is self-evident from what is said above. That such an alliance was ultimately more advantageous to the two nations than to the two leaders, and that the connection of the two leaders by marriage was of minor importance, is elsewhere clearly indicated:<sup>6</sup> yet all historical traces lead to the supposition that Moses on his first flight out of Egypt entered at once into close connection with this Priest-Prince of Midian. And when we see that Moses in his flight directed his steps precisely to that spot, that according to an ancient very isolated record<sup>7</sup> Aaron afterwards went out of Egypt to meet him there, and that the entire nation<sup>8</sup> desired to make a pilgrimage to Sinai, as to a well-known sacred spot, it becomes probable that a still earlier connection subsisted between the two nations, perhaps dating from the time of the rule of the Hyksôs (see p. 393 sqq.). Even though the Israelites had formerly separated themselves from the rest of the Hyksôs, and attached themselves to the Egyptians; yet now, under so great a change of circumstances, and after an interval of centuries, the respective feeling of all the nations united by the name

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Num. x. 29-32.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xviii. 27; Num. x. 30.

<sup>5</sup> According to Num. xxv. and xxxi.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. iv. 27.

<sup>8</sup> According to Ex. iii. 12 sq.

of Abraham,<sup>1</sup> might rather incline to mutual friendship and assistance, as will be further and more clearly shown in the course of this history.

We must, however, draw one inference here. The Kenites who allied themselves with Israel, retained for many centuries, even in Canaan, their ancient national customs, dwelling in tents, and roving about in search of desirable abodes (they were afterwards scattered both north and south of Canaan), and exhibiting the swift alternations between peace and war, and all the cunning and dissimulation, which characterise the peoples of the desert.<sup>2</sup> But that in joining the Israelitish community they adopted the religion of Jahve is a matter of course. With this people, then, Moses had become intimately acquainted before his return to Egypt, and we are told that he went to Egypt accompanied by the blessing of Jethro. Now if we compare those Egyptian narratives (to be subsequently brought forward) which record a league of nations in Asia, who brought assistance to the strangers dwelling in Egypt, it seems as if a trace of a similar reminiscence is still preserved in the Biblical tradition of the flight of Moses into Asia and his union with the Kenites. For the other nations conjoined to Israel by relationship and customs, who may at that time have united themselves with the body of the twelve tribes, might well be soon so entirely blended with them, that in after ages it was only the Kenites who from retaining their former nomadic habits were recognised as strangers who had joined Israel at the time of Moses. This would also account for the large number of 603,550 fighting men, of which Israel consisted in the time of Moses, according to ancient enumerations; for that number would be too great for the land of Goshen, but may subsequently have been actually collected together at Sinai.

The ancient authorities have not recorded the age of Moses when he first fled from Egypt; but when learned writers<sup>3</sup> of a much later age make him 40 years old at that time, as if the first period of his life must have exactly corresponded in length with the other two, he being 80 years old at the time of the Exodus,<sup>4</sup> and 120 at his death,<sup>5</sup> they do this on their own responsibility, and cannot enforce our agreement with them.

<sup>1</sup> That the Midianites, who were then the dominant tribe at Sinai, were among these, follows from Gen. xxv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Judges iv. 11-22, v.

<sup>3</sup> See Acts vii. 23, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. vii. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 7.

#### IV. MOSES AS A PROPHET OF THE TRUE GOD AND AS A MAN.

**I.** That Moses was a Prophet at the time when, overcome by a righteous but too vehement indignation, he slew the Egyptian and had to fly from Egypt, is not conceivable in any strict sense. Ancient tradition itself deems him a prophet only from the moment of his solitude at Sinai, when he was suddenly and irresistibly transported by an overpowering fire of Divine revelation.<sup>1</sup>

But the high importance of Moses in the history of the world lies most of all in the fact that he became a Prophet, and from that moment acted as a prophet for his whole remaining life. This idea invariably pervades every recollection of him and every narrative respecting him, and thus Hosea,<sup>2</sup> without naming him, briefly designated him as a 'Prophet' by whom God in ancient days brought Israel out of Egypt and preserved it. He was indeed leader, lawgiver, and a worker of miracles to his people, but all these additional attributes fade before that one, that he was a Prophet; only as a Prophet was he leader, lawgiver, and worker of miracles, and all his greatness belongs to him as a Prophet alone.<sup>3</sup>

We must therefore here recognise one of the most wonderful primal faculties of the soul, which potentially, indeed, is diffused through the whole human race, but in especial strength, truth and persistence is revealed in the history of Israel only; and in no other prophet has produced results so important to the history of the world as in Moses. This is scarcely the place to describe in detail that power in itself, or in relation to the other primitive faculties of the soul;<sup>4</sup> here we must rather restrict ourselves to its historical significance.

There is no notion more preposterous than that prophecy always took the same form among the ancient Israelites. On the contrary, a closer examination shows that it underwent the most striking vicissitudes among this ancient people. Simultaneously with each of the three great epochs in the history of Israel to Christ, the form of prophecy as a main power in the entire life and efforts of that people underwent the most momentous changes. Prophecy at first appears commanding

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iii. 1 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Hos. xii. 14 [13]; comp. Deut. xviii.

15.

<sup>3</sup> Even so early a writer as Philo, for example, has too nearly ignored this in his three books on the *Life of Moses*, although

of course the prophetic power of Moses was never wholly forgotten.

<sup>4</sup> I still, in all essential points, abide by what I stated in 1840, at the commencement of the first vol. of the *Propheten des Alten Bundes*.

and ordering, declaring in the sternest form the Divine designs and will, and restricting itself to this severely prescriptive annunciation. The prophet is then not only the spokesman and the interpreter of his God, but at the same time as his vicegerent and general upon earth: and the domain of prophecy being the widest possible, and its power either a shadow or supremacy, it embraced at once legislation, politics, and government. It is true we find it thus exhibited most strikingly in Moses; but still we find it like this in every great prophet down to Elijah and Elisha, and even to Joel. How much it changed however, and laid aside this early stern form, will be shown hereafter.

But however great such modifications may be, some power must exist in prophecy as its permanent element, which determines its peculiar life, and only grants it varying expression, as the external objects change with which it comes in contact. This inner power is the impulse of religion to reveal her own truth; hence in its every stage and vicissitude, and consequently in this its earliest and most rigid form, prophecy cannot be understood without a knowledge of the nature of religion.

But as no religion is possible without a God, the nature of religion, as a powerful spiritual force which can even impel man to reveal its own truth, ultimately depends solely on the special conception he forms of the God who fills his soul. This conception may be infinitely various. Equally various must be the form of the God who impels the spirit of the Prophet; and the nature and efficacy of the Prophet also is thereby affected and appears in an incalculable number of gradations. Only when there is already a living notion of the true God, can the Prophet become the preacher of true religion. But because in the midst of the embarrassments and hindrances of the time the Prophet can only preach religious truths as he has long felt them himself, only he can become a great and true prophet, whose whole life from the first moment of his consciousness of prophetic impulses has been faithfully and purely upheld by those truths. Now here we can clearly see how surely Moses was from the first predestined, as it were, to be the first Prophet of the true God to a whole nation. The elementary notions of true religion, which (according to p. 317 sqq.) had been powerfully roused in his nation ever since the age of the Patriarchs, might in his day be wonderfully purified and extended through violent struggles with their opposites, by one who led the whole people. We shall soon see in what a transfigured nobleness they were

proclaimed by him: as also in what sublime certainty and clearness they lived in his own soul for a long succession of years.<sup>1</sup> Thus in Moses were present all the necessary conditions to make him the greatest Prophet of high antiquity,—one who, while in his prophetic quality resembling any or all the other prophets of very ancient times, stood alone as the first Prophet of the true God to a whole nation, the founder of a new race of prophets—the first race capable of fully glorifying their function in higher and ever higher degrees, and of accomplishing all that they were originally called and destined to do.

**2.** If religion consists in thinking and acting under the direct assurance of God, that is of his existence, his eternal truth, and the duties due to him—a thinking and acting that must deeply humble weak mortal man before the Divine presence, but also again raise him up, and fill him with all true enduring strength—a thinking which when sincere always passes over at once into corresponding action; then clearly every truth of religion, to the man who actually lives therein, must appear as the imperative word of God, and, in dark uncertain passages of life, each one of her counsels and decisions must seem the indubitable counsel and decision of God himself. The great eternal Ego, before which the petty human ego wholly disappears, but with whom it must reestablish itself, if it is not to be totally lost, that infinite Ego makes itself heard in each individual, thereby filling him and urging him onward; thus alone does the individual receive the true object of all his mediate thought and action (that is, of all thought and action directed upon this world)—light, and joy, and that freedom which contains within itself its necessary restrictions, and is therefore true moderation and lawfulness. As religion, however, may influence individuals with very different degrees of light and strength, and as the entire range of the very varied capabilities of the human soul blend with her differently in each individual; accordingly, a soul into which religion has already penetrated deeply may combine therewith the faculty of communicating her utterances to others with the same clearness with which they live within himself. And when through the mortal instrument the Divine Ego<sup>2</sup> thus speaks to others clearly and distinctly, and seeks to influence them, then there

<sup>1</sup> The chief proofs of this are contained in the words in Num. xii. 3; Deut. xxxiv. 7; Num. xvi. 16, 16; Ex. xxxii. sq., xi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> I need hardly remark to the intelligent reader that I use the expression *Ego* wholly without reference to any mo-

dern system of philosophy (for the terminology as well as the subject matter of all such are indifferent to our present study), but because the subject itself and the historical authorities demand it.

stands before us the spokesman and interpreter of the Divine mysteries—the Prophet, that word being taken in its earliest and most general signification.

Accordingly, if prophecy is an impossibility without the basis of religion, where it manifests itself in the individual with its full creative power, it must rest upon this foundation and no other. Hence it was necessary for Moses, before his prophetic work began, to be so imbued with the power of religion that from that moment he became a new man. He was not a Prophet at first; but he was first so thrilled by the power and truth of religion, that thenceforward he lived and worked in and through that alone, whether he became a prophet or not, and whether by eloquent speech he became an ordinary prophet or not. And not in the midst of great public labours, in battle, in victory, or in a moment of utmost peril, was he first penetrated by this truth. It first seized on him in the calm and stillness of life, and then followed action in accordance with it. As therefore the spirit of every true independent Prophet begins with beholding the Divine light and being absorbed into the mind and will of God,<sup>1</sup> so Moses, according to the profound truth of the narrative in Exodus iii., in the midst of life's repose suddenly beholds a mighty fire of God, and being thereby born anew, is urged on by Divine power to a fresh course of action. No condition of life is too lowly, no spot too humble, when the pure, bright, transforming fire desires to manifest itself at the right moment to the true divine instrument. The bush in the desolate waste suddenly becomes to the simple shepherd a burning shrine, out of whose brightness the angel of God speaks to him.<sup>2</sup>

But again, religion is concerned not merely with beholding the divine, but also with the nature of what is beheld. Everything was so prepared on the soil of Egypt, then trembling with the most startling antagonisms of nationality and religion, that a distinct opposition to the fully developed Egyptian corruptions of itself rendered an advance to a higher, nay to an eternally true religion possible. On every soil thus trembling the most surprising truths germinate with ease, their very opposites conspiring to force them upwards; and in the Egyptian nation just at that time (see p. 462 sqq.) there may have been a powerful movement extending far beyond Moses and his people for

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah vi.; Jer. i.; Ezek. i.—iii.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, any great fire appearing suddenly and marvellously was in antiquity very generally regarded as a divine

sign (see e. g. Appian's *Syr.* ch. vi.) but hero we have to do with something higher than the low and vain things which were often the objects of Heathen desire.

the foundation of a better religion as the basis of a higher life. But how few are able amid storms and passions really to perceive the truths invisibly germinating on such a soil, to discern them by the divine light, and to carry them out with a divine confidence! That the eye of Moses discerned them, that it therefore suffered itself to be opened by the divine spirit to discern them, constitutes the immeasurable significance of his life. That there is no redemption from Egyptian bondage but in free obedience to the clearly perceived will of the Heavenly Lord; no deliverance from idolatry and the whole superstition of Egypt but by the service of the purely spiritual God: these truths, and such as these, must have come before the eye of Moses in all the power of a divine illumination while as yet they had never been recognised with equal certainty by any one. And when we reflect with what overpowering force every truth, as it first starts up with distinct brightness, penetrates and renovates the entire man, we are able to understand how Moses could no longer remain with his father-in-law as a peaceful shepherd, when, as the Fifth Narrator says, he had seen the glorious bright fire shoot forth from the bush at Sinai, and heard the Divine voice issue from its midst.

Finally, religion is for man an absolutely authoritative and decisive power, because in all his acts he aims—whether mistakenly or not—either at obeying a law above him, or at gaining an attainable blessing. There is something which ultimately binds and constrains a man in his decisions and acts—something, therefore, which he fears, whether it be the right object of fear or not. If this is so, then the revelation of religion to others, i.e. prophecy, must possess an absolute authority, as a power to which all who draw near submit, with the sacrifice of their repugnance, when it really possesses weight and influence. But to acquire clear perceptions in religion is one of the most indispensable and consequently one of the earliest requirements of the human soul. Therefore prophecy naturally busies itself in every people at the earliest period, in founding a religion to be generally acknowledged, and in establishing large and enduring communities around its sacred fire. And so, when an earlier civilisation has been destroyed, new communities and states then form themselves around the re-awakened prophetic power, as we saw only in 1848 in Africa with Abdelkadir, and even later in Asia under Shamil and his predecessors.<sup>1</sup> According to every indication, we must imagine

<sup>1</sup> From the interior of Africa at the present day, some lesser examples are given by Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, p. 193, 210 sq.

the Israel of that age to have been, on the one hand, in such a state of antique simplicity and purity of life that it readily submitted itself to the voice of prophecy, while on the other, it was driven by extraordinary distress to consign itself to a firmer guidance and a closer union. Thus it was that Moses as a great Prophet could at that time become at once the all-uniting and controlling leader of the people; and—what later on was impossible even to a great Prophet—he was able to be by the mere power of the Divine word for a long period the universally acknowledged leader and the mighty ruler, nay even the new lawgiver, of his people. If he, in an age which yet needed the establishment of a fixed social order and a generally accepted religion, and which was therefore, as it were, called on to trust such a Prophet in everything, was himself impelled by the wonderful truths just mentioned, and, strong in their strength, led a people penetrated by the power and obedient to the light of the same truths; then he became of necessity a Prophet with whom none before or after could compare. For in fact, the highly civilised Egyptians still possessed Prophets;<sup>1</sup> but at that time, since other powers—the sacerdotal and the regal—had acquired the real authority, they had long declined in importance, although they still occupied the first place in external dignity and rank; and Moses was distinguished from them, as from all heathen prophets, by the truths of pure religion which were exclusively his. From the later Prophets in Israel, however, he was distinguished by being the founder of that community in which, only through him and his institutions, they obtained the sphere of their activity. In his history, therefore, we see a unique example of a people, who throughout many decades, in a decisive crisis of their history, unswervingly submitted themselves to the sway of those higher truths which a Prophet first revealed, and to the bright light of which he had inured his eyes. This free guidance of a noble spirit, and this free obedience of a willing people, cannot appear too marvellous in our eyes. And if the prophetic energy rose in Moses to so amazing a height that his entire life and every action served as guide and motive to a willingly obedient people, we can understand how the Fifth Narrator could say<sup>2</sup> that Moses, though wanting in that faculty of ready speech which is the instrument of ordinary prophets, so that he was obliged

<sup>1</sup> As we now know not only from the reports of the Hebrews and other foreigners, but also from the old Egyptian writings themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iv. 10-16; but the Book of Origins had already briefly alluded to this, so that it must have had some foundation in tradition: Ex. vi. 12 sq., vii. 1 sq.

to have recourse to Aaron as his own prophet, i.e. spokesman, was not on account of this defect deemed in the sight of God unworthy of his high vocation. In fact this conception is only one among many by which the Old Testament seeks to express the superiority of this greatest of the Prophets above all others.

3. In thus recognising in Moses the greatest and most original of prophets, but still a prophet only, we pronounce that in him the last and highest revelation of the divine in man was not manifested; for the prophet is the energetic proclaimor of a higher life, creates the impulse towards that life, and sternly requires conformity to it; but he does not present the actuality of that life in its blessed repose and perfection. Therefore he is not that which the Old Testament itself ultimately requires as its completion, and with which it concludes—the Messiah. But though this cannot be denied, the real greatness of Moses and of his work cannot be too clearly and distinctly realised by us. We therefore dwell upon it somewhat longer here at the beginning of his life, particularly as in recent times it has often been misunderstood.

There is nothing so characteristic of the community of Israel throughout all the centuries of its existence, and of the noble striving of its people, as the courageous direction of thought and act to the purely divine, the exclusive reliance on the true spiritual God and the blessings of life given by him. In this consisted the life and growth, as well as the glory and pride, of the people in Canaan. This was the aspiration which especially distinguished them from all other nations of antiquity ; and even though this fundamental basis of the true community was at times neglected or violated by the people, contrary to their own mission, yet all the pure and noble spirits in the nation always returned to it again, recognising it with growing constancy and conviction as the greatest necessity of the life of the individual as well as of the whole community, and with ever increasing power and success leading others to hold faithfully to it. When did that national aspiration, thus peculiarly directed and defined, take its rise? When did that extraordinary courage, sincerity, and elevation of soul spring up, not merely weakly and transitorily, but as the indestructible possession of the entire community? Did the great prophets of the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries create it all? Each word of theirs, and their very existence and ministry, testify that in their day that higher stage of spiritual elevation had been long reached in Israel, and was always assumed by them as the product of a

distant antique age. None can dispute this who have any true understanding of the utterances of a Hosea or an Amos, or of the history of an Elijah. Or did the times of Samuel and David with all their glory first kindle the holy fire of this aspiration? But (passing over for the present all that is to be subsequently explained) the strange difficulty and delay in the establishment of a monarchy—the true mission and the slowly matured fruit of that age—proves that a religion had been long in existence which, contrary to that of other nations, made reverence for the invisible Lord and King, and obedience to him alone, its greatest commandment. We shall be least of all inclined to attribute the origination of such an aspiration to the perplexed period of the Judges. Besides, among other indications, the song of Deborah, Judges v., points most clearly to an earlier glorious time of the formation of the people of Jahve. Thus by this method also we are brought back to the Mosaic period as the origin and completion of all the noble aspiration and peculiar tendency of this community; and if we could only ascribe the second commandment, ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself any idol,’ with certainty to Moses, that word declaring to all men, in opposition to all the other religions of the age, the pure spirituality of God and the necessity of a purely spiritual worship of him, would of itself prove that the entire spiritual course of later generations must have taken its rise and received its indelible bias from Moses and his age. We do not assert that the whole circle of truths connected with or rising from this foundation were as fully recognised or as certainly made his own by Moses as by later prophets, especially after Amos and Hosea. That could not be, from the mere fact that many of the errors with which they had to contend must have been entirely unknown in his day. Still less do we assert that in actual life Moses always acted unfalteringly in accordance with these truths, or gave a perfect example in following them out to their uttermost results; for the first recognition and foundation of a truth stretching to infinitude is necessarily separated by a long interval from its perfectly corresponding expression in life; and Moses was not Christ, either in intrinsic possibility or according to the declarations and representations of the Pentateuch. The whole history shows that we have only to ascribe to him the pure healthy germ of all truth respecting a spiritual God, and the first powerful inexhaustible impulse given by the establishment of the community to the enduring preservation and fruitful development of that germ. But in fact, in spiritual matters, everything depends upon laying an indestructible right

foundation ; and every one who knows this and reflects on the nature of that basis of spiritual truth of which we here speak, will not hesitate to conclude that the man who took the lead with such a commencement must, in intrinsic power and greatness of soul, have been one of the first among the few whom posterity ever reverences as originators of truths perpetually self-renovating, and as guides to a better life.

Even the most original and capacious mind, indeed, requires for its development and efficiency a favourable moment that rouses and calls forth its energies. But when we inquire what kind of influences seconded Moses, we find our information to be remarkably defective on that point. Powerful impulses from without must have stirred him ; for a view of life and direction of thought so spiritual and so sharply defined as had their first expression through him, not only presuppose a vehement conflict between fundamentally different tendencies, but many previous stages of early culture, not of the lowest order. Now Egypt, in the midst of whose learning Moses was brought up, had been for many centuries, as testified by its monuments, at a high stage of civilisation, particularly in the arts and dexterities of practical life ; and when we desire to bring before us a more living picture of the great deliverer of his people, we are prone to think of him as described by the Third and Fourth Narrators,<sup>1</sup> vying with the most learned men and skilful enchanters of Egypt. But Moses' characteristics do not consist in such knowledge and such arts, which there gradually degenerated into priestly artifices. On the contrary, the insight and power peculiar to him, as well as the direction towards the spiritual and the invisible, implanted by him in the community, form the direct antithesis to the well-known principles and acts of the Egyptian priests and nobles. Now, although among the Egyptians themselves, various views were then arising on higher religion (p. 462 sq.), yet nothing really better became prevalent among them. That the deliverance and reconstitution of Israel sprang from Titanic struggles between the Egyptians and the Hebrews, is the glorious recollection of the entire nation at every period of its existence. That this strife was inseparably associated with a sharp conflict between two essentially different religions follows from the way in which the traditions invariably describe Jahve as in strife with the Egyptian gods.<sup>2</sup> And it is still more distinctly proved

<sup>1</sup> Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 14 [18.]

<sup>2</sup> Just as many Hindu traditions of combats between Vishnu and Civa, Daitjas or Asuras and Suras, have sprung from stories of violent religious combats between

the different parties. How ancient this conception is in the Old Testament, is seen in the words, Ex. xv. 11; Num. xxxiii. 4.

by the new commandment, given with such extreme emphasis, not to worship any image whatever ; for that prohibition is of itself a plain declaration of war against the Egyptian religion, which, to a greater degree than any other in that remote antiquity, connected itself with pictorial and plastic representation, and brought home each one of its deities to the senses of the people by means of innumerable visible forms of every kind and in every place, and satisfied itself with paying homage to these.

Hence the Egyptian culture must have ultimately rather repelled than attracted Moses ; its influence on him was rather negative than positive. What from the nature of the case must have acted powerfully on him, and, as an important narrative teaches,<sup>1</sup> did stir him deeply, was the sight and the personal experience of the suffering of his people. It is easy to understand how the knowledge of and sympathy with the great and wide-spread suffering of his own people would act upon a mind so powerful and healthy by nature. The extremest resolves of the indignant spirit would appear capable of realisation, and the deepest powers of life be roused into an astonishing energy. An oppressed people has not alone the advantage of right on its side, it possesses also the greater probability that its better energies, which were trodden down by the oppression, may suddenly burst forth more irresistibly from their secret hold ; and a man who, like Moses, has early received the culture of the dominant nation, when he returns to his people with strong affection may, if he feels himself elevated and delivered from delusion by a truth not too much beyond the reach of his people, with so much the more address and good fortune, and so much the greater justice, attempt to deliver them, and rise against their oppressors. That at the time of Moses there was still in Israel a living memory of the glory of the Patriarchs, and of their religion, so simple and sublime in comparison with the superstition of the Egyptians, is both certain from what has been said above respecting the earliest period of Hebrew power, and is expressly presupposed in many passages.<sup>2</sup> If the remembrance of the earlier simpler religion and of the ancient greatness of the Hebrews, was confronted in the mind of Moses with the degeneracy of their present oppressors and the manifold superstitions they loved to favour ; and if, above all, he was himself inwardly strengthened and made free by the higher truth ; can it then surprise us that a spirit like his, born again to a better life, not only, in direct antagonism to those pernicious errors, kept firm hold on the old traditional truth, but

<sup>1</sup> Ex. ii. 11-14.

<sup>2</sup> As Ex. vi. 3, iii. 15.

also, now that the Egyptian errors were developed so far, and maintained so tenaciously, brought forth an unexpected treasure of new great truths? Such exceptional periods of bitter oppression and strife are the most calculated to elicit the sparks of fresh noble truths and to set the heart of a whole nation on fire with them; and it is amazing what a group of the richest and most abiding truths now sprang up as at a touch, from the quivering ground.

In Moses, therefore, the mighty originator and leader of this entire new national movement, the appreciation of the grand comprehensive thought just described, and the courage it inspired, must first have become firm as a rock. He himself must first have been regenerated, redeemed, and marvellously strengthened by it. Without this assumption total darkness obscures this history; but its necessity and its truth are vouched for by the entire subsequent course of events. That thought, with the elevation of the pure spirit which it generates, is too grand and unparalleled to have at first attained its full power anywhere else than in the energetic concentration and compact strength of soul of a single individual, since the same grand and original thought does not spring up with equally irresistible power and clearness in many minds at the same time; and every indication reveals that this one person was no other than Moses himself. And this is what we must here of necessity take for granted, in order to understand even the earliest development of the following history.

#### C. THE STRUGGLE IN EGYPT, AND THE EXODUS OF ISRAEL.

##### I. THE STRUGGLE IN EGYPT.

When we enter into the details of the commencement of this higher history of Moses, and inquire how it was that the future hero never forgot the distress of the people when he was in a foreign land; how the resolution to return to Egypt as their deliverer ripened in him; how he succeeded in raising his people, depressed by the burden of slavery and still more by their own apathy, in inspiring them with the courage to strive earnestly for deliverance, in uniting them in one grand design, and in extorting from Pharaoh the permission of a free departure; we must then indeed confess that it is impossible for us to discover and describe the full connection and special course of all these manifold events. The present state of the Biblical records makes it impossible distinctly to trace the plan of these first fine threads of the subsequent great historical event. Nor

shall we much wonder at this deficiency, if we reflect that it is only as a successful and completed achievement that the great work enters into the memory of the great world, or into the light of history. What we are still able to recover and bring forward is as follows.

It is evidently acknowledged in all the different representations now before us, that it was an actual religious war that raged with great bitterness and pertinacity between the Israelites and the ruler of Egypt; and as the independent Egyptian traditions, which will be treated of hereafter, accord with this, we may regard it as one of the best attested certainties of the history of that epoch. If the Egyptians desired to incorporate the Israelites entirely into their own community, so that they should form an integral portion of the Egyptian nationality, though one possessed of fewer privileges, and weighted with heavier burdens, they were under the necessity of also forcing upon them the Egyptian religion and reverence for the Egyptian priesthood. But even Israel's accustomed animal sacrifices, especially those of rams and bulls, were an abomination which the Egyptians, on account of the zoolatry which had long prevailed among them, would by no means suffer upon their territory.<sup>1</sup> If this oppression could not be removed by any means, the Israelites were obliged to think of emigration. We read that at first Moses and Aaron demanded from Pharaoh only permission for the people to celebrate a festival to their God, upon land which was not Egyptian, and therefore that they might retire 'three days' distance' into the desert of the peninsula of Sinai, and there sacrifice to their God in the midst of friendly tribes.<sup>2</sup> Should this most reasonable request be refused, or be so granted as to raise just doubts respecting the sincerity of the permission, then there could no longer be any crime in the complete emigration of a people oppressed in its conscience and its most sacred feelings. And it thus de-

<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of the words, Ex. viii. 22. Comp. x. 26 sq., written indeed only by the Fourth Narrator, but yet certainly derived from a reliable ancient tradition. We know indeed but little of the real nature of Egyptian sacrifices; what Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, v. p. 340 sq.) has collected is left quite in the rough, and far more mistaken are the ideas of Henry in his very unsatisfactory book *l'Egypte Pharaonique*, Paris, 1846, i. p. 243. But the excessive tenderness towards animals evinced in their deification is the very negation of their use in sacrifice; and that the latter, in so far as

it existed among the Egyptians, was very peculiar, may be seen from Plutarch *On Isis and Osiris*, xxxi.; Tac. *Hist.* v. 4. And undoubtedly the marked contrast in the offerings corresponded with that between the two religions.

<sup>2</sup> 'Three days' distance,' according to p. 447 may be taken as a form of speech and not a literal estimate; but three days' journey are about sufficient to reach the commencement of the Sinaitic range from the Red Sea; and in this instance three days are actually mentioned, Num. xxxiii. 8; Ex. xv. 22.

pended upon Israel as well as upon Pharaoh, what part each would take respecting this most reasonable religious requirement: whether the nation would pertinaciously insist on it, whether the king would obstinately refuse, or at best, hypocritically grant it. This view of the contest is the one that appears most distinctly in the most circumstantial accounts;<sup>1</sup> and its foundation is certainly very ancient.

Few traces are found just here of the Earliest Narrator. We perceive, however, from some detached phrases derived from him,<sup>2</sup> that, like the subsequent Narrators, he supposed the Exodus to have been brought about by Pharaoh's at last consenting to it.<sup>3</sup>

Of the Book of Origins more has been here preserved; and judging by the fragments derived from it,<sup>4</sup> it must have treated this portion of the history with greater fullness. According to the passages now preserved, it would enter somewhat abruptly upon the history of the deliverance, if we assume that Ex. vi. 2—vii. 7 joined on to Ex. ii. 25, without any intervening gap; and in fact the author, as if supplying an omission, when he describes the special relation between Aaron and Moses as brothers, sons of the same mother, furnishes the necessary information respecting the genealogy of the two brothers.<sup>5</sup> But that there is a gap now, is proved by certain words in the passage,<sup>6</sup> according to which Moses had previously pleaded much but unsuccessfully with his people (which is related in its proper place, but not now in the words of the Book of Origins), and then at length, when reduced to despair, received from God the revelation of final deliverance, and the command to negotiate with Pharaoh. Peculiar to this narrator, and connected with his close coordination of Moses and Aaron, is the beautiful description how Moses, on receiving the first divine call to act against Pharaoh, felt himself a man of uncircumcised tongue, and on that account received Aaron from God as his spokesman, just as God himself takes a prophet as spokesman<sup>7</sup> (or mouth) for the revelation of his secret will. The Fifth Narrator imitating this in his accustomed way, introduces it beforehand

<sup>1</sup> Those of the Fourth Narrator (see principally Ex. viii. 21 sq., x. 25 sq.) and of the Fifth. The Book of Origins, on the contrary, always represents Moses as demanding permission to leave Egypt immediately and freely.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xiii. 17, comp. in Book of Origins vi. 11, and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> It is important to observe this, lest we might be tempted to regard the Exodus as a secret flight like that of the hordes of

Torgautic Tatars, who in 1771 crossed secretly from Russia into China, 300,000 strong.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. vi. 2—vii. 7, xi. 4—8, and xii. sq.; indeed nearly the whole of the last two chapters.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. vi. 12, vii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. vi. 9, 12, and especially xiv. 11 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. vi. 12, vii. 1.

in a different connection.<sup>1</sup> The fragments also show that this book must have narrated that Pharaoh was hardened<sup>2</sup> and did not let the people go free at Moses' urgent entreaty, till after he had experienced many signs and judgments from Jahve. But we now find only one of such judgments, the last and the heaviest, described in his own words—the destruction of all the first-born in Egypt from the heir to the throne downwards. This account appears to have been retained by the Fifth Narrator, chiefly because it was interwoven with the recital of the laws of the Passover and the First-born in Israel; and the last narrator usually repeats in a fuller form the legislative portions of the Book of Origins. How much this book told of the other signs and judgments, we cannot now accurately determine; but that its descriptions sometimes diverged from other accounts is evident from a passage<sup>3</sup> which shows that it must have represented 'the judgments' as executed on the Egyptian gods also, and have described them more at large. The exact description of the state of the crops at the time of the hail<sup>4</sup> seems also to belong to a narrator who, like the author of the Book of Origins, generally gives very minute time-statements; for if, as this work says, the destruction of the first-born took place on the night of the passover, the hail is very suitably placed about a month earlier, when it could destroy the harvest of flax and barley, but not the later wheat and spelt. But the explanation of that tradition concerning the first-born can only be given later in connection with the explanation of all such laws; here it may suffice to observe that this tradition can only have assumed this definite shape from the ideas associated with the passover.

A few passages at all events may be clearly traced to the Third Narrator. First, the story that God summoned Moses to return to Egypt, because his persecutors there were dead,<sup>5</sup> must be derived from him; this corresponds to the description of the flight of Moses.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, it is probable that we

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iv. 10–16.

<sup>2</sup> The proper expression for hardening is **נִזְקָרָה**, Ex. vii. 3, xiii. 15, in place of which the Fourth and Fifth Narrators constantly use derivatives of the roots **קַח** and **כְּבָר**: Ex. vi. 6, vii. 4, xii. 12, Num. xxxviii. 4. Of the dismissal, or permission to depart, given to the Israelites, the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators employ the

strong expression **נִזְקָרָה** 'to drive away,' a word in frequent use in their writings: Gen. iii. 24, iv. 14, xxi. 10; Ex. ii. 17, vi. 1, x. 11, xi. 1, xii. 39 (xxxiii. 2 and xxxiv. 11, imitated from xxiii. 29–31); Num. xxii. 7, 11; from which verb the Book of Origins has only **נִזְקָרָה** in the technical sense 'a divorced wife.'

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxiii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. ix. 31 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. iv. 19.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. ii. 1–22.

owe to him the detailed account of the increasing sufferings of the people during the first efforts of Moses and Aaron, and also of their indignation against Moses,<sup>1</sup> a description which in point of style is decidedly earlier than the Fourth Narrator, and neither fits into the context of the Book of Origins, nor altogether harmonises with the manner of the earliest narrator. Other passages belonging to this writer will afterwards be brought under our notice.

The negotiations with Pharaoh, as now described, are in the main derived from the Fourth Narrator; and as is elsewhere the case with him, it is not the materials themselves which are new, but merely their artistic arrangement and employment. This can be shown pretty completely so far as the main points are concerned. That staff of God which according to this Narrator as well as the Fifth<sup>2</sup> played so great a part, which Moses as commanded by Jahve gives to Aaron to stretch forth, or himself raises; and which subsequently, as a wonder-working staff, is inseparable from the great leader's hand:<sup>3</sup> what is it in reality but that same high priest's staff, whose origin is placed much later by the Book of Origins,<sup>4</sup> and which, these passages show, was considered at the time they were written as the ancient sign of the power and dignity of the house of Aaron, and must at that very time have been actually preserved in the sanctuary? for that latest conception<sup>5</sup> of it as the original shepherd's staff in the hand of Moses, is only a beautiful turn given to the tradition respecting its origin. Further, among the ten plagues by which Pharaoh is ultimately coerced into compliance, eight are nothing more than extraordinary calamities of such a kind as may occur in any country, but most frequently and easily in the swampy northern portion of Egypt (only that, in connection with this history, they are to be viewed in that terrible light in which the locusts are regarded by Joel<sup>6</sup>), and are arranged in an appropriate advance in severity: frogs out of the water, mosquitoes as if swarming from the dust, dogflies, murrain among the cattle, a kind of blains, hail, locusts,<sup>7</sup> darkness. To these is

<sup>1</sup> Ex. v.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xvii. 16–23, comp. xx. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Commencing at Ex. iv. 2–4, 20 sq.  
<sup>3</sup> Ex. xiv. 16, comp. 21; further xvii. 5, and 9, comp. 11. From all the available indications we infer that the Third Narrator wrote the passage vii. 8–12; especially because the serpent is there always named נָעַם, but in iv. 3, vii. 15, is called נָעֵם:

<sup>6</sup> The words Ex. x. 14 sound exactly as if the narrator had in mind the passage Joel ii. 2 sq.

<sup>7</sup> For this simple order, Philo in the description of the Ten Plagues in his *Life of Moses* (i. 17–24) substitutes a more artificial one, which he may have drawn from the scholastic interpretations of his

prefixed as the first plague, the red or bloody Nile, a most oppressive one in Egypt, owing to the deficiency of other drinking water; although this phenomenon in itself is also noticed elsewhere;<sup>1</sup> as the tenth and last plague is added the slaying of all the first-born, which, as remarked above, is derived from a wholly different source. It is self-evident that the round number ten is here selected with deliberate art.<sup>2</sup> The whole constitutes a very Egyptian picture, indeed more so than the separate details: in no nation was the observation and the fear of extraordinary atmospheric and other natural phenomena so early and carefully developed as in Egypt. The Egyptians are beaten by the true God, in and through their own faith—that is the fundamental thought of the whole.

The Fifth Narrator, who moulds all these materials together, prefaces this entire section, according to his wont, with a grand introduction of his own, in order at once to present the history of Moses, as the divinely appointed Redeemer of Israel and opponent of Pharaoh, with all the most appropriate sublime images and truths. Especially remarkable is the application he makes of a material borrowed from the Third Narrator. This narrator, namely, as far as we can now judge, was the first who had ventured to depict the contest between Moses and the Egyptian magicians before Pharaoh. We may well assume that he had selected precisely three examples of this contest:<sup>3</sup> the transformation

time:—1. Three are produced from earth and water by Aaron, viz. bloody water, frogs, mosquitoes (Auth. V. lice); 2. Three from air and fire, by Moses, viz. hail, locusts, darkness; 3. The seventh is produced by both Moses and Aaron, viz. boils; 4. And the last three by the immediate hand of God, viz. flies, murrain among cattle, and the death of the first-born. This division into classes evidently reflects the scholasticism of Philo's age. Even before Philo, the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* (from xvi. 16) had written an eloquent description of these plagues; and the later writers generally were fond of contemplating them with astonishment, and the Rabbinical writers in subsequent ages intercalate many of their characteristic conceits.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Ex. iv. 9 and vii. 17; afterwards (vii. 19–24) the transformation is extended to all the water in the country. The Nile often changes its colour, and becomes green or red, and then the water, generally clear and salubrious, becomes offensive and unwholesome; see Abdollatif edited by de Sacy, p. 333–346, and the

*Déscription de l'Égypte, État moderne*, t. xviii. p. 571 sq.; Ehrenberg in Poggendorf's *Annalen der Physik*, 1830, p. 477, and the Berlin Academy's *Monatsbericht* for 1849, p. 294 sq.; 1850, p. 9 sq., 169 sq. 1862, p. 202 sq., and *Phys. Abh.* for 1847, p. 269 sq.; also *Catal. codd. Syr. Mus. Brit.* p. 89 a. As these changes vary much in degree in different years, the extraordinary redness here described together with its evil consequences, is at all events imaginable; and the principle to be chiefly insisted upon here, is that we should not look upon any statement contained in it, as a baseless invention. And even Manetho notices that under King Nepercheres in the second dynasty, the Nile ran with honey-water for eleven days. But even now many similar phenomena are observed and noticed as curious, as a rain of fishes (*Ausland*, 1857, p. 164); and in Makrizi's *History of the Mameluke Sultans* many similar things are undoubtedly reported from Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Mohammed incorrectly speaks of new wonders, Sur. xvii. 103 sq.

<sup>3</sup> In Ex. vii. 8–13, indeed, we now find

of the magic staff into a snake and back again;<sup>1</sup> the somewhat similar change of a sound hand into a leprous one, and *vice versá*,<sup>2</sup> both doubtless nothing more than arts in which enchanters and soothsayers at that time were wont to vie with each other, as indeed the narrative assumes that the Egyptian magicians were able to produce the same results, though in an inferior degree; and lastly, the above (p. 485) mentioned change of the water of the Nile into blood. A contest in such genuine Egyptian arts is in fact in its right place in the presence of Pharaoh; and doubtless, all that was related originally was that Moses had excelled all the wise men of Egypt. But after the Fourth Narrator had gone further in this,<sup>3</sup> the Fifth represented those three magic arts as given to Moses directly from God himself, in order that he might first display them to the people of Israel and thus awaken their confidence in his mission.<sup>4</sup>

Amidst the free use of such materials, this narrator, following his predecessor, strove to exhibit the model of the true Prophet at the very commencement of the history of the ministry of Moses: this constitutes the design of the whole.

only the first example by the Third Narrator: but this clearly stands too isolated there. Probably the latest author would not repeat the other two as related by that authority, because the Fourth Narrator had turned the third instance of this into the first of his ten prodigies.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. vii. 8-13; comp. iv. 2-4, vii. 15. It is important to notice, especially in this connection, that the age of the Fourth Narrator is just the time when prophecy, both in its purer and in its less pure forms, was peculiarly active. The modern works of Rosellini and Wilkinson on Ancient Egypt disclose from the public monuments no new facts respecting such Egyptian arts; but many passages in the Old Testament from the eighth or later centuries speak of the art of snake-charming, as Ps. lviii. 5 [4] sq., and that this was most and certainly earliest practised in Egypt, where some kinds of serpents were regarded as sacred, we know positively also from Ælian's *History of Animals*, xvii. 5; comp. xi. 16 sq. 32. See also Seetzen's *Reisen* iii. p. 446, 468. Böttiger (*Kleine Schriften antiquarischen Inhalts*, 1837, vol. i. p. 101) refers not without reason to the serpent encircling the staff of Æsculapius. But the point of the Biblical story is not reached till the staff, and consequently also the serpent, of Aaron swallows those of the Egyptian magicians, Ex. vii. 12. This is only the clearest expression of what

all these stories really teach—the higher truth and power of the religion of Jahve as established in contest with others.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Ex. iv. 6 sq. This sign has obvious reference to the priestly functions in case of leprosy, and to the belief that a distinguished priest of God had power both to inflict it as a punishment, and to cure it; and how truly Hebrew this sign is, we learn from an instance occurring in the Book of Origins, Num. xii. 10-15. Yet we must also remember that the Egyptians early possessed a high répute in the arts of healing and of magic, as is testified even in the *Odyssey*, iv. 237; so that such a contest between Moses and the Egyptian sages seemed quite natural. Indeed Athōtis, the son of Menes himself, passed for the author of the earliest book upon anatomy; see *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1852, p. 1156; and according to Manetho the king Sosorthros in the third dynasty was regarded by the Egyptians as their Aesculapius. The proverbs referring to the white hand of Moses, which we find in later writers (e.g. Khondemir in d'Herbelot under *Mangheh*) are all derived in the first instance from Ex. iv. 6 sq.

<sup>3</sup> He had transferred the occasion of contest to the ten plagues, Ex. vii. 22, viii. 3, 14 sq. [7, 18 sq.] ix. 11; after the third of which the Egyptian sages confess their inferior power.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. iv. 1-9.

Every word and deed of a true Prophet is preceded by a Divine direction ; he must first have cast his eyes on the pure bright light, he must be moved by the spirit's power at the right moment, when a real necessity arises in the divine-human province of a Prophet's activity ; and he must start with a clear resolve, or (to speak from the Divine point of view) with a definite commission : all this was fulfilled in Moses,<sup>1</sup> while he tarried a solitary shepherd at Sinai. But the true Prophet does not blindly follow at once the inward monition ; he must first calmly and thoughtfully survey the realities of his position and the measure of his own powers, drawing forward into the light every cause of hesitation, in order if possible to overcome it for ever. Thus Moses ponders upon his general unfitness,<sup>2</sup> the possible doubts of his own nation,<sup>3</sup> amounting probably to disbelief of his mission,<sup>4</sup> and the defect in speech with which he was afflicted.<sup>5</sup> But all such scruples only presented themselves to be overruled by higher considerations, so that in the end nothing remained but in spite of them to undertake the great work.<sup>6</sup> But even after the people were ready to follow him, his patience was tried afresh by the loud complaints of the overseers of the people when they were punished by Pharaoh ; and here the author takes the opportunity to introduce that long passage from the Book of Origins.<sup>7</sup> From the first Moses demanded nothing more of Pharaoh than once to allow the people to celebrate a festival to their God at Sinai. The fact that the original demand was of such a purely religious and unobjectionable nature, and that this is all that is described as the Divine command to Pharaoh,<sup>8</sup> is a striking proof that the modest, glorious spirit of prophecy in its best age has penetrated this story. But Pharaoh, as if driven by the consequences of his former injustice against this people, and foreboding the worst, does not grant this reasonable request of a mere pilgrimage to Sinai, but rejects it scornfully and in terms of contempt to Jahve.<sup>9</sup> Hence arises the protracted contest between him and Jahve as the heads of the contending parties, and between their respective agents, the magicians, whose art avails only to a certain point, and the genuine

<sup>1</sup> According to Ex. iii. 1-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iii. 11 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. iii. 13-22.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. iv. 1-9.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. iv. 10-17.

<sup>6</sup> In describing here Moses' return to Egypt the author inserts from the earliest narrator a very slight mention of Jethro (iv. 18, comp. xviii.), then (vv. 24-26) an

account of the circumcision of Moses' son (see my *Alterthümer*, p. 105 sq.), and (ver. 27) the still more detached and curious account of Aaron's journey into the desert, comp. ייְהֹוָה vv. 24, 27, Gen. xxxii. 18 [17], xxxiii. 8 with ייְהֹוָה. Ex. v. 3, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Ex. iv. 29-vii. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ex. iii. 12, 18, iv. 23, v. 1-8, vii. 16 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Ex. v. 2.

prophet and leader—a contest in which the might of wrong, relying on its supposed supports and some apparent successes, becomes at first more and more obstinate; and then, when the necessary consequences of such conduct turn against it in ever increasing chastisements, remains undecided in the moment of decision, and lets every little delay and every little relic of delusive hope blind it anew to maintain the imaginary good to which it clings, but thereby only loses step by step all its force and dignity; and at length, when the tenth, last, and heaviest plague inexorably approaches, is after all forced to yield—an eternal great type of the vain resistance to right and truth. Thus he, who at first would not allow even the adult men, and then not the herds necessary for the sacrifice, to go, is at last obliged to beg their blessing at their sacrifices, and to give them victims from his own property.<sup>1</sup>

Everything in this story is on a coherent and sublime plan, is grand and instructive, excites and satisfies the mind. It is like a divine drama, exhibited on earth in the midst of real history; to be regarded in this light and to be treasured accordingly. Not that we hereby assert, that this story does not on the whole exhibit the essence of the event as it actually happened. For the sequel of the narrative shows that Pharaoh did not voluntarily allow the people to go; and we cannot form too exalted an idea of Moses. But we do insist that the story as it now is cannot have been drawn up before the era of the great Prophets.<sup>2</sup>

The story of the despoiling the Egyptians of their gold and silver vessels and clothes,<sup>3</sup> which, with the similar tradition of the origin of the Feast of unleavened bread,<sup>4</sup> seems to have had its ultimate source in the book of the earliest narrator, is not now so closely interwoven with the whole. The Fifth Narrator, it must be admitted, connects this despoiling as closely as he possibly could with the plan of the whole transaction which he had adopted. At the very beginning of the Divine equipment of Moses, it was prophesied to him that Jahve would procure the people so much favour with the Egyptians that they would receive voluntary loans of vessels and clothes, which they

<sup>1</sup> If the words Ex. xii. 32, 'and bless me also,' are not intended to indicate the gift of such animals for sacrifice (which certainly ought to have been more clearly expressed), we must suppose on account of x. 26 sq. that here also the Fourth Narrator's story has not come down to us entire.

<sup>2</sup> The spirit of this story is therefore

preserved in the greatest purity by those who think and teach that like faults may still at any time entail like judgments, as when simple-minded historians in later ages tell of similar events occurring in their time; as Vahram in the *Armenian Chronicle*, translated by Neumann, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. iii. 21 sq., xi. 2 sq., xii. 35 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xii. 34, 39.

should carry away. And so it happened : the Egyptians lent the departing people precious vessels and clothes, because (as we are once<sup>1</sup> expressly told) Moses was held in great honour by the Egyptian people as well as by Pharaoh's servants ; and as, from the sequel of the story, Israel could not return to Egypt after Pharaoh's treachery and the incidents on the Red Sea, and therefore was not bound to return the borrowed goods, the people kept them and despoiled the Egyptians of them. That this abstraction is no theft in the eyes of the narrator, and that nothing but Pharaoh's subsequent treachery rendered the return of the goods impossible, is a matter of course. And as in this turn of affairs to the advantage of Israel there may be a kind of divine recompense—in so far as, seen from the end, it appears a piece of high retributive justice, far above human inequalities, that those who had long been oppressed in Egypt should now be forced to borrow the necessary vessels from the Egyptians and be obliged by Pharaoh's subsequent treachery to retain them, and thus be indemnified for long oppression—the Fifth Narrator might imagine this end as necessarily foretold by Jahve at the very beginning, and therefore treat the subject as we now see it.<sup>2</sup> Yet the whole affair contains something so special, and is so loosely connected with the remaining occurrences of the story, that it must have originally had a weightier meaning. Why are only vessels and clothes mentioned? are these in themselves so very important? We learn nothing else of any such apparently trivial things in those times; why then just of these? We are brought nearer to the original significance by the fact that these vessels and clothes<sup>3</sup> were undeniably intended for use in the sacrificial festival which Israel was about to celebrate. This places us at once on a higher level, and we feel that it must so much the less have been an ordinary theft. Israel deprived the Egyptians of the true religion, took from them the proper apparatus of sacrifice, and with them the true sacred rites and victims themselves : this must manifestly be the original meaning of this tradition. In every such great crisis of the histories and religions of two peoples, the main point is, which of the contending parties will wrest the good to himself, which suffer it to be wrested from him. For some higher and greater good develops itself in the very struggle, and one of the antagonists ultimately lets the prize be snatched from him. As victor,

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In this sense the later poet of Ps. cv. 37 and the author of the *Wisdom of Solo-* <sup>mon x. 17, allude to this passage of history.</sup> According to Ex. iii. 12, and other similar passages.

Israel had then reason to boast of having acquired the right sacrifice from the Egyptians. This resembles the story of Rachel's purloining Laban's household gods (p. 355 sq.), or the Greek myth of the theft of the Golden Fleece.<sup>1</sup> Without doubt, then, this is based on some primeval significative story, which the last narrator first brought into its present connection. And when we remember that the sharpness and cunning, or even in a certain sense the justice, of theft was actually admired and praised, and by no nation so early and so generally as by the Egyptians,<sup>2</sup> we cannot fail to recognise in this passage of the great Egyptian-Hebrew tradition a true Egyptian colouring and high antiquity. We have only to regret that the whole story is not preserved entire.

In like manner some minute reminiscences of the beginning of the Exodus itself have been preserved from the oldest documents. We are now prepared (from p. 481 sq.) to think that Moses, after Pharaoh had obstinately refused, or only hypocritically granted, the request for free exercise of their religion, was perfectly justified in meditating a complete emigration of the people. In that case he must have known beforehand the country to which he intended to lead it: and all indications tend to show that from the first he thought only of Canaan, and set the people's hearts on that land only. It was his fixed prophetic habitude to direct Israel to 'the land which Jahve will give thee';<sup>3</sup> and it was the firm belief that this would assuredly come to pass at length, which nerved and sustained him and through him Israel. This is one of the grand prophetical declarations which impelled and supported all that long period. He might therefore have intended to lead the people to Canaan at once by the shortest road; and that he really did intend this, is to be deduced from the earliest reminiscences which have been preserved. The expedition set out from the town Raamses.<sup>4</sup> This town was indeed regarded (according to p. 434) as the chief city of the land of Goshen; but another reason for its being chosen as the place of rendezvous and departure, evidently was that it lay more to the east than the above (p. 436) men-

<sup>1</sup> See Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 9. 5 for an instance occurring in the first century of the Christian era and in the same region, and similar though sometimes obscure heathen stories in Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 52, p. 246 Wolf; Müller's *Orchomenos*, p. 385; C. Müller *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* tom. iii. p. 388 sq.; and note also how in the *Shahnameh* Alexander steals from Darius his cup, by which according to Gen. xliv. 2 sq. more than a common cup

is meant.

<sup>2</sup> According to Herod. ii. 121, Diod. *Hist.* i. 80, Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> This follows from the undoubtedly genuine Mosaic words, Ex. xx. 12, comp. Dent. v. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxxiii. 3 sq. out of which ancient record the Book of Origins has already mentioned these first marches by anticipation, Ex. xii. 37, xiii. 20, comp. above p. 444.

tioned Pithom. According to the earliest narrator, however, 'God led the people when they set forth in complete battle array,' not by the nearest way, that to the north-east (through the land of the Philistines), to Canaan, but by the south-east, over the desert near the Red Sea; because he feared that the people, terrified or defeated by the powerful enemies which it would inevitably meet, might turn back to Egypt.' This very simple view undoubtedly contains the right key to the understanding of the first marches of the people under Moses. That the nations which they would unavoidably meet on the nearest north-eastern route were no Hyksós—that is, allies of Israel of ancient date, or at any rate peoples of cognate race—we may gather from other indications also (see p. 242 sqq.). To lead the people in the first movement of its hurried departure, and in its very unprepared state, immediately against such nations, should they strenuously oppose the transit, would have been the last mode of escape that a prudent leader would choose. Nevertheless, we now perceive from the exact indications of the several encampments, as well as from the embarrassment of the immediately succeeding history, that that north-eastern route (probably to the north of Lake Timsah or the Crocodile Lake) was really the one at first adopted, as if Moses himself had not at first thoroughly appreciated the great danger that threatened from that quarter. The people advanced two stations on this route, and there stood on the frontier of the land, at the border of the desert that separates Egypt from Palestine, the land of the Philistines.<sup>2</sup> Now at that spot he must have resolved to

<sup>1</sup> חמשים 'in fives,' Ex. xiii. 17 sq., i. e. divided into centre, right and left wing, van and rear: the simplest arrangement of an army marching in order of battle; see the description of Saladin's army in Freytag's *Chrest. Arab.* 1834, p. 120, 1. 2, and on سبع Earl Munster's *Fihrist*, p. 59; and so the army and camp of Israel was arranged in later times also. That the Israelites departed unarmed is a groundless assumption of Philo, *Life of Moses*, i. 31 (*Eus. Prep. Ev.* viii. 6, 8); Josephus, *Antiquities*, ii. 15. 3, 4, 16. 6, and other later writers.

<sup>2</sup> According to Num. xxxiii. 5 sq.; Ex. xiii. 20, comp. xiv. 2, 3, 9, they journeyed 'from Rameses to Succoth, and from thence to Etham at the edge of the desert.' Modern inquirers have hitherto discovered neither Succoth nor Etham, and if sought in a southern direction straight towards the Red Sea (as is the case even in Robinson's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 54 sq.), it is not

likely that they will ever be found; for the unusual expression בָּאֵשׁ 'to turn back,' Num. xxxiii. 7, Ex. xiv. 2, so strongly emphasised by the writer in his brief remarks, would then have no meaning. But the entire Arabian desert bordering on Egyptian territory, and extending southwards beyond the point of the Red Sea, is known by the name of Etham, Num. xxxiii. 8. The commonly received opinion of modern writers, that the Israelites took the high road which leads from Heliopolis to the south-east, with which the modern route starting from Qâhirâ (Cairo) is nearly identical, scarcely deserves refutation, although mentioned by Josephus, *Antiquities*, ii. 15. 1. And Tischendorf's opinion also (*de Israëlitarum per Mare Rubrum transitu*, Lips. 1847), that they started from Heliopolis and went to the north-east, rests upon the assumption of the identity of Rameses with Heliopolis; an opinion found only in Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii. 7. 6) and still

strike off into the other route, and first to collect his forces at the sanctuary of Sinai, with his near friend the prince of Midian. Beyond doubt hostile bands threatened from the north-east, if he did not change his route. Thus he led the host halfway back (probably first south-west between the Crocodile Lake and the Bitter Lakes) completely into Egyptian territory, then westward from the Bitter Lakes, in an almost desolate tract, due south, down to the place where he would fall in with that south-eastern route : and encamped there at Pi-hahiroth, a small place which doubtless lay on the western coast of the Red Sea, above Suez.<sup>1</sup> We are not told how many days were lost in this change of plan and in the return hither ; but if Pharaoh was informed of it and then sent an army against Israel, several days must have elapsed, which is indeed intrinsically the most probable. This much at any rate follows naturally from the above, that these cross-marches might easily lead Pharaoh to the belief that the people were ‘lost in the land,’ that ‘the desert (the north-eastern one towards Palestine) had shut them in’—i.e. had taken them prisoners and made them a prey.<sup>2</sup> And as his readiness to consent to the Exodus had never been great, it is easy to understand how he would take advantage of this perplexity of the leader of Israel and still carry off the victory by a sudden *coup de main*. In this case his plan could not be doubtful : he had to pursue Moses from the north-west on the

later writers ; but originally not held even by the LXX., as is evident by page 434 sq. (the variation of *Codex* vii. ε καὶ ὅν for καὶ ὁν makes no difference), and intrinsically utterly baseless. If we knew the exact position of Etham, we could pretty nearly determine from it that of Rameses, which is to be looked for at two short days' journey to the west of it. See *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iv. p. 228–230.

<sup>1</sup> Pi-hahiroth over against Baal-Zephon (the city of Typhon, according to page 435) between Migdol and the sea, Ex. xiv. 2, 9. See also Num. xxxii. 7, where as the encampment was not close to Migdol, we are forced to assume that after וְיָמֵנוּ לְפִנֵּי הַנִּירוֹת בֵּין הַיּוֹם וּבֵין the words וְיָמֵנוּ have fallen out, as also that in ver. 8 מִפְּנֵי is to be read for כִּפְנֵי. It was clearly not a large or well-known place ; as otherwise it would not have been so fully described. The opinion of Léon de la Borde in his *Commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris, 1841), that the present castle 'Agerud or Agrud نَجْرُودَةَ' called by Pococke and Shaw Agerute (see

Hartmann's *Edrisi Africa*, p. 441) to the north-west of Suez, is to be identified with its site and name (in which case *pi* must be considered as the Egyptian article), is not without probability. On Migdol see above, p. 429 ; it was probably originally the advanced bulwark of Abari on the west, as the other Migdol was that of Pelusium on the north.

On the other hand, Linant in the *Mémoire sur le canal projeté entre les deux mers*, and Fresnel following him in the *Journ. Asiat.*, 1848, i. p. 276 sq., find Pi-hahiroth in a place much further northwards, on the Lake Timsach and the old bed of the Gulf of Heroëpolis ; and this more northerly site would so well accord with the explanations given p. 434 sq. 491 that I myself formerly looked for it there ; and we might then find in ha-Hiroth the *Hero* of Heroëpolis, and in תְּהִרּוֹת the mouth of the canal. But the turning back, mentioned p. 491 must have been a very decided change of direction ; and the narrative speaks very distinctly of the Great Red Sea.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xiv. 8.

route leading to the Red Sea, in order if possible to overwhelm him before he could attempt to cross the Sea; because Moses had lost all power of moving to the north, the sea seemed to cut off all flight to the east, and an escape to the south was in itself out of the question. When he, driven by revenge in the execution of this resolve, blindly attacked the flying people and there effected his own destruction, quite as unexpectedly as they their escape to Asia, the whole external history of Moses and his time suddenly reaches its culminating point; and incidents which by themselves, out of the nexus of their antecedents and consequences, and apart from the spiritual agencies working in secret, would have had no extraordinary significance, constitute by their connection with the rest a most momentous event, which determined the course of history for many ages.

## II. THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

For I do not hesitate to assert most emphatically that it is solely in consequence of the immediately preceding and then continuing excitation of noblest efforts and extraordinary spiritual energies that the event by which the history of Moses rapidly attains its culmination—the destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea and the preservation of Israel—has acquired its unparalleled importance; but that otherwise, like a hundred other events resembling it externally, it would have passed away almost traceless in human history, and its very memory have been readily lost. The highest efforts and sublimest energies of the spirit struggling for deliverance must have immediately preceded it, not merely on the part of Moses, but also on that of the nation gathering around him and courageously following his voice, when it called them to freedom. This is implied in the nature of the case; and what existing narratives relate respecting it can only be regarded as a slight reminiscence of the days which witnessed the rise of a most powerful spiritual movement. It is equally certain that this joyful confidence in the approaching decision at the Red Sea, once aroused, must have remained unweakened; for that even in this moment of pressing danger the great leader at least did not lose clear insight and self-possession, but, unappalled either by the advancing Egyptians or by the faintheartedness and murmurings of the people, led over the host with indomitable courage, this cannot appear a less achievement than anything which the Man of God had already attempted and

gained. The powers and impulses of all great movements generally eventually concentrate themselves in one decisive moment, in which the noble endeavour, if not finally untrue to itself, obtains the true victory, and winning the reward of its long struggle, issues into the open light of the world. What would have availed all earlier efforts, however noble, of the Greek or the Roman spirit, without Marathon or without the Samnite Wars? Nay (to take the very highest example), what would have availed even the death and resurrection of our Lord, unless they had been preceded in secret by the highest that was possible up to death itself? When, therefore, in that early age at the Red Sea, where the fruit of all previous noble efforts was about to be destroyed at one blow, Israel was saved at the right moment, and the stormy rage of the Egyptians suddenly quenched in the swelling waves of the sea; then, in the connection in which this single event then stood to all that preceded it, this was not merely an instantaneous deliverance from peril of life, not merely the reward of all the toils and struggles of the previous glorious effort, but the glorification of that thought which had hitherto secretly prompted and directed this effort, and thus an acknowledgment of the invisible spiritual God whom Moses had proclaimed as the right saviour and invincible defender of those that trust in him. Reliance on the true help soon grows from poor and weak beginnings, and is ready to spring up on all sides; but how often is even a sanguine confidence nipped by depressing external influences; and, again, how rapidly can it grow and spread if a favourable breeze draws the planted germs to the light at the right moment! In this view, the external success of that time is nothing but this favourable breeze; but because it found the noblest and fruitfullest germs already planted, it was able to fill the great mass of the people with buoyant confidence in those spiritual truths, which, being in themselves hard to grasp, cannot sink deep into the human mind apart from strong personal experience, and which at all times appear to be long waiting for such great crises, when they may diffuse themselves the more rapidly and exercise the more permanent influence. What constitutes the grandeur of this history, so rapidly attained, is that now the entire people, as by external power and visible proofs, discern the true spiritual God as their actual lord and redeemer, and thus an unbounded joyous spirit is aroused to know still more of his truths and his laws, to desire his sole guidance, and to dare the uttermost under such leadership. Gleams of sunlight such as these are

rare in the history of the world, still rarer in that of single nations, and with regard to that event we are sadly deficient in the completeness of the remembrances. But the day of Marathon, and that of Salamis, cannot have shone so brightly upon the earth nor kindled upon it such a light as this day, which might truly be named the baptismal day of the true Congregation.

If we weigh also the unique method of this deliverance, how it was gained, not like an ordinary victory, by arms and bloodshed, but by an event completely unlooked for, springing out of concealed causes, we shall estimate more truly the impression which it must have produced upon the redeemed. For if a bloody victory can only excite mixed feelings, and often only stimulates and feeds the human pride of the victor, this victory, prepared as by invisible arms, must have drawn the minds of the redeemed with increased force to the purely heavenly, serving as a still further attestation of the power of that invisible spiritual redeemer whom Moses announced, and thus preparing the easiest entrance for all the new truths of Moses. That the true deliverance and happiness is not to be gained through ourselves alone, by personal rushing and tearing, but is to be found in perfect resignation to a higher invisible power, ever acting at the right moment for the good of the individual, combined with all possible unwearied personal exertion—this is the lesson taught by the mode of deliverance under discussion, and by this the prevailing aims of the nation were naturally determined. It is striking to notice how perfectly this first great national success accords with the new fundamental ideas of the community. We cannot, however, now determine how far these events may have worked upon the mind of Moses himself, and affected the character of the Sinaitic legislation.

And in fact it is especially this view of the event, which sank deep into the popular mind, and has tinged the descriptions of it still preserved to us. It is easy to understand, that in after-times the nation, gratefully recalling this dispensation, saw in it only their own deliverance, which filled them with elating joy. Still they never lost the feeling that the victory was solely due to invisible powers. That not horses nor chariots, not war or tumult, gives the true victory, but Jahve alone and the strength which comes from him—was the sublime and unchanging conviction of the very first age after Moses. We here see it flowing fresh from its source; for the ancient festal song celebrating the event<sup>1</sup> strongly urges that it was

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xv. 1-18.

the mere will of Jahve that destroyed the horse and the rider, the chariot, and the chosen warrior in the chariot. In presence of this sublime memory and the feeling of its truth, everything lower and earthly gradually faded away. While the later Israelites never forgot that the great baptismal act of their Congregation took place at the northern angle of the Red Sea, the memory of the exact spot of the passage was gradually lost, so that in the extant stories it is impossible to find any adequate determination of the locality.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, even as to the abstract and eternal significance of the great event to the religion of Israel, we can trace a growth in the ideas entertained of it. All that was felt, in reflecting on that most critical moment of their whole history, to be miraculous and divine, was first expressed most naturally, beautifully and indelibly in song ; and in the earliest extant description<sup>2</sup> of this event, which retains the old poetical character, the stress is laid, not so much on the dry passage of the Israelites as upon the destruction of the Egyptians. A violent wind from above drove back the waters so powerfully that they were pressed together in heaps, and held up as by a dyke ; but while the vindictive Egyptians in wild eagerness rush in pursuit

<sup>1</sup> So much has been written in modern times on the locality and the possibility of the passage, that I have no desire to add to it. The existence of two fords near Suez (Seetzen's *Reisen* iii. p. 122 sq. 130 sq.) makes the exact place somewhat doubtful. In my opinion it occurred, if the Red Sea then had its present limits, north of Suez, where the gulf is very narrow, and can be easily crossed at low tide. We know that just here sudden inundations of the ford, produced by extraordinary flood-tides, are pretty frequent ; see Diodorus, *Hist.* iii. 40 ; le Père in the *Description de l'Egypte, État moderne*, tom. ii. p. 470, and Robinson's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 56-59. Very similar occurrences are described, for instance, in Tabari's *Arabic Annals*, vol. i. p. 196, 198, 200, 206, and Clarke's *Travels*, 1810, vol. i. p. 325 ; earlier writers have already referred to Livy xxvi. 45 sq. ; even Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii. 16. 5) refers to the event of Alexander's life described by Arrian, i. 26 ; and see Strabo xiv. 3. The idea of a passage effected further to the south of Suez, opposite the modern 'Ayun Mâsa (or *Moses' Springs*), which was shared even in 1850 by K. von Raumer, rests entirely upon the assumption noticed p. 491 of the identity of Rameses and Heliopolis, and consequently falls with it. The opinion of John Wilson (*The Land of the*

*Bible*) and Olin (*Travels in the Holy Land*), that it took place to the south, at the Wâdi Tawârik or Jebel 'Atakah, is as baseless as that of the latter and of Lord Lindsay (*Letters on the Holy Land* i. p. 261), that Etham (see p. 491) is the modern Wâdi Altha to the south of 'Ayun Mâsa. Some modern scholars have, on the contrary, imagined the passage as having been effected to the north of the present limit of the Red Sea, as if it could then have somehow extended further northwards ; so Dubois Aymé in the *Description de l'Egypte*, and Miss Fanny Corbaux (see the lengthy discussions on this point in the *Edinburgh New Philos. Journal*, 1848, Jan. April, and *Athenaeum*, 1850, March and April; 1851, Dec., pp. 1313 and 1348). According to S. Sharpe (in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, pp. 25 sq., 171) Rameses is Heliopolis, Succoth the Scene Veteranorum (in Antonini *Itinerarium*, p. 163, 169, Wess.) to the north of it, Etham or Buthan (*Boedæ* as the LXX. read in Num. xxxiii. 6 sq.), the Pithom mentioned p. 436, and Pi-Hahiroth Heroöpolis, and the passage into Asia near the position assigned by Dubois Aymé ; but all this is nullified by the false position assigned to Etham. See also *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 228-30, vi. 144, viii. 140, ix. 230, xi. 187 sq. 205.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 8-10.

through the ford, which they deem secure, an opposite wind, like another mysterious breath of the angered God of heaven, suffices to make the waves flow again, to the destruction of the pursuers: this is the nucleus of the oldest recollection preserved in the bosom of the congregation. Another ancient conception by the Earliest Narrator seems to be that the angel who on other occasions always preceded the host of Israel, on this placed himself behind this host, before the camp of the Egyptians, filling them with consternation; 'and fettered their chariot-wheel, and lamed it with inability to move,' so that the chariots could not escape from the floods.<sup>1</sup> But the Third Narrator, from whom especially the closing words ver. 19, 20 are derived, explains this angel by the pillar of fire and cloud, as if this pillar in the night had passed between the two hosts so as to separate them from each other, darkening the Egyptians and giving light to the Israelites,<sup>2</sup> but towards morning, after the Israelites had passed over on dry ground, had by a sudden turning of its fire driven the terrified Egyptians into the waves. The Fourth Narrator, according to his wont, ascribes everything chiefly to the staff of Moses, which divided the sea and afterwards brought the waves back again. By this is produced a vivid picture, but one which historically explains nothing. Also from the Book of Origins some valuable fragments have been preserved by the Latest Narrator,<sup>3</sup> from

<sup>1</sup> The sentence about the angel, ver. 19, appears to be derived from the earliest narrator: also many of the words in ver. 24 sq.; and probably also ver. 30. (Observe how the later writer explains this at the end of ver. 13.) The accurate description of the arming of the Egyptians in ver. 6 sq. is probably retained from the Book of Origins, as well as verses 10-15; it is distinguished from the other accounts both by the mention of the מִשְׁלָחִים 'chariot warriors' (as in the ancient song, ch. xv.), and by the consequent omission of the מִשְׁלָחִים 'horsemen'. The word רַכְבִּים xv. 1 is not synonymous with this; for, so far as our knowledge of ancient Egypt extends, we find that especially in the early times the Egyptians, like the Homeric heroes, employed no regular cavalry, but only small two-wheeled chariots. These are seen on all the monuments, whereas the horsemen represented are invariably enemies of the Egyptians; see Rosellini's *Monumenti civili*, t. iii. p. 240 sq.; and Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 288 sq.; and the word רַכְבֶּר, Ex. xv. 1, may well denote a warrior fighting from the רַכְבִּים (chariot).

The discrimination of the various authors, of which these writers had not the remotest idea, is therefore here of especial importance. It is easy to understand that in the times after Solomon all this would be much changed, and the Fourth Narrator might therefore present it from a different point of view.

<sup>2</sup> For בָּנָתָה, ver. 20, it seems that we must read בָּנָתָה, 'it made darkness and again (on the side of the Israelites) enlightened them,' to avoid more violent emendations. The Deuteronomist adopts the same idea, Josh. xxiv. 7. In the ancient words of ver. 25 וְיָמֵן must stand for יָמֵן (LXX. ἡλιος) and נָגֵן must like

לְעֵלִי denote 'to weaken' 'to lame' of which the Kal occurs in Ecclesiastes ii. 3, with לְבִן in the sense 'to be wearied.'

<sup>3</sup> The casual mention of these Egyptian times in 1 Sam. iv. 8 (see also Judges xi. 16), would be found to contain another peculiar conception concerning them, namely, that the Egyptians had only in the desert suffered all these plagues, if this very idea were not too absurd to be adopted, in which case we may probably

which, however, we gain no further information on the mode of the transit. But when we consider that from this profoundest trial and danger on the Red Sea Israel really issued a new regenerated nation, now for the first time under its great Prophet understanding its true higher destiny and divine glory, we can well comprehend how appositely this passage through the sea-water was in later days compared with Baptism.<sup>1</sup>

As the night of the departure from Egypt ever afterwards appeared to the nation as hallowed by the commencement of its higher life and divine redemption, and every event which immediately preceded it in Egypt seemed an exalted prelude to this beginning of an endless series of consequences ; so also the thoughts of later generations revelled in the wonders of that second sacred night, when the Egyptians perished in the sea ; and the later the date, and the more oppressed the people, the higher rose the enthusiasm of their descriptions. Even after the Pentateuch had come to be generally regarded as a sacred book, these very passages soon became the subject both of new enraptured songs and of picturesque descriptions,<sup>2</sup> in which a lively imagination added much embellishment from mere conjecture. No historical work of this kind has indeed been preserved ; but we can recognise with tolerable accuracy its existence and method, from the short descriptive strokes thrown off in a higher flight of thought, which appear in the Book of Wisdom<sup>3</sup> and in other later works. An instance of this later revivification is the statement that Israel, after the passage of the Red Sea, despoiled of their arms the numerous Egyptian corpses cast upon the shore, and thus first became an armed nation ;<sup>4</sup> an idea which sprang from the comparatively modern error already mentioned (p. 491).

Whatever may have been the exact course of this event, whose historical certainty is well established ;<sup>5</sup> its momentous results, the nearer as well as the more remote, were sure to be experienced, and are even to us most distinctly visible. To the above-mentioned results affecting the nation itself, which first broke forth in the joyful feeling of deliverance from the Egyptian yoke, and then in a more permanent form in the enduring

read בְּמִצְרַיִם ; for the LXX. have καὶ before בְּמִצְרָיָם.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. x. 1 sq., where this comparison is quite true and living.

<sup>2</sup> As Ps. cxiv.

<sup>3</sup> See especially *Wisdom* x. 19 sq., xvi. 16 sq., xvii. 3 sq., xviii. 9 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See *Wisdom* x. 20, compared with Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 16. 6; for even Josephus

cannot have merely invented this himself. In Ex. xiv. 20 we find only the very first hint of the idea which is here fully worked out. On the other hand the description in the Book of Enoch lxxxix. 24 sq. (Dillmann) follows the Pentateuch pretty closely.

<sup>5</sup> The most similar instance of an earthquake under the sea is found in Strabo xvi. 2. 26, Athen. viii. 8.

consciousness of redemption through Jahve alone, was now added the external result, that the tie which had until then bound the people under Moses to the Egyptian rule, now, when they were already beyond the Egyptian frontier, could not but appear to them loosened through the public breach of faith of the Egyptians themselves.

### III. THE STRUGGLE AND EXODUS OF ISRAEL FROM THE EGYPTIAN POINT OF VIEW.

For before we take into consideration the further results of these decisive events, we must here notice the very different treatment of them adopted by the Egyptians themselves. After Josephus in his *Antiquities* had passed over in silence all the Egyptian accounts, and adhered closely to the traditions of the Old Testament and other kindred views,<sup>1</sup> he afterwards, in his work against Apion, found himself obliged to present the former with tolerable detail, and we therefore owe to him the most important information which we now possess respecting them.<sup>2</sup>

**1.** Now Manetho, the same writer from whom Josephus quoted the accounts of the Hyksôs discussed at p. 387 sqq., gave in another passage of his work the following narrative.<sup>3</sup> After 518 years, as Josephus thinks, had elapsed since the expulsion of the Hyksôs under King Tethmosis (or Tummosis), a king named Amenophis was seized with the desire of beholding the gods,<sup>4</sup> a blessedness which he knew had been attained by Horos, one of his ancestors; he communicated this somewhat daring wish to a son of Paapis, called like himself Amenophis, who on account of his great wisdom and insight into futurity was considered to partake of the divine nature. This Amenophis revealed to him that the fulfilment of his wish was possible, if he would purify the whole country from lepers

<sup>1</sup> He alludes only once, and briefly, on occasion of the laws respecting leprosy, to the discrepancies of the tradition, *Ant.* iii. 11. 4.

<sup>2</sup> That Josephus knew far more of the Egyptian stories than he thought it desirable to chronicle, he says himself, *Against Apion*, i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. Against Apion*, i. 26 sq.

<sup>4</sup> This must have been regarded as the highest blessedness, and as therefore having actually been granted to virtuous kings of former days; whereas the desire of a living king to obtain this privilege must have been regarded as a tempting of fate. The fact that Egyptian priests and gods were imagined as consenting to the gratification of such curiosity, shows clearly the great distance that separated the Mosaic from the Egyptian religion, Ex. xxxii. 18-28. Similar conceptions are found also among the Buddhists; see Burnouf's *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme*, i. p. 383, 387. But that this desire to behold the gods was especially characteristic of the Egyptians, is clear from a similar story reported by Herodotus, ii. 42. We may infer, therefore, from the very commencement of this story of Manetho's, that it was really an old Egyptian tradition, and we see with how little reason Josephus tried to throw doubt upon the entire story, from the nature of this very introduction.

and other unclean persons. The king willingly agreed to this, and collected all who had any bodily defect, to the number of 80,000, and sent them to the quarries east of the Nile, to join other Egyptians who had already been condemned to labour there.<sup>1</sup> But among them were some educated priests who were lepers ;<sup>2</sup> and the king's sage prophetic counsellor, as if he had not foreseen this, was now overcome by fear of the divine wrath against himself and the king, if they were seen at forced labour ; and he even foresaw that the lepers would gain certain allies, who would reign over Egypt for thirteen years. Not venturing, however, to reveal this himself to the king, he wrote it down that the king might read it, and then killed himself. This threw the king into no slight consternation. After a considerable period of hard labour in the quarries, they begged the king to assign them as a place of refuge the city of Avaris (mentioned p. 390 sqq.), formerly inhabited by the Hyksos, but now lying in ruins. This he did ; but no sooner had they taken possession of it, and thus obtained a defensible position, available in case of revolt, than they set up Osarsiph, one of the priests of Heliopolis, and swore obedience to him. He then first gave them a law, neither to worship the gods, nor to abstain from any of the animals most venerated in Egypt, but to slay and eat them all ; and to hold communication with none but their confederates. After giving them these and many other laws entirely opposed to Egyptian usages, he ordered them to restore the walls of the city with all despatch, and hold themselves in readiness for war with King Amenophis. He himself took into his secret counsel some of the other priests and fellow-lepers, and sent them to Jerusalem, as ambassadors to the Shepherds expelled by Tethmosis ; he explained to them the situation of himself and the other outlaws, and urged them to take the field as one man against Egypt. He declared himself ready to lead them at once to Avaris, the abode of their ancestors, and to give them everything needful for the troops ; and further, if necessary, to fight for them and bring the land under their dominion. They, enchanted with the proposal and full of courage, rose in a body numbering about 200,000, and arrived shortly after at Avaris. Now King Amenophis, as soon as he learned the circumstances of their approach, was not a little alarmed, remembering the prophecy

<sup>1</sup> In this case θνοῦ would be better instead of θνῶς; if we wished to retain the latter, we must, for of ἐγκεχωρισμένοι, read εἰν κεκεχωρισμένοι 'that they might

Egyptians ;' but this is more violent, and gives after all only a lame sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus xxxiv. 1, says more definitely ἀφολὴ λέπραι. See my Alterthümer, p. 179 sqq.

of Amenophis son of Paapis. He first assembled the Egyptians in order to take counsel with their chief men,<sup>1</sup> the principal result of which was, that he ordered the sacred animals worshipped in the temples to be brought to him, and commanded the priests throughout the land to hide the images of the gods with the utmost possible security. Then, after confiding to the care of his friend<sup>2</sup> his son Sethos, a child of five years old, called also Ramesses, after Rampses, the king's father, he moved forward against the enemy, with the rest of the Egyptian force, numbering about 300,000 of the best fighting men, yet did not risk a battle. Believing that in so doing he would be fighting against the gods,<sup>3</sup> he retired to Memphis; nay more, he took Apis and the rest of the sacred animals which had been collected there, and betook himself, together with the whole of the Egyptian forces of both land and sea, to Ethiopia. The king of that country, being friendly to him, gave him a good reception and supplied the whole of his forces with everything the country afforded necessary to their subsistence; he even gave up to him cities and villages sufficient for the predestined thirteen years of his loss of power, and placed the Ethiopian army at the Egyptian frontier to protect him and his. Those from Jerusalem, having thus become masters of the country, together with the outlaws, behaved so contemptuously to the Egyptians that their rule appeared to all who beheld such horrors the worst they had ever seen; for not only did they burn cities and villages, knowing no bounds either in robbing the temples, in insulting the images of the gods, or in murdering the horsemen,<sup>4</sup> but they even made a constant practice of using whatever parts of the sacred animals were suitable for roasting and eating, and compelled priests and prophets to slay them and cut them up, and cast out naked such as resisted. Now the leader Osarsiph, who instituted among them this constitution and laws, belonged to a family of Heliopolis, and derived his name from Osiris, the god honoured in that city. But on going over to this set of people, he is said to have changed his name and taken the designation of Moses. But king Amenophis afterwards returned from Ethiopia, says Manetho further, with a great army, as did also his son Rampses with a considerable force;

<sup>1</sup> How curious to find a sort of deliberative assembly in those early times!

<sup>2</sup> From the sequel of the narrative we must conclude that the king of Ethiopia is here meant. Manetho may have mentioned him before.

<sup>3</sup> Compare μῆτοι καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε.

Acts v. 39.

<sup>4</sup> That they slew the horsemen, and therefore undoubtedly the horses too, is a circumstance only mentioned as an after-thought by Josephus i. 28 from Manetho, but is a point bearing very closely on the organisation of the Israelites under Moses.

and these two, on engaging the shepherds and the diseased people, conquered them, killed many of them, and pursued them as far as the Syrian (i. e. Palestinian) boundary, through a sandy and waterless region.<sup>1</sup>

This narrative, here accurately translated<sup>2</sup> from the extant sources, has indeed a true Egyptian colouring, and may certainly, as Josephus has remarked, be derived rather from popular tradition than from any public monuments of history, as it explains the misfortune of king Amenophis by means of the peculiarities of the Egyptian religion. But granting this radically Egyptian point of view, it obviously has an internal consistency, and preserves clear indications of a tolerably reliable historical tradition. And far though it may deviate from the narratives in the Old Testament, owing to its strictly Egyptian colouring, a near inspection discloses some points of contact between the two, which direct us to the original unity of the events. In the first place we have not before us an enemy devastating Egypt with wild caprice and without higher motive, as did the Hyksôs at an earlier period;<sup>3</sup> these enemies, although for the most part also belonging to the shepherd-nations, subjected themselves to a ruler, who accustomed them to a new religion and manners utterly at variance with the Egyptian, especially to contempt for the Egyptian gods and avoidance of all communication excepting with their confederates; both of which are especial marks of Mosaism. On the other hand the Egyptian king also fights not so much for his country and his people as for the maintenance of the ancient religion of the land in its symbols and images; on both sides, therefore, it is essentially a religious war, such as we see elsewhere carried on between the Israelites and the Canaanites. How different soever this representation be from that in the Old Testament respecting the contest between Moses and Pharaoh, still it is clear from both sources that a religious war was then kindled, the difference in the description of which by

<sup>1</sup> This last remark is not added till i. 29, from Manetho.

<sup>2</sup> It is sad to see how inaccurately even the Greek records are often translated. Thus *δειράνια*, formed exactly like an adjective of necessity in Sanskrit, must signify the roasting parts of an animal. The slaying and eating of *all* the sacred animals had already been mentioned, p. 500, on which occasion no notice was taken of the special exceptions that might possibly be made on account of their laws of food. It is therefore incorrect to understand

here by *δειράνια* those among the animals themselves that were suitable for roasting.

<sup>3</sup> Prichard, in his pictures of Egyptian Mythology translated into German with a preface by Schlegel (who employs some very unjust expressions on the Hebrews), Bonn, 1837, p. 430, considers this story of Manetho's respecting Moses, as only a copy of his former one on the Hyksôs; but this is clearly incorrect, inasmuch as there are only very few and unimportant points of resemblance between them.

Egyptians and Hebrews is owing to their different religions. And this contest was not produced, as in the case of Islam at a later age, by the irruption of a foreign nation; on the contrary, the new religion was formed on Egyptian soil, in direct contact with the religion of the country, exactly as upon other grounds we are forced to believe that the Jahve-religion did spring up—in direct opposition to the Egyptian, and therefore primarily in very severe competition with it.

That a portion of the followers of the Jahve-religion, brought together at that time by Osarsiph (or Moses), consisted of Egyptian subjects, suffering from leprosy and other diseases hateful to the gods, is merely the one-sided Egyptian conception of the historical fact, and only expresses the deep abhorrence with which those who remained attached to the dominant religion of Egypt pursued the followers of one so strongly opposed to their own. But as every conception of so special a character must have an historical cause, so this certainly must have a basis of truth, which we ought not to have any hesitation in acknowledging. For, suppose the Jahve-religion had first struck deep root among the despised and rejected of the earth, this would be only a fitting prelude to the great spectacle which appeared at the time of its completion, when the religion of the Crucified, to the world a stumbling-block and foolishness, was nevertheless alone made perfect in all truth. The birth of every religion which at all approached the truth has ever been effected in such lowliness and contempt before the world; most of all, then, that religion which formed the basis of the eternally true one.<sup>1</sup> In fact the Old Testament expresses the same historical experience, only in a different and decidedly more true and beautiful way, when it dwells so feelingly upon the deep national distress which preceded the deliverance. And indeed a tendency to leprosy and other similar diseases, especially indigenous in Egypt,<sup>2</sup> may certainly have been only a consequence of the severe and protracted sufferings of the people and the forced labour to which they were subjected. That, particularly during the earlier ages, such diseases were frequent among the people and attracted general attention, is undeniably proved by the minute regulations respecting leprosy contained in the Book of Origins; and a further indi-

<sup>1</sup> Passages such as Lev. xix. 34, Ex. xv. 28, in the early literature, and Isaiah lvii. 15, in the later, express this feeling most clearly.

<sup>2</sup> See *Description de l'Egypte, état moderne*, tom. 13, p. 159 sq. The Israelites

themselves therefore (Deut. vii. 15, xxviii. 60) ascribed to Egypt the most malignant forms of leprosy. But the oldest and most painful memories of former sufferings from leprosy in Egypt are contained in such expressions as Ex. xv. 26 sqq.

cation of the same fact is afforded by the history, when it tells us that even Miriam, the sister of Moses,<sup>1</sup> and Job, were not spared the most hateful forms of this evil. Thus, only the notion that *all* were victims of such diseases, and therefore banished to the north-eastern districts of Egypt, and there compelled to forced labour, is the prejudiced Egyptian view, which began to prevail from the close of this very series of events. Yet even this popular prejudiced Egyptian conception cannot conceal the powerful influence emanating from this despised horde. For when it tells that priests were unexpectedly found among these outlaws, and that the soothsayer Amenophis foresaw thirteen years of national misery because priests had been so handled, what does this indicate but the sentiment of a secret terror at the mighty unknown spirit emanating from Moses, and the feeling of insecurity and weakness which must for a time have taken possession of the ancient national religion, until the supremacy of this was finally established by mere force of arms? If, therefore, we look to outward success and worldly glory, the effects of the deeds of Moses in Egypt were certainly far greater than we should have concluded from the representations of the Old Testament, since in these the attention is so constantly directed to the spiritual, that the worldly history fades in its presence. Thus we here make the experience, which is often repeated in the course of this history, that the Old Testament, so far from exaggerating the external conquests of the people of Israel in ancient times, does not even come up to the reality, because the religion of the Old Testament itself attaches no importance to them.

Further, the distinction made between the followers of the Jahve-religion dwelling in Egypt, and those who arrived there from the land of the Hyksôs, also accords with certain reminiscences preserved in the Old Testament. That Moses became the instrument of the liberation of his people only after he had returned from Asia into Egypt, that Aaron went to meet him upon this march, and that then the two always acted in concert against Pharaoh: these fragments of Hebrew recollections of that eventful period point similarly to the combined action of two powers, one already established in Egypt, and the other coming from Asia with the same object, against the adherents of the Egyptian religion. That the Egyptian tradition named Jerusalem as the spot from whence the shepherds came to Avaris, may be an historical confusion capable of easy explana-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xii.

tion,<sup>1</sup> with the later capital of Palestine; although we have no sufficient knowledge of the earliest history of that city.<sup>2</sup> But there is great significance in the fact attested also by some of the accounts in the Old Testament,<sup>3</sup> that the Israelites left Egypt accompanied by a subordinate multitude of a different race. It appears, then, that after all even Egyptians, chiefly no doubt of the lower ranks, had attached themselves to them. Now this is barely conceivable, except as the result of a powerful struggle between the new Jahve-religion and the Egyptian, in which the former had attracted to itself many native Egyptians, so that the whole was less a war of nations than of religions. And even the fact that in the Egyptian as well as in the Hebrew narrative the young first-born son of the ruling king plays a part, though a very different one in each, furnishes also a distant trace of similarity in the tradition.

That the Egyptian tradition had not so much to tell of the life and fate of Moses as the Hebrew, lies in the very nature of the subject. It is undoubtedly incorrect in stating that the name Moses was not assumed until afterwards;<sup>4</sup> as this name is not Hebrew at all, but in ancient Egypt is frequently found in compound proper names of men, wherefore it must certainly have been early given to the boy brought up among the Egyptians. But that Moses when grown up was received into the priesthood at Heliopolis,<sup>5</sup> and that as priest he received the

<sup>1</sup> As the forced labour in the quarries mentioned by Manetho may have been confounded with other similar labour (see p. 437 sq.). We find a similar exchange of names in later Hebrew poets, who speak of Zoan (Gr. Tanis) as the chief city of Egypt in the Mosaic age, Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43; although as far as we know, it was the prophets of the eighth century who first regarded the city in this light, in connection with events of their own time. But, according to Manetho and all other witnesses, both the eighteenth and the nineteenth Dynasties had their seat at Diopolis, i. e. Thebes.

<sup>2</sup> The *Salem* which has been read in hieroglyphics cannot be Jerusalem, as Brugsch, *Hist. d'Ég.* i. p. 145, thinks; see p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4; both these passages, it is important to notice, are derived from the oldest work on the primeval history, and hence it is that they appear to stand so isolated.

<sup>4</sup> The orthography *Mosēnōs* adopted by Josephus, is undoubtedly only borrowed from the LXX., since it rests upon an Egyptian derivation of the name, corre-

sponding to the Hebrew explanation given in Ex. ii. 10; though the writer of Ex. ii. 10, in giving his Hebrew derivation, was certainly not thinking of the Egyptian one given by Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 7, 6. Philo also, in the *Life of Moses* i. 4, derives the name from the Egyptian *μᾶς* water, but regarding it as an un compounded word, always spells it *Mosēnōs*; yet he elsewhere i. p. 597, explains it, like the writer of Ex. ii. 10, by *ληψία* 'the act of taking,' as if it were derived from the Hebrew. The original Egyptian meaning was explained at p. 391; but it is proved by the whole story in Ex. ii. 1-9 that this meaning was soon forgotten by the Hebrews, who then began to imagine an original Hebrew meaning of the name.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 462. The old Hebrew tradition, as we now have it, knows nothing of any close connection on the part of Moses with Heliopolis; but that city was famous in Egypt, as an ancient and important seat of sacerdotal learning. It is very curious that in that case Moses came forth from the oldest known university of the world.

name Osarsiph and was known by this to the Egyptians, all this may be derived from genuine historical reminiscences.

Thus on many important points the two narratives either agree, or else mutually complete each other ; and when we reflect how differently these events must have been viewed from the very first by the two nations, and how the story would then during long centuries be further peculiarly developed by each separately, we shall scarcely expect a greater agreement between the two.<sup>1</sup> It is true Josephus attempts to set aside the entire Egyptian narrative as pure invention, and even gives himself the trouble to refute it at length ;<sup>2</sup> but his numerous reasons for rejecting it are so capriciously and erroneously selected that it will not repay us to enter further into them. Only two of his reasons deserve some consideration. He asserts that Manetho took this story, not from the public records, the source of the earlier one respecting the Hyskôs, but from untrustworthy reports and traditions ; but we know too little of the writings of Manetho and his authorities, to do justice to this objection ; perhaps the narrative was only omitted from the public records because the result of the history was unfortunate and inglorious for the king, as we may assume from the Hebrew accounts. In the second place Josephus considers this king Amenophis to be intercalated and uncertain, and supposes this to be the reason why Manetho did not venture to determine the length of his reign, which he was careful to do in other cases. But since Manetho first allows 393 years to elapse after the expulsion of the Hyksôs under Tethmosis,<sup>3</sup> and then ascribes to king Sethos 59, and to his son Rampses 66 years, and only after these reigns places the accession of this Amenophis, it is obvious, although he does not here give the years of the reign (which indeed was not necessary), that by this often-recurring royal name he here intended the third king of the nineteenth dynasty, who by Eusebius and G. Syncellus is called Ameneaphes, and Amenophis only in the Armenian translation of Eusebius. And according to the extracts from Manetho in G. Syncellus<sup>4</sup> he had actually a son Ramesses as his

<sup>1</sup> Even in the words of the Koran, Sur. xxvi. 57-59, we hear a faint echo of memory of the thirteen years' subjection of the Egyptians and the victory of Israel before leaving the country. Knobel (on Ex. xii. 37), groundlessly, and in spite of all the reasons given above to show that Manetho is really speaking of Israel, assumes a confusion between Israelites and Philistines.

<sup>2</sup> *Against Apion*, i. 28-31, comp. 16.

<sup>3</sup> These 393 years are, according to Josephus, evidently intended to represent the duration of the eighteenth dynasty, to which Eusebius ascribes only 348, and Syncellus 263. The separate kings of this house are enumerated by Josephus i. 15, with the length of their reigns ; but evidently very incorrectly, as the numbers do not agree together.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronogr.* i. p. 134, of the Bonn edition.

successor, and would therefore in so far accord. But then he would be more than a hundred years too late, and confuse the entire chronology (p. 403 sqq.) ; as will be further explained in treating of the period of the Judges. Since then Manetho derived this narrative chiefly from second-rate sources, we may suppose a confusion to have been already existing in the Egyptian version, between this Amenophis and the one who closed the eighteenth dynasty,<sup>1</sup> caused by the fact that the father of the latter was also a king Ramesses,<sup>2</sup> and that his son was named sometimes Rampses and sometimes Sethos. If we may look upon this Amenophis, whose disaster on the Red Sea<sup>3</sup> probably caused the fall of his entire house, as the one originally intended, then the difficulty in the chronology disappears, and the last doubt falls away from a story which Fl. Josephus clearly rejected merely from false shame at the dishonourable origin which it ascribed to his nation, and owing to his own want of critical acumen.

**2.** This narrative of Manetho, undoubtedly the earliest historian who described these events so carefully in the Greek language, is very important for us, inasmuch as it presents the Egyptian version of the history quite purely, and without any comparison or admixture with the Hebrew accounts in the Old Testament. For as the translation of the Seventy was more and

<sup>1</sup> Like the mistake which has evidently been committed in the identification of Armain with the Greek Danaus : see Fl. Jos. *Against Apion* i. 15, as compared with Eusebius and Syncellus. The order in which Manetho has put the succession of the Egyptian dynasties and rulers has been again often disputed in recent times, but defended again on good grounds very lately even by Mariette, in the *Revue Arch.* Sep. 1864.

<sup>2</sup> Called by Eusebius Ammeses, obviously by an error of writing.

<sup>3</sup> Or we may assume, independently of the occurrence at the Red Sea, that the eighteenth dynasty was regarded as already closed by the thirteen years of foreign rule, and that the Sethos who founded the nineteenth was really a son or other relative of this Amenophis ; both dynasties were of Thebes or Diopolis. But Artapanus, Eusebius, and Georgius Syncellus are induced to place the Exodus under Achenchères or Chenchères, i. e. more than a century before this Amenophis, only because in 1 Kings vi. 1, they read 592 years instead of 480. Others, following more general calculations, placed the Exodus still earlier, under Amosis the

first king of the eighteenth dynasty, or in the time of the Argive Inachus, confounding Israel with the ancient Hyksos. That this was done long before Fl. Josephus, by Polemon (about 200 b.c.), Ptolemaeus-Mendesius and others, follows from Justin Martyr's *Exhort.* chap. ix, x, Tatian's *Or. ad Graecos*, ch. xxxvi. sq. ed. Otto, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, and Eus. *Prep. Ev.* x. 10-12; see Tertull. *Apoloq.* ch. xix, but is to us no proof of the fact. Moreover it appears most clearly from Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 19 sq., that the Fathers of the Church before Eusebius were ready to follow Josephus in everything. Rosellini (*Monumenti storici*, i. p. 291-300) places the Exodus under one of the last kings of the eighteenth dynasty, Ramesses (III.) called Maiamun ; but the only reason of any weight that he urges for this, namely that the city Raamses, built by the Israelites (see above, p. 434 sq.) must have been named from this king, falls through according to our view, since the king from whom this city was named, may very well be an earlier one than he under whom the Exodus took place. Rosellini has throughout neglected the second narrative of Manetho.

more read during the last few centuries before Christ, and the Jews in Egypt and elsewhere became the object of greater curiosity and conjecture, so these two classes of authorities were more and more blended together by the Greek writers. This resulted in still greater distortions of the history, since they remained satisfied with a mere superficial comparison and mingling of the two, without entering upon any deeper inquiry. The ever increasing hatred felt towards the Jews also bore its part in this distortion of the history.

Chaeremon related<sup>1</sup> that Isis appeared in dreams to King Amenophis, and blamed him that her sanctuary had been demolished in the war (apparently it is the ancient war with the Hyksôs which is meant). The scribe Phritiphantes then declared that if he would purge Egypt of all persons who had pollutions upon them, he would be relieved from this trouble. Amenophis therefore sought out and expelled 250,000 persons thus afflicted. Now these had as leaders two scribes, namely Moses, called in Egyptian Tisithen, and Joseph, whose Egyptian name was Peteseph. They then came to Pelusium,<sup>2</sup> and found there 380,000 men spared by Amenophis, who was not willing to transplant them into Egypt, and made a league of friendship with these in order to take the field against Egypt. But Amenophis, without awaiting their approach, immediately fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife with child behind him. She concealed herself in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son who was called Messene.<sup>3</sup> The latter, when grown to man's estate, drove the Jews, who were about 200,000, out of Egypt into Syria, and then fetched his father Amenophis back out of

<sup>1</sup> Josephus *Against Apion* i. 32 sq. Chaeremon himself is indeed much later than Manetho, and is first quoted by Strabo (if he be the same of whom Strabo speaks xvii. 1. 29, as living shortly before the Christian era); but he was probably a native Egyptian of Alexandria, who occupied himself much with the study of Egyptian Antiquities; see respecting him some passages in *Fabritii B. scripp. Gr. t. iii.* p. 546, ed. Harles, or in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 495 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Here then we find Pelusium identified with Abaris (p. 390 sqq.), but we can regard this only as a mistake of Chaeremon's, substituting a well known for a less known city; in which indeed Josephus himself follows him, *Against Apion*, i. 29. The original words of Manetho quoted by Fl. Jos. *Against Apion* i. 14 do not point even remotely to the identity of Abaris and Pelusium; and the position of the Sethroitic Nomos (p. 390 note; which is

mentioned by Pliny *N. H.* v. 9, and by Athanasius at the close of his 19th Festal Oration, p. 47. ed. Cureton) is known, so far as its capital is concerned, only from Ptol. *G. iv. 5*, since Champollion (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons* ii. p. 80 sq.) has by no means proved the identity of Psarion and Sethron; but as according to Fl. Jos. *Against Apion* i. 14 it lay not on the Pelusiac, but rather to the east of the Bubastic branch of the Nile, we may suppose it to lie to the south of the most eastern (the Pelusiac) province. Perhaps the name السد، by which Saadia in his translation always renders the land of Goshen, is a relic of the ancient name of the Sethroitic Nomos.

<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly an error for *Ramesses*, which name is found not only in Manetho but in Chaeremon himself at the commencement of his narrative.

Ethiopia. In despite of variations in detail, this shorter narrative agrees in essentials so obviously with the older one of Manetho, that even the variations between the two only serve to confirm their ultimate historical identity. Only the insertion of the name of Joseph is certainly due to the Septuagint. And we cannot now see whence Chaeremon derived the Egyptian names of Moses and Joseph, which differ so entirely from the other accounts. When therefore Fl. Josephus endeavours to throw entire discredit upon this narrative, he only incurs the further consequences of his general want of skill in the consideration of antiquity.

A third writer, Lysimachus, otherwise unknown, but certainly still later than Chaeremon, related as follows :<sup>1</sup> ‘ Under the Egyptian king Bocchoris<sup>2</sup> the people of the Jews, being leprous and scabby, and subject to other similar distempers, fled to the temples and obtained food there by begging. And as the numbers that were fallen under these diseases were very great, there arose a scarcity. And Bocchoris, seeking an oracle from the god Ammon, received for answer that the temples must be purified from impure and impious men, and these be then driven from them into the desert, and the leprous and scabby must be drowned, as if the sun could not endure that they should live ; and then after the purification of the temples the earth would again bring forth her fruits. Accordingly Bocchoris summoned priests of all kinds, and commanded them to seek out the impure people and hand them over to the soldiers to be driven into the desert, but to cast the lepers into the sea with sheets of lead fastened to them. After these were thus drowned, all the others were driven helpless into the desert. But there they assembled together and took counsel what they should do ; and on the approach of night kindled fires and lamps and kept watch,<sup>3</sup> fasting the whole night through

<sup>1</sup> *Against Apion* i. 34 sq.; comp. ii. 2.  
14. According to an enumeration of Greek writers on the History of the Jews by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the *Topogr. Christ.* contained in Montfaucon's *Collectio nova Patrum et Script. Gr.* ii. p. 311, they would probably succeed each other in the following chronological order : Manetho, Chaeremon, Apollonius Molon, Lysimachus, Apion. Chaeremon, however, from what has been said above, would be somewhat younger than Molon. On the age of Lysimachus C. Müller *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 334 gives nothing certain.

<sup>2</sup> This king alone forms the twenty-fourth dynasty, and cannot therefore be

placed earlier than the ninth century; wherefore writers like Apion (at least to judge from Fl. Jos. *Against Apion* ii. 2; but see the opposite account in Eusebius *Prep. Ev.* x. 11) actually put Moses no earlier than the building of Carthage. But Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, ii. 2, places Bocchoris 1600 B.C., one cannot tell how, if he relies on his usual authorities; but Diod. Sic. i. 45, 65 (79, 94) knows of a much earlier king Bocchoris, not to speak of Vexores, a name of somewhat similar sound in *Justin. Hist.* ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This is clearly taken from the Biblical narrative of the pillar of cloud and fire.

and calling upon the gods to save them. The next day a certain Moyses advised them all to march boldly forward by one road until they arrived at an inhabited country; adding the recommendation that they should have no kind feelings towards any one, but always advise for the worst rather than the best, and overturn all the temples and altars of the gods they should meet with. As the rest agreed to these proposals, they travelled through the desert putting them in execution, and after many difficulties arrived at an inhabited country, where, after ill-treating the natives and plundering and burning their temples, they founded in Judea a city, whose name, originally Hierosyla (temple-robbery), was afterwards, to obviate reproach, modified into Hierosolyma.' It would not be easy to find a stronger example of unprincipled treatment of history and hatred towards the Jews, and we see what under the rapid pen of some Greek writers came of the mixture of Egyptian and Hebrew traditions; and if Fl. Josephus had rejected nothing but trash like this, we might indeed praise him.

What strange representations resulted in those days from heathen hatred and from the misunderstanding of antiquity, we may see in the story then current, that a troop of asses had appeared to Moses as guides in the desert, and that the image of an ass was therefore set up in the temple of his people, and regarded as sacred.<sup>1</sup> Two sources may be suggested for this tradition. On the one hand, the Israelites were distinguished by nothing so much during those ages as by their brave infantry, and their contempt for cavalry and war-chariots, wherein they were in direct opposition to the Egyptians; so that their nobles generally rode asses rather than horses. Even this might have suggested to the Egyptians and others the idea that the ass was held particularly sacred by them. On the other hand, quite irrespective of this, the ass was from early times hated by the Egyptians as a Typhonic beast.<sup>2</sup> As therefore they had formerly hated the Hyksós as a Typhonic people (p. 394 note), so after the days of Moses they began to throw ridicule upon the Typhonic ass, as the leader of Israel. Such gibes may have prevailed from early times between the two nations, until in these later centuries special causes concurred to give them greater poignancy, and in connection with Biblical narratives,

<sup>1</sup> The isolated stories given by Tac. *Hist.* v. 3 sq., Plut. *on Is. and Os.* xxxi. supply to us the place of the original account now lost.  
end (see also *Symp. Frag.* v. 2 sq.), Dio-  
dorus Sic. xxxiv. ecl. 1, and Jos. *Against Apion* ii. 7, elucidate each other, and must

<sup>2</sup> According to Plut. *on Is. and Os.* xxx. sq. Aelian. *Hist. Anim.* x. 28.

and with the memory of the Cherubim in the Temple, finally produced this extraordinary notion.

3. In early times, from the third and second centuries before Christ, the ancient history of the Bible was also made use of in the Hellenistic world by poets of various degrees of merit, in a multitude of works, in which they strove to emulate the admired creations of the ancient Greeks. One of the earliest results of this Hellenising taste is probably the drama of the 'Exodus,' *Egyptom*, by Hezekiel, an Alexandrine Jew, from which long extracts have been preserved.<sup>1</sup> Here the history of the Exodus is given quite simply as found in the Pentateuch without any addition from Egyptian traditions, and made the subject of a Euripidean tragedy; and since the Hebrew story itself, under the hands of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, had been worked up to the height of genuine dramatic representation, the later poet found a convenient field for further elaboration. Others endeavoured to supplement the Biblical histories by comparison with Egyptian or even Greek traditions; and thus by unscrupulously melting down these radically different materials little understood on either side, and then covering them with the products of their own imagination *ad libitum*, they formed new stories belonging to that unfortunate hybrid class now termed romances. Of this kind is the history of Moses up to his flight into Asia, as given by Fl. Josephus.<sup>2</sup> Here the Egyptian princess who brings him up is called Thermuthis, and there is an Ethiopian princess Tharbis, who falls in love with him as he leads the Egyptian army to the expulsion of the Ethiopians from Egypt, and then besieges them in their own capital. These names may be really derived from ancient Egyptian works on the history of the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>3</sup> but the stories attached to them are so obviously fictitious that I do not feel called upon even to give an abstract of

<sup>1</sup> In Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 23, Eus. *Prep. Ev.* ix. 28 sqq. See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1831, page 614, 615.

<sup>2</sup> Fl. Jos. *Antiquities* ii. 9-11, compared with i. 6. 2, where he certainly alluded to it.

<sup>3</sup> Thermuthis is at all events a native Egyptian name, being also borne by an Egyptian goddess; Léveur thinks he has discovered the name of the princess, *Chronologie des rois d'Egypte*, p. 183. The Ethiopian princess is however probably introduced into the history of the youth of Moses only in consequence of the isolated report in Num. xii. 1, of his having taken an Ethiopian wife; and an

utterly different picture of the life of Moses in Ethiopia at thirteen years of age is given in the *Life of Moses* edited by Gilb. Gaulmyn, p. 17-22, according to which the Ethiopian king whose wife Moses took was called Nekan. The passages cited by Wiseman in the *Horæ Syriacæ* i. p. 263 sqq. from ancient Syriac commentaries on Exodus, essentially contain only a supplement to the narrative of Josephus, with the kings' names introduced from Manetho or other later chronicles; it is worthy of note that a history of the kings of Egypt by one Methodius or rather Methodius, otherwise unknown to us, is here referred to.

them. Fl. Josephus does not mention his authority for this romance, but he doubtless took it from some then popular work of a Hellenising Jew, for though he may sometimes draw upon his imagination for the details of a story, he nowhere himself invents so lengthy a one. It is very significant that while he adopts such sugary stories contrary to the sense of the Bible, he is afraid to adduce from the Bible itself the homicide committed by Moses, as the cause of his flight from Egypt. In the same or a similar romance, in which the contest between Moses and the Egyptian Magicians before Pharaoh was probably amplified, the ancient names Jannes and Jambres seem first to have been revived for two of the magicians.<sup>1</sup> From a similar source was probably derived also the vivid description of the controversy respecting the gold and silver vessels mentioned on p. 488, fragments of which have been preserved in later writings.<sup>2</sup>

The strangest mixture of all necessarily arose when a heathen historian desired to unite with the Biblical accounts all the stories accessible to him, even from such sources as these. We have a somewhat circumstantial example of this in Artapanus,<sup>3</sup> who identifies Moses with the Greek Musaeus, the teacher of Orpheus, and ascribes to him the invention of writing and philosophy and many other arts besides. In his narrative the Egyptian king Palmanothes (whose name is disfigured, like most that occur here) treated the Jews with severity, and forced them to build the city and temple of Kessa (a corruption

<sup>1</sup> Besides 2 Tim. iii. 8, Gospel of Nicod. v. and other Christian and Jewish writers (see Fabricii *Cod. Apocr.* N. T. i. p. 249 sq.), they are now found only in a short extract from the work of the Pythagorean Numenius, in Eus. *Prep. Ev.* ix. 8. But they must evidently have been mentioned in some book that enjoyed great popularity in those days. Numenius names them from their office *ἱερογράμματος*, which agrees well with the name ἄρβης, given in *Horapollo* i. 38 to their sacred book. Both names therefore probably only denoted Scribes in general, such as are called by the Fourth Narrator דָבְרֵי. Most likely two such were chosen, as being the fitting number to confront Moses and Aaron. From the same ultimate source probably flows what is preserved in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 2, on magic as practised by Moses and his contemporaries; where only the readings of the proper names (except Moses) are greatly corrupted, as the comparison of the manuscripts proves. According to one reading the name Jannes occurs there.

<sup>2</sup> In Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, ii. 20. Distortion of the history of Moses from mere party-hatred, such as was formed in the later ages of antiquity, continued into the Christian era: thus, one person having endeavoured to show that Moses was the ἀρχαὶ (and Christ the οὐ), another replied that he must have been so called because his body was covered with ἀλφοῖς (i. e. white leprous spots, see p. 500). This is told by Photius (cd. 190, 279, p. 151, 529 Bekk.), from Helladius Besantinus.

<sup>3</sup> In Eus. *Prep. Ev.* ix. 27; Artapanus himself wrote a book on the History of the Jews, from which some extracts are given also by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23. The work of Artapanus had before this been used by Alexander Polyhistor; and it need not therefore greatly surprise us that this Polyhistor, living in the age of Sulla, derived the Pentateuch from a Hebrew woman Môsô, who was obviously intended to be identified with the Latin Musa: see Suid. under Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

of Ramessa or Geshen, Goshen? p. 429), as well as Heliopolis; his daughter Merrhis,<sup>1</sup> affianced to a king Chenefre (for Egypt then had several distinct kingdoms) but childless, adopted Moses; and so he fought as an Egyptian general against the Ethiopians; and so forth. Unfortunately even Tacitus was led astray by these miserable but popular writers on antiquity; he quotes many different opinions respecting the origin of the Jewish nation,<sup>2</sup> but the one which most commends itself to him is the pitiable narrative of Lysimachus, which he retails to us, brought down to a somewhat later date than Fl. Josephus did in the passage already cited. One opinion is briefly mentioned by him as held by many writers of his time, which is obscure and unknown to us from any other source: that the Jews were a race of Ethiopians, who under king Cepheus had been driven by animosity and fear to emigrate. We know, however, that the kingdom of this Cepheus, father of the Andromeda delivered by Perseus, was placed at Joppa the seaport of Jerusalem, the entire south coast of Palestine in its greatest extent towards the east and south-east being understood to belong to it;<sup>3</sup> and his kingdom was termed Ethiopia in the very earliest sense of that name among the Greeks. If now we reflect that he is called a son of Belus, and also is brought into a close connection with Egypt, and also that in that very district about Joppa, even as late as Samuel's time, an Amorite kingdom still existed, which was undoubtedly the remains of one far larger, it appears not improbable that in him was retained a recollection of an ancient kingdom founded by the Hyksôs on their return from Egypt. In this case the attempt to connect the origin of the Mosaic nation with his history was not quite arbitrary, especially as many stories were undoubtedly current among the ancients respecting the wanderings of the house of Cepheus.

As Armais, one of the last kings of the eighteenth Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> This name is probably intended to be the same as Amerses or Miphres, the fourth ruler of the eighteenth dynasty of Georgius Syncellus (*Chronogr.* p. 113) and Eusebius (*Chronogr.* i. p. 214 of the Armenian translation at Venice); the third ruler is Ameneptthes, which seems to be here turned into Palmanothes.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist.* v. 2 sq. A fragment from Demetrius in Eus. *Prep. Ev.* ix. 29, shows how carefully the chronology of the ancient families belonging to these stories was investigated at an early date. What Justin (*Hist.* xxxvi. 2) says about Moses is of similar import, and would be very remarkable if the author had not followed his usual custom and cut it too short.

Something similar is given by Diodorus Siculus (xxxiv. t. ii. p. 524 ed. Wessel.) and Dio Cassius (*Hist.* xxxvii. 17-19).

<sup>3</sup> The ancients, however, put Cepheus sometimes at Joppa, sometimes in Chaldaea, and sometimes in Lybia or Ethiopia (see Steph. Byz. under Ιωνή, Αβίη and Χαλδαῖος, with the remarks of the commentators; the passages quoted by Heyne on Apollodorus ii. 1. 4, 4. 3, and by Raoul-Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Ins.* vol. xvii. 2, p. 191): yet all these various views and representations may be easily reconciled. According to Her. vii. 61, the Greeks originally called the Persians Cephenians.

dynasty, was combined with the Greek Danaus and an Egyptian migration to the Peloponnesus,<sup>1</sup> it was natural to seek a connection between this migration and that of the Israelites, which was but little removed from it in point of time; and in fact both are derived from the same source by a writer who seized the peculiar genius of Israel with uncommon depth and clearness, Hecataeus of Abdera, who probably lived not later than the commencement of the Macedonian age,<sup>2</sup> and very ingeniously

<sup>1</sup> Fl. Jos. *Against Apion* i. 15; See Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, tom. ii. p. 1 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This passage, occurring according to Photius in the lost fortieth Book of Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. p. 542 sq. ed. Wessel.), deserves to be given entire, and is as follows: 'Once when a plague had broken out in Egypt, the multitude referred the origin of the disease to the gods. For as many and various races had settled in the country and adopted various customs with respect to sacred offices and sacrifices, the hereditary services of the Egyptian gods were unfortunately getting neglected, and the natives therefore feared they would never rid themselves of the evil unless they expelled the foreigners. The expulsion of these foreigners, then, being immediately effected, the most distinguished and powerful of them, as some say, held together and threw themselves upon Hellas and other places, having eminent leaders, among whom Danaus and Cadmus were esteemed the chief. The great majority however betook themselves to the country now called Judea, situated not far from Egypt, and in those days quite deserted; and the leader of this emigration was one Moses, a man greatly distinguished by prudence and valour. After taking possession of the land, he built, besides other cities, that which is now the most celebrated, called Jerusalem, and he also founded the sanctuary which is now most honoured by them, and enjoined the reverence and sanctification due to the Divine, and defined by law the political constitution; and he also divided the people into twelve tribes, because that is considered the most perfect number, and corresponds with that of the months of the year. But he never set up an image of any god, because he believed that the Deity has no human form, but that the heaven which surrounds the earth is alone God and Lord of the Universe. Also the sacrifices and the principles of living established by him were different from those of other nations; for, having himself suffered banishment, he intro-

duced misanthropic habits and a hatred of strangers. And selecting certain men, the most acceptable and capable of presiding over the united people, he ordained these to be priests, who should occupy themselves with the sanctuary, the worship and the sacrifices to their God; and he also appointed them to be supreme judges, and committed to them the guardianship of laws and morals, wherefore also there was never to be a king over the Jews, but the presidency of the people was to be given to that priest who was most eminent for prudence and virtue. He is called the High Priest, and regarded as the medium of the Divine commands [compare **מֶלֶךְ** Eccles. v. 5]; he, they say, in their religious as well as in their ordinary meetings, proclaims what is commanded, and on this subject the Jews are so obedient that they immediately prostrate themselves and pay religious homage to the interpreting high priest. The laws, moreover, have the following subscription at the end: "Moses says this is given by God to the Jews." The lawgiver also took great interest in military affairs, and obliged the younger men to practise exercises of strength and courage and the endurance of hardship in general. He also undertook campaigns into the territory of neighbouring nations, gained and divided by lot land, assigning equal lots to the common people, but larger ones to the priests, in order that, receiving greater revenues, they might give constant and undivided attention to the worship of their God. And it was not permitted to the common people to sell their lots, lest any from ambition should buy up these lots and then drive out the indigent and thus reduce the population. He obliged the citizens to provide for the education of their children; and as children are there supported at little expense, the race of the Jews has always been numerous. Respecting marriages and burials he also introduced laws widely differing from those of other nations. But on the influx of foreigners, which occurred under the later rulers, [especially] under the [third]

connects the chief points of the Egyptian narratives with certain statements of the Old Testament and customs of the Israelite people. Whether there was really any intimate connection between these two emigrations from Egypt, the most celebrated known to the ancients, is a point which we must leave to the historians of Egypt to decide.

¶. On reviewing all this, we must confess that even these Egyptian accounts, originally scanty and obscure in themselves, and then still further obscured by the carelessness of later Greek writers, afford us some welcome help towards a more perfect and certain recognition of the events of those distant times. Speaking generally, their chief utility for us is to justify a more confident belief in the true historical basis of those events, which in their results are among the most important in history. As in recent times the superficial contemplation of such distant periods has frequently led to an unfortunate historical scepticism, which has especially assailed this very Mosaic history, it is particularly fortunate that through independent foreign sources we can gain firm ground to stand on, where we see the unfolding of a history which must have been far grander in a secular sense than the unaided accounts of the Old Testament would lead us to suppose.

What are all such late Egyptian legends, compared with the remains of the oldest memoirs of those great events, which are preserved in the Old Testament! Short they may be, but even in their fewest words is still contained the clearest memory of all the full life of those times. Take for example the fragment described at p. 491 sq. Israel's nearest way from Egypt to Canaan was a north-eastern course. In that direction therefore, following Moses' divine instruction, they first turned their steps. But—whether it was that Moses learned that the inhabitants of the coast-lands were arming themselves for a forcible resistance, or that Pharaoh himself suddenly collected an army against Israel from the north-eastern corner of Egypt and its fortified places, and was already moving against him—Moses struck into a directly opposite course while there was yet time,

and] fourth [great Asiatic] empire of the Persians and of the Macedonians who succeeded them, many of these old Jewish legal arrangements were altered.' Photius then adds, still following Diodorus, that this passage is derived from Hecataeus of Miletus (or rather of Abdera, according to Eusebius, *Prep. Ev.* ix. 4; since Hecataeus of Miletus lived long before the Macedonian Empire). If this

passage had been used by Eichhorn (*Bibliothek.* t. v. p. 431 sq.), in his treatise on the genuineness of the work of Hecataeus and his nationality, the general doubts there raised would probably never have been urged, since none but a heathen could write thus. Strabo clearly drew from this source (xvi. 2. 34–39, and see xvii. 2. 5), introducing however also conjectures of his own.

not shrinking from all the discomfort and danger attending the sudden wheeling round of an army in motion. He moved to the south-west, apparently losing his course entirely and not knowing where he was going. Thus victory appeared to the Egyptian all the easier; he saw Moses marching through the desert, aiming at the northern point of the Red Sea; and if, as seemed probable, Moses meant to go on his east further into the desert to the south, the Egyptian could easily fall upon him; and the desert, on which such roving tribes generally build their hopes, would itself have betrayed this misguided people. But, quite against the Egyptian's expectation, Moses turned to the west from the Red Sea; and here he seemed even more quickly and utterly lost, for the Egyptian had only to drive him further to the south on actual Egyptian ground. But that happened which the latter could least have anticipated: Moses suddenly wheeled round and led his people through the middle of the sea; and his antagonist, dashing after him in blind rage to secure so near a prize, found his own ruin in the attempt. In this passage of the history of the time, sketched here rather more clearly than on p. 491 sq., there is full life and transparent truth: so vivid a picture, not only of the great religious conflict, but also of the complications of national history, do these narrators set before our eyes.

If, in the great religious war in Egypt into which these Egyptian accounts, conjoined with those of the Old Testament,<sup>1</sup> afford us an insight, Israel had been the conqueror, what a different form would one of the great divisions of ancient history have then assumed! But it seems as if no religion could obtain the victory upon the same spot of earth where it first tried its wings. As Christianity was cast out by Judaism, and Islam driven from Mecca, so in that primeval age the religion of Jahve must have been expelled from the land upon whose highly intellectual soil it could alone have arisen in so early an age. But, doubtless, like every other religion, at the time of its first origin it took a position too sharply contrasted with its historical opposite, and too rigid, exclusive, or even destructive, towards the Egyptian religion, in strife with which alone it could have arisen, for the latter at once and completely to give way before it. And yet it was thus cast out

<sup>1</sup> Which however are in the main not contradicted by the oldest Egyptian records, when once collected in adequate number and deciphered with sufficient accuracy; see p. 427, 462; De Rougé and others in the *Athèn. Franç.* 1854, p. 531,

1128; 1855, p. 56 sq.; *Revue Archéol.* 1855, p. 257-74; 1860, p. 72 sq.; *Journ. As.* 1856, p. 203 sqq.; 1858, p. 233 sqq.; though we must be on our guard against premature combinations such as have often been attempted.

from Egypt and thrown upon another earthly soil, only that it might be there matured and purified by the culture of many centuries, and at length returning, armed with new powers, might without external force easily subdue the very religion before which it had fled first into the desert, and then still further to the hills of Canaan.

It is time, however, that we should resume the thread of the history where we let it fall before, and accordingly return exclusively to those sources which, in their perception of the higher significance of the whole history, leave all foreign accounts far behind. It is time to study the progress made by Israel on the height to which it had now suddenly attained.

## SECTION II.

### DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY OF THE THEOCRACY UNDER MOSES AND JOSHUA.

#### A. THE GIVING OF THE LAW AT SINAI AND THE COVENANT.

##### I. THE JOURNEY TO SINAI.

**1.** Set free from the soil and rule of Egypt, and suddenly raised to an extraordinary elevation, the nation can now develop its power and follow its vocation in independence : the world stands open before them, and a wide future is in their hand. How will they advance in this newly opened career ? how maintain the height to which they have soared ? This is the great question at the outset of this history.

Whenever so completely new a career is opened, whether to an individual or to a nation, it must inevitably be immediately beset by fresh and great difficulties and dangers of every kind. Torn away from their Egyptian dwelling-place, the Israelites were now compelled to seek a new one. Without some degree of armed force a suitable and permanent one was not to be obtained ; and in the desolate peninsula into which they were in the mean-time driven, and where they had first to strengthen and arm themselves for the difficult conquest of Canaan, the chief enemies whom they encountered were the Amalekites (see p. 466 sq.). To these they considered themselves bound by the ancient enmity subsisting between the two nations to give no quarter ; and from them, at least for a time, they wrested their settlements, both in the south and in the north.<sup>1</sup> Thus the nation in which the higher religion was destined to find its home came at the very outset into the tumult of a bloody war ; and it was to be seen whether, and how, such a nation could acquire and hold those external advantages without which no nation can prosper ; and therefore it was the more necessary that, in preparation for all such future dangers and conflicts, the higher life which had just begun to germinate should be kept pure and vigorous, and should as soon as possible be firmly grounded by means of external institutions. For this

<sup>1</sup> See p. 250 sq. On one early occasion, when Canaanites and Amalekites together fought against the Israelites, their united

superiority was soon decided, Num. xiv. 25, 43, 45 ; and see xxi. 1.

reason the Israelites were directed to the sacred heights of Sinai ; and here again we must in many respects admire the grandeur of their leader's spirit.

For it might be expected that the elevation of the national aims and efforts, attained through so mighty an impulse, would not at once disappear, but would continue for a time, and thus leave behind it some enduring fruit in their political relations and arrangements. And this view is confirmed by distinct evidence ; for, happily, just at this point a comparatively long series of passages from the earliest historical work have been preserved, by aid of which we are enabled better to understand much that relates to this most remarkable portion of the Mosaic history. We perceive from the simple narrative respecting Mara (i.e. bitter water),<sup>1</sup> how careful the Oracle,<sup>2</sup> or prophetic teaching through Moses, is to remind the people on every opportunity, of the great truths that had been once announced. For this, indeed, there arise innumerable opportunities. If the people, through any scarcity in the desert, are tempted to discontent, the Oracle teaches true obedience ; and teaches it not in vain, if only at the same time their human industry does not grow weary of striving. Thus Moses finds, just when wanted, a piece of wood which makes the bitter water sweet,<sup>3</sup> seemingly given to him by Jahve. And this story, as circumstantial as it is instructive,<sup>4</sup> informs us how Moses, now the successful leader of his nation and prophet of Jahve, is met by his father-in-law, full of joyful astonishment and of reverence for Jahve, and bringing with him Moses' wife and children from the home that he had left ; and how Moses willingly follows his friendly advice to lighten his heavy duty as Prophet and Judge, by the establishment of tribunals for smaller matters. Such clear reminiscences transport us with yet greater distinctness into the very life of that earliest stage of a new national development, in which the political arrangements of the Israelites were still so incomplete that Moses was able to adopt many details from the people of Midian, who had long been a self-organised and civilised nation.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xv. 23-26, compare xxiii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the meaning of פָּרַשְׁתִּי in ver. 25, for so it is explained directly after, in ver. 26 ; פָּרַשְׁתִּי being used in the same ancient prophetical signification as in xviii. 16, and Psalm ii. 7 ; מִשְׁלָחֵנִי 'a decision' i.e. a prophetical decision, which in those days was equivalent to law.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of this simple narrative a most extraordinary representation is given

by Josephus, *Antiqu.* iii. 1. 2 ; who probably only follows an idea prevalent in his time in certain circles—so little even at that period did the simplicity of the Bible satisfy certain minds. It is true that the later narratives in the Bible itself are not equally simple ; but for this reason there is the more need that we should distinguish their sources, and not explain the simple by the more artificial.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xviii.

**2.** But if Moses, finding the northern and directest route for the conquest of Canaan barred against him (p. 515 sq.), had only intended to lead the emancipated people by the shortest eastern way thither, he might have struck into the direction from the northern point of the western arm of the Red Sea, which he had reached in coming out of Egypt, straight forward to the northern point of its eastern arm. On the northern edge of the peninsula of Sinai a much-trodden way still leads directly eastwards to the ancient Elah (now 'Akaba), or as the ancients said, from the gulf of Heroöpolis to that of Elah. This road was undoubtedly well trodden even in the time of Moses; and from Elah he could then have pushed on to the north, much as he afterwards actually did. Yet this route also he rejected. Both external national conditions and the internal state of Israel itself must have determined him for the present to bend more to the south, towards Sinai, where he found his old friends, by whose help he might hope, if he took a long period of rest at the holy mountains, to complete the urgently needed internal organisation and reformation of his people. Even this direction (as will be soon seen) was not free from danger; but it evidently appeared to him the safest and best under the circumstances.

Though we possess comparatively speaking many accounts from ancient sources respecting the general direction of the route from the Red Sea to Sinai (or Horeb, see p. 466, sq.),<sup>1</sup> yet, little more having been preserved than the bare names of the various encampments, and many of these names being now obscure, it is extremely difficult for us to form any clear idea of all the details of the march. Like all that region, now desolate, but mainly from the recent inroads of its Mohammedan conquerors, the peninsula of Sinai may at that time have been much better cultivated and more fruitful than it is at present; in fact we have reason to assume this as certain of the whole period of the history of Moses, since every historical indication yet discovered leads us to this view. If we judge by the present state of the peninsula with its extremely scattered inhabitants, it seems quite impossible that the Israelites, in any number at all approaching that mentioned on p. 468 sq., could find room and sustenance there for so many years. But in that early time all those Semitic countries were crowded with cheerful and industrious populations, whose first youthful energies were as

<sup>1</sup> As shown on p. 444 sq. it is evident that the most complete catalogue of the encampments as far as Sinai is that in

Num. xxxiii. 8–15, whereas in Ex. xv. 22—xix. 2 only a few special ones are singled out and described.

yet little exhausted, and whose contentment and willing toil easily drew sufficient sustenance even from poor soils. Indeed, as we saw, p. 466 sq., long before Moses the Egyptians had eagerly striven for the possession of a land which a civilised nation of the present day would scarcely deem worth the trouble of taking possession. But even at that time there were sterile tracts in the peninsula where water was very scarce ; and as the Israelites had difficulty in forcing a passage, and obtaining even a temporary abode there, they might often encamp at spots of little note, which in later ages received totally different names. Besides, it is not necessary to suppose all the places of encampment, the names of which are preserved in the Old Testament, to have been very spacious or convenient, since they may often have been described by the name of the spot occupied only by Moses and the Sanctuary, while the mass of the people were roving freely over a more extended region.

Obscure, however, as are now most of the names of the encampments, and doubtful as they alone would have left us as to the direction of the march, we meet with some indications which may guide us with somewhat greater security, and to which we must pay particular attention. The people now, on their southward march, had entered the great desert, which in the only continuous list of the encampments is called ‘the desert of Etham,’ from the Egyptian frontier-town mentioned above, p. 492 sqq. ; but by the earliest Narrator is termed ‘the desert of Shur,’ from the Semitic city which probably lay exactly opposite the former.<sup>1</sup> Moses, whose first great aim must have been to put the people out of danger from the Egyptians, carried them at once three days’ journey without halting.<sup>2</sup> Here he obviously came upon the present usual route from Egypt to Sinai, which runs, not along the coast, but up some distance into the interior. This route continues all the way to Sinai at an equal distance from the sea, and only approaches it for a short space about the middle of its course, at the promontory now termed Abu Zalime, though even this approach may be avoided by a by-way which branches off to the east. Beginning in like manner, Moses conducted the people to the sea at their third resting-place ; that

<sup>1</sup> Thus the words Ex. xv. 22 show themselves to belong to the First Narrator, equally with those of the ancient catalogue in Num. xxxiii. 1-49, followed by the Book of Origins (see p. 444 sqq.). The exact position of Shur, the city, is not known, but it must have lain on the Asiatic or Semitic side, since its name was commonly extended by the Asiatics to the desert touching the northern point of the Red Sea, and occurs in all parts of the Old Testament.

<sup>2</sup> This is mentioned as an exceptional case, which makes it all the more interesting, in Num. xxxiii. 8 ; Ex. xv. 22.

is, doubtless, at this same promontory of Abu Zalime, where a high range of hills, with the valley of Taiyibeh, stretches to the sea, and forms the boundary of another desert on the south. Of the two previous encampments, then, Mara may answer to the modern Wâdi 'Amâra,<sup>1</sup> and the next, Elim, with its twelve springs and seventy palms, not to the present Wâdi Gharandel, but probably to the more southerly Wadi Taiyibeh.<sup>2</sup> But the long delay at the two last-named encampments is striking. According to ancient tradition an entire month had elapsed from the flight out of Egypt before the march was resumed at Elim.<sup>3</sup> If this fact of itself points to certain doubts and difficulties which beset Moses in the midst of this march, when not yet able to approach Sinai on any side, the subsequent events present yet stronger evidence of them.

For it is scarcely possible to doubt that the 'Desert of Sin,' into which the Israelites turned after encamping near the sea, is the same that now, under the name of El-Qâ'a, stretches from that promontory close along the sea-coast up to the most southern point of the whole peninsula, and is bounded on the east by the lofty mountain range in the south of the region. It is clearly described as possessing this wide extent;<sup>4</sup> and its very name shows that in position and length it corresponded to the high range of Sinai which abuts on it, since the word Sinai<sup>5</sup> may quite well signify the mountains of the desert of Sin. The fact that Moses, instead of marching into the mountains by the usual route, through the extraordinarily fruitful Wâdi Feirân on the slope of the Serbâl, or by a more easterly road past Sarâbit-el-Châdim, which is now covered with Pharaonic ruins, was compelled to tarry in this sterile desert close to the sea, is an evident sign that he could not approach the mountains and the

<sup>1</sup> Since Burckhardt's travels the name Mara has usually been supposed to answer to the well Hawâra, which lies only a little further to the south; the sound would better correspond with 'Amâra. If the words in Ex. xv. 22, 'they went three days in the desert and found no water' are to be taken quite literally, the encampment after the passage of the Red Sea must have been near the place now called 'Ayûn Mûsâ, i.e. 'Wells of Moses' (see p. 496), where forty springs are found: see the *Ausland* for 1851, p. 279 seq.; also Seetzen's *Reisen*, iii. p. 117, 121; Graul's *Reisen*, ii. p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Because the desert of Sin abutted on it, Ex. xvi. 1. That the modern name Zelime is only a modification of Elim, as has been conjectured in our time, would

be difficult to prove if Abu-Zelime, to whom the place is now dedicated, was really a Mohammedan saint; see also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, ix. p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvi. 1; and the fact that they continued to remember the exact number of the twelve wells and seventy palms at Elim (Num. xxxiii. 9; Ex. xv. 27), and that these particular numbers were adopted, points to a longer sojourn there of the people with their twelve tribes and seventy elders.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xvi. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Formed according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 164 c. In the same way the only city now existing on this coast, Tûr, is so named from Sinai itself, according to p. 466.

road which he might have to follow northwards from them, without the greatest circumspection. And the battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim close to Sinai,<sup>1</sup> without which even a peaceable abode on the peninsula and a provisional possession of Sinai were not to be obtained, leaves us no further doubt as to the nature of the difficulties which he had here to overcome. We can indeed never fully understand the direction of the march in this its second stage, till we know with certainty the exact position of the three places of encampment, Dophkah, Alush, and the waterless Rephidim, or even to which summit of the great southern granitic range the eye of Moses was first directed. The term Sinai or Horeb, indeed, so far as we can now see, was used to designate this entire range; but still that particular height near which the chief encampment of the Israelites was placed, and towards which their march was mainly directed, might have received from them the special name of Sinai. Now was this height that of Umm Shômar, which lies most to the south and towers above every other summit? or was it one of the somewhat lower barren summits to the north of it, in the region where an opinion that has held its ground since the Middle Ages places the Mount of the giving of the Law—possibly the not very elevated peak known during that period as the 'Mount of Moses,' which has on its northern declivity the Monastery of Sinai?<sup>2</sup> Or was it the lofty Serbâl to the westward, on whose northern slope commences the far extending Valley of Feiran, still exceedingly well-watered and fruitful?<sup>3</sup> It would be vain to

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xvii. 8–16; narrated indeed in detail by no earlier Narrator than the Fourth, but undoubtedly derived from ancient sources.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson and other scholars both modern and ancient (see *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Ges.* 1848, p. 320 sq. 387) have tried to identify some other of these heights as the actual mount of the giving of the Law: guided, however, by mere conjecture, or at the best by single words of the description in Ex. xix., from which we ought surely to beware of deducing too much, in a kind of desperate scrupulousness. The apparently ancient name of *el Tînia*, however, borne by a mountain to the west of the modern Mount of Moses and St. Catherine, deserves notice, as strikingly resembling the ancient name Sinai.

<sup>3</sup> This view, suggested by Burckhardt in a hasty conjecture, Lepsius has endeavoured to establish on a firm foundation, in his *Briefe aus Ägypten*, p. 345 sqq., 416 sqq.; and Bartlett in his *Forty Days*

*in the Desert* (London 1848) generally agrees with him. The chief argument for it, independently of the awe-inspiring height of this summit, is the proximity of the fruitful and well-watered valley of Feiran, which may perhaps be the Biblical Paran: but the place occupied by the principal camp of the Israelites is, on the contrary, always styled the desert of Sinai. That Serbâl in ancient times was esteemed sacred, and much visited by pilgrims, is certain: but the numerous rock-inscriptions in the Wâdi Mukattab and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Serbâl, which have been recently made more fully known to us, and been deciphered by Beer and Tuch, point rather to heathen than to Jewish pilgrims, though many remains of ancient churches and convents are found all over the region, and the earliest Christians obviously esteemed the whole range, rather than any single peak, sacred. And even in Ex. xxxii. 12, the country where Israel then encamped was generally known

expect that on this point any opinion which emerges only in Christian times could be decisive, however firm its hold on the popular mind, or however sedulously it might have been worked up in monkish legends. According to the ancient tradition the Israelites remained here only about a year, and we do not find that in the following centuries they laid any special stress on noting the particular elevation on which their chief camp stood during that one year. But if Moses was obliged to use great circumspection in approaching the mountains, as we have seen reason to suppose, and if he marched through the wide western desert near the sea, we can well imagine that he would attempt by a rapid evolution to push directly into the mountains from the south, and to gain possession of the road that led thence to the north. In this case we should consider the well now called Tabakat, south-east from Umm Shômar, just at the entrance to the mountains, to be the same with the above mentioned Dophkah or Daphakat.<sup>1</sup> The spot where the Law was given would then certainly be one of the arid summits north of Shômar; and the desert of Sinai, where after the victory over the Amalekites the Israelites established themselves without further molestation, would be that on the northern slope of the whole range, which is bounded on the north by the present Jébel el-Tih, from whence the route northwards lay open both to the left and the right. When Moses and his people took up here their first undisturbed position, where laws and ordinances suited to their new situation could be more calmly developed and completed, they had reached the third month of the year that had commenced in the spring with their departure from Egypt; but the exact day of the month even the Book of Origins could not name.<sup>2</sup>

**3.** Thus then Moses returned, as the leader of a rescued nation, to the sacred repose of Sinai, where he had before lived long under entirely different circumstances; and justly therefore might the Fifth Narrator, in conformity with his grand scheme for the whole history, represent him when a shepherd on Mount Sinai, on occasion of his first Divine call, as receiving the miraculous promise that he should see all Israel gratefully

as 'the mountains.' See also Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. The Rev. Chas. Forster still maintains his prejudices in his '*Sinai photographed, or Contemporary records of Israel in the Wilderness*', London, 1862. That the giving of the Law took place on the right or southern side of Sinai, was the opinion of Mohammed, Sur. xx. 82.

<sup>1</sup> The LXX. indeed read in Num. xxxiii. 12 Περπάντα, but probably only by a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> The time-data given in Ex. xvi. 1 and xix. 1 are certainly taken from the Book of Origins: but it is evident from the generality of expression in both passages that the author was far from venturing on a more definite statement.

bringing sacrifices to Jahve upon that very mountain.<sup>1</sup> But higher still, even in the earliest record, rises the description of the arrival of the people at Sinai, and the events enacted there: in it, God himself there descends from heaven, converses with the people through Moses, or even by his own loud voice in the storm; and concludes a covenant with them. In no other passage does that ancient document appear to have employed such vivid colours as in this.<sup>2</sup> But in truth every indication shows that the residence at Sinai must really have been of so great importance that any description in ordinary language could not fail to appear inadequate. It is essential to recognise this importance fully, and it may be well to bring vividly before ourselves the fact that, as shown at p. 518, the precise time had arrived for more firmly laying the foundation of the higher life, and that no place could be more suitable for this than the sanctuary at Sinai. For though a height attained by a sudden bound may for the moment act like an enchantment, even as to its moral influence, on all the members of a nation, at least chaining down the passions in their own circle, and showing the possibility of a holy state maintained entirely by free volition, such as at other times can be realised in hope and aspiration only; yet no one is justified in taking for granted that in its moral aspect any such elevation can remain always undisturbed: on the contrary, if what is once gained is to be kept, firm human ordinances and laws must be constantly formed and maintained in vigour, which, springing from the higher national aspirations and corresponding at once to the knowledge and necessities of the period, shall determine the standard and rule for the future. And though it is always difficult for a nation to enter into new and more settled arrangements for their collective social life, yet when once conscious of a higher tone of feeling they exhibit most readily the open eye for what is better, and courage to submit to the restraints of a life of higher claims and more established order. Now national assemblies for counsel and the adoption of laws

<sup>1</sup> Ex. iii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xix.-xxiv. 11. The earliest account that is to be discovered describes the sublime moment very simply, but still with all the thunders of heaven. The Book of Covenants then found this a good opportunity for describing the preparations to be made for the celebration of such awful mysteries. Moreover, to this passage (ch. xix.) verse 9 must have been added by the Fifth Narrator, since it only repeats the use of those preceding it, and perhaps

verses 20-25 by the Fourth Narrator, since they speak of Moses as again going up and coming down without any adequate motive (for the people according to ver. 12, 13 are already sufficiently separated), whereas xx. 1 seems to attach itself better to xix. 19. There are also peculiar thoughts and expressions to be noticed, as *עַב הָעֵדָה* ver. 9, comp. ver. 16; vv. 22, 24; compare however xxiv. 6, and others already mentioned. On the use of the name Sinai see above p. 465 sq.

were generally held by the ancients in the neighbourhood of sacred spots,<sup>1</sup> doubtless in order that the people might thus be penetrated as deeply and powerfully as possible by a vivid feeling of the Holy and the Eternal. How preeminently desirable was this in the case of a legislative work like that of Moses, which for the first time after the achievement of their freedom was to give shape to the nation's whole existence, and if possible secure for all future time the height which had been gained ! On a review of all the circumstances, we cannot regard the account of the Mosaic legislation at Sinai which appears in the records of the earliest Hebrew antiquity, otherwise than as springing from genuine historical remembrance. Moses could hardly have sooner found a resting-place entirely suited for law-giving, when the holy mountain of Sinai, of all the localities within the peninsula, suggested itself most naturally as adapted to be the holy place of assembly ; for that height had undoubtedly (see p. 466) been revered even before his time as the abode of an oracle and a dwelling of the gods. And since a legislative work that seeks to establish an entirely new constitution of the national life, which, although of a simplicity answering to those primitive times, shall yet be durable, is not to be achieved speedily : we have every reason to assume farther that the residence at Sinai must have lasted for a considerable time.

But to view this subject at once from the highest point, we must above all remember that in every act of advancing legislation the spiritual living God himself may be regarded as drawing nearer to the men who thus bind themselves to him. For in truth the elevation of the thoughts and aspirations of a people to new and better orderings of their life is a direct uprising towards him who desires to see realised in the freedom of man an order similar, though on a smaller scale, to that by which he regulates the universe. And when a nation thus solemnly pledges itself in true fear and trembling to the observance of such acknowledged better orderings, it also approaches nearer to that God who is active in them ; and God—no longer the mere Creator of all men, but the God of twofold agency, felt as a living power by the human soul in knowledge, law, and duty—can thenceforth be nearer to such a society, and can guide them better, than else were possible. If thus, in every law which improves upon an earlier condition, the spiritual God in some sense approaches nearer, and seeks a dwelling among men for

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrews themselves continued in later times to hold such assemblies at Shechem and other places of ancient sanctity.

some truth, albeit a truth affecting only something small and special, how much more directly and effectively will he descend from heaven to earth in such a legislation as that of Moses at Sinai, which proceeded from the purest aspiration and noblest elevation of a youthful nation favoured by the enjoyment of a moment rare upon the earth. All this is its own evidence; and, if we survey human and divine things from the higher point of view, cannot be conceived otherwise. But when in addition we reflect that the Narrator knew by sure experience how true it all was, that he himself, with his countrymen, felt rest and happiness in the religion which had received its earliest foundation at Sinai, and since then had given proof of its blessed influence during a long period in Palestine, we can easily understand how he would conceive as external fact and represent under an historical form that inner and essential truth, and could say that at Sinai God himself came down and proclaimed his laws in his own words. And as he evidently found only the Ten Commandments of the two tables—the common basis of all government and law—recognised as the fundamental law of Moses, he represented the same as if God, in person and in the full visible glory of his Being (enveloped in awful storm-clouds, as alone the ancient religion could conceive it), had himself spoken these Ten Commandments in thunder before the assembled people; but had so terrified and awed them by his actual words, thus heard in all their fearful nearness and distinctness, that they besought Moses to receive alone and convey to them the further declarations of the truth.<sup>1</sup> This conception makes the best transition to the further declaration of the individual laws, as having been given directly to Moses alone, and by him, as the now authorised mediator, delivered to the people.<sup>2</sup> The motive power, indeed, of any truth to us depends upon our being so entirely penetrated and thrilled by it that its hold can never again be loosened. After such a powerful or even convulsive spiritual excitement in the inauguration, the truth may then live and unfold itself with perfect calmness. This has been emphatically the case with all the religions that have arisen within historic times. And therefore this general conception is admirable in itself, apart from the special historical ground which has given such preminence to the Ten Commandments.

But, again, the Narrator is not satisfied with merely describing the descent and the awe-inspiring words of the Deity, as if these alone were adequate to found a real historical religion and a valid legislation. He recognises on the other hand the

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xix. and xx. 19-21.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xx. 22-xxiv. 3.

truth, that every obligatory law without exception, and therefore even the very highest imaginable, can only rest upon the free covenant of the two parties—even when the one is the Lord and Protector, and the other the Subject and Protected—and on their acceptance of reciprocal obligations. To him the sacred moment of the solemnity at Sinai does not appear as merely a thing of the past, but as the type of every similar great religious solemnity. In describing, therefore, with exact detail even the human part of the arrangements, he is at the same time presenting certain main outlines for every future one.<sup>1</sup>

a.) From the mutual working of all these ideas and objects, and their union into one whole, arises the simple and beautiful idea that God at first only announced to his people the possibility of his deliverance of them through obedience, if they were willing to enter upon the glorious future here promised to them:<sup>2</sup> for the first impulse towards possible improvement, although springing from above in longing and in hope, directly appeals to the freedom, the personal resolve, and the courage of man.

b.) After the people have freely declared their willingness to follow this Gospel on an unconstrained conviction of its goodness,<sup>3</sup> then he who as Ruler undertakes to carry out that high deliverance must severally announce the duties of his subjects by the fulfilment of which alone it is possible for him to perform the promised blessing. And when for this end Elohim himself, on that most solemn occasion, is about to descend upon the mountain and announce the fundamental conditions of the Covenant, it is becoming also that on the part of the people preparations should be made worthy of so sublime a moment.<sup>4</sup> Thus descending in his full glory, while the mountain, at whose feet the people expectantly await him, trembles at his presence, in louder and louder thunders Elohim first confirms the mediatorialship of Moses, who stands nearer to him than the others, and then audibly pronounces to the whole people the words of the Ten Commandments.<sup>5</sup> But the people having now as much as they can bear of the immediate sight and hearing of the highest glory and truth, themselves desire that Moses alone may receive and impart the further communications; whereupon Moses

<sup>1</sup> This renders many parts of the description in Ex. xix. especially important and instructive for the history of the most ancient usages observed at the principal sacred feasts.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xix. 3-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xix. 7, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xix. 10-13; a description obviously derived by the Narrator from the mode of solemnisation of the principal feast-days adopted in his own times; see Gen. xxxv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xix. 16-19, xx. 1-17.

ascending unaccompanied to the cloud-covered summit, receives the additional precepts respecting the ecclesiastical and social life,<sup>1</sup> which form a long section, closing with promises and warnings, that lead the mind back to the thought with which the narrative opened,<sup>2</sup> that the Ruler who makes these laws the conditions of his benefits is at the same time the true God and Deliverer.

c.) Then after the people have freely accepted everything as it is laid before them for reception by Moses,<sup>3</sup> the Covenant is at length sealed with solemn covenant sacrifice, and made permanently binding on both parties, on Elohim as the protector, and the people as the protected ; and that league with Jahve is ratified in which the people, and with them the Narrator, feel supremely blest.<sup>4</sup> Now, when the heads of the people venture to draw near their God, they find his presence no more a source of disturbance and of dread, but radiant in all the bright loveliness of supernal glory ;<sup>5</sup> a beautiful sign that the higher religion and state of conformity to law, now established, shall work onwards to eternal blessedness.

## II. THE NATURE OF THE LEGISLATION.

At this hallowed pause in the history of Israel, which even the earliest record makes at the time when the people, having arrived at Sinai, could find leisure to hold festivals to their God, and in his holiness and truth calmly arrange their life for the unknown future, it behoves us also to rest awhile, in order to become better acquainted with the constitution which henceforth more than all else determines the national history ; which in its essential elements has survived that history itself, and is not extinct even now. Further reflection indeed will not allow us to consider all the laws, the promulgation of which is assigned by the extant writers to the hallowed ground of the encampment at Sinai, as having really first originated there both in spirit and in practice. For a code of laws must have long existed in the whole feeling and aspiration of a nation, and indeed for the most part be already embodied in their habits, if it is to be successfully introduced or have happy results, as we can verify by many joyful or painful experiences in our own history. Much more, then, must this have been the case in that

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xx. 18-xxiii. 33.

ver. 1, 2 must originally have stood before

<sup>2</sup> Comp. xxiii. 22 with xix. 5.

ver. 9, and been displaced through some  
ancient error, as might be shown by many

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxiv. 3-6.

considerations ; comp. for instance, xxiv. 3

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxiv. 4-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxiv. 1, 2, 9-11 ; the words of with xix. 7.

primeval time, when so many artificial means of constraint now possessed by governments were wanting. The Israelites, long before the encampment at Sinai, nay long before the wonderful deliverance at the Red Sea, must have been habituated to the guidance of their great Prophet, and consequently to laws, the same in spirit with those which there assumed a more definite, permanent form, and entered into the full light of history. In fact, various traditions scattered among the narratives of the Old Testament (as we have shown) perfectly agree with this view ; and the Egyptian stories mentioned at p. 499 sqq. permit us still more evidently to recognise the people, even while in Egypt, as being essentially the same in some most important traits, as they appear when organised through the legislation of Sinai. The momentous event at the Red Sea, therefore, only brought the already excited feeling to its height ; the rest and the legislation at Sinai did but impart to it clearness and permanence of form. In a similar way, among the long and numerous laws referred to Sinai in the extant narratives, many, particularly among those relating to details, may have sprung up, or at all events have assumed their present form, in the next-following age (see p. 83 sqq.) But those essential truths and social arrangements which constitute the motive power of the whole history, must certainly have been there promulgated and firmly ordained. These only, therefore, can be fitly described in this place.

In considering the truths then propounded, and the social arrangements consequent upon them, we must not at the outset be startled by the grandeur of the former, or the wonderful nature of the latter, so as to reject anything because it appears incredible. For all the greatest and most enduring ideas that actuate and glorify the subsequent history, must have arisen in that sacred birthday of the community ; and, as we have already observed, at such extraordinary epochs, and among a people such as Israel then was, the most wonderful things became possible. But we must not omit further to consider, that where such new and mighty truths in all their vitality first lay hold of a nation or community, a certain violence and possible excess in their application is almost inevitable. For the new truth in its first youthful energy is apt to take too powerful possession of the whole man ; not having yet attained a quietly assured position relatively to other truths. To gain this position it may very probably have to contend against the world in certain directions so vehemently as to be unable, without foregoing its own existence, wholly to abstain from violence towards the obstacles

which it encounters. An astonishing new thought, of which the true depth is not yet realised, nor the necessity apprehended, may at once display extraordinary power against its opposite, and thus call forth the most wonderful resolutions with apparent logical consistency ; but through want of experience is apt to be driven by its youthful energy and zeal beyond those bounds within which it will be ultimately compelled to restrict itself. Early Christianity even, as is distinctly testified by history, did not remain free from such exaggerations in its conflicts, although its founder is the only one who in his own person did not furnish for them the slightest occasion or warrant. How much less could we expect that the Jahve-religion would be unaffected by them in that early age when a path had first to be made for the entrance of any spiritual religion, and under a founder like Moses, who, however high he may be justly placed, neither was nor could be Christ ! We are under the necessity, therefore, of truly describing these exaggerations also, wherever they are a matter of history ; as otherwise we should be unable to understand how the higher truths, founded at the same time, assumed their historical form, or with what extraordinary difficulties they had to contend. And it is of not less importance also, to show on the other hand how the Truth, in the narrowness of the age, often fell short of its own greatness.

If now we consider in the first place the abstract ideas embodied in the Mosaic economy, without reference for the present to the social arrangements which proceeded from them, we cannot, if we adhere closely to the records, adduce any large number of these as derived directly from Moses. If, however, according to all extant indications, the ideas not only promulgated but founded in that primal age of the community are few, they are grand in themselves, universal in their bearing, and eternal in their duration. It is therefore these abstract ideas which must here be expounded with especial accuracy and fulness, since they henceforth rule the best and most enduring portion of this history, never dying out, and often emerging again with wonderful power.

### **1. The Fundamental Idea.**

1) We must first of all bring forward the one great thought which in fact includes within it all the rest. For however fruitful a creative period may be in great thoughts and stirring truths, on a closer view there is always a single foundation-thought which comes forth in it with the highest certainty,

and therefore with irresistible power, just as every such period fights for one single end, and therefore directs all its thoughts and efforts to one great object. Here then, either this great struggle must be rewarded by the rise of some great new truth, some light breaking out of the darkness to enlighten and rejoice the age, and from which an abundance of other truths may spontaneously flow ; or no advance is achieved, and the struggle has been in vain. If however the noblest powers of a whole nation are really and perseveringly directed towards one great object, they do not generally fail of their reward.

This fundamental thought will not be a mere proposition which a solitary thinker may have evolved from his own reflection and processes of reasoning, such as the 'Cogito ergo sum' of Des Cartes, or similar dicta of other philosophers; propositions concerning which one school may dispute with another, but which are neither historically connected with great national efforts, nor have any bearing on national life. As we have already said, this fundamental thought in its clearness and strength must undoubtedly have dwelt in Moses as in no one else ; but even in him it could have been excited only by great national catastrophes, and in such a manner that it must have at the same time lain prepared, though with less power and certainty, in his people also, and thus from the leader easily acted powerfully on the whole nation. Even the proposition of the Unity of God, cannot, as often supposed, have been that fundamental thought, because although penetrating far deeper into the spiritual thought and life of a nation than the Cartesian doctrine above referred to, it is not in itself comprehensive or animating enough to serve as the highest principle of a nation's life. Accordingly this doctrine assumes by no means the same exclusive and almost convulsively exaggerated importance in the history of ancient Israel, that it possessed for Mohammed ; and moreover it already existed in its original simplicity (as we observed at p. 461 sqq.) in the midst of Israel, like a precious ore not yet refined or put in circulation.

The fundamental thought should rather be said to centre exclusively in the knowledge of the true Deliverer. Salvation and redemption from all distress the Pagans also expected from their gods ; and there is not, nor ever has been, any god imagined, great or petty, just or corrupt, from whom man did not expect some deliverance impossible to him with his human powers, from something that oppressed him. For universally and from the beginning nothing can have led man so necessarily and so strongly to the divine, as his own distress and conse-

quent need of deliverance. Not as though the divine, in contrast to the human, were in itself a mere phantom of the imagination, for this contrast has a permanent truth of its own; but because everything true and good, which the human soul can conceive and attain, must be impressed upon it by the strongest motives before it can be pursued and grasped. But what God is the true Deliverer? is the question which was then first resolved in Israel. If man truly desires to be delivered from something which oppresses his better self, there is no other help for him, than that he should descend into the depths of his own spirit, and there become conscious of that truth which exists not only in his own individual spirit, but likewise in the Divine Spirit itself, and which maintains every ordinance and every law of the creation, and therefore must support, strengthen, and deliver all men who do not estrange themselves from it. Now the God who, as the Lord of this eternal truth, itself invisible but sustaining all the visible, stands above all that is visible, created and transient, is the pure, spiritual God. That this God alone, as the true God, is also the true deliverer of those men who in their spirit do not dwell far from his—this is the fundamental thought which then first revealed itself upon the earth.<sup>1</sup> According to this explanation this fundamental thought is by no means so obvious or easily intelligible as it may appear to us now that it has prevailed with more or less distinctness for several thousand years. On the contrary, on closer consideration three thoughts are found to be inherent in it, which negative the same number of grievous errors, and which therefore could only have sunk so deeply into the consciousness of a whole nation by reason of the overwhelming weight of history itself.

a.) In the first place, the sharpest distinction between the higher and the lower in the world is given at once with the perception that the spirit acting in it is the only eternal and infinitely powerful element: where is here the superstition of the Egyptians respecting the human body, which when embalmed they believed

<sup>1</sup> That Jahve is the 'deliverer,' is the teaching of the whole Pentateuch, as well as of the preamble to the Ten Commandments; see Ex. vi. 6, from the Book of Origins; the earliest Narrator styles him also the 'Healer' (or Saviour), Ex. xv. 28. With this doctrine is closely connected the sentiment, as ancient as it is characteristic, here expressed with quaint and simple beauty—of the two-sided moral nature of the true God, which shows him, notwithstanding all his severe strictness in the

punishment of evil, as in a still higher degree gracious and loving. This thought, expressed in the comment on the Decalogue in Ex. xx. 5, 6, and Deut. v. 9, 10, is repeated in Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7; Num. xiv. 18, and in later books. And this leads necessarily to the further conviction, that God, by his very nature, could be the Deliverer only because he is both loving and righteous, or as it is elsewhere more briefly expressed, because he is holy: Lev. xix. 2.

to last for ever? But in truth seasons of the deepest extremity, such as the Egyptian bondage of the Israelites, are the only times when man learns clearly to recognise the infinite might of the hidden powers of the spirit, and with no other weapons than the intangible and invisible armour of his soul to struggle out from the deepest despair to the purest elevation;<sup>1</sup> as Job, the true heroic exemplar of the striving people of Israel, has no prospect of a happy turn in his fate, until in the deepest extremity of his soul, he springs up from his despair, as if at the touch of an angel's wing, and becomes conscious of the might and eternity of his spirit, and of the true God, its eternal refuge.<sup>2</sup>

b.) The second truth presupposed in the fundamental idea is, that to the human spirit, rightly apprehended, the Divine Spirit—the God who created the world and works in it—is truly kindred, but infinitely superior; and that thus the real God is purely spirit, and yet at the same time calls to himself and seeks to deliver his image and noblest creature, man: thus vanishes the Egyptian and all other heathen polytheism, and the strictest opposition to it becomes possible.

c.) But, finally, it is not these two propositions by themselves which will bring the true deliverance; rather, he only who with his own spirit enters into this Eternal Spirit, and thereby becomes inwardly a new spiritual (prophetic) man, is truly delivered by the Divine grace, preventing him, and calling him to itself. And thus springs up that great fundamental thought that only the pure spiritual God is the true Redeemer of all those who desire to be no more estranged from him; a thought which first arose in Egypt under Moses; then, as above detailed, was sealed by the wondrous rescue at the Red Sea; and afterwards became the foundation stone of the whole community of Israel, as well as the sole vivifying impulse of all devotion, and the profoundest idea contained in all the books of the Old Testament.

In fact this fundamental thought, the corner-stone of every true religion, is a doctrine which bore within it power to unhinge the ancient world. He whose spirit finds its true place in the Eternal Spirit, in that act receives an infinite power, which raises him above the world and time, and suffers him to find rest only

<sup>1</sup> No prophet has seized this idea with greater clearness than Hosea, the great prophet of love; who lays the greatest stress on the fact that in times of old Jahve found his people at the very moment of their deepest distress in the terrible desert, and brought them up as his own child; but now when they had become faithless to him, he was driving

them back into the same desert, there to find their God again; Hos. ii. 16 [14], ix. 10, xi. 1, 3, xiii. 3, 4; compare (from about the same period) Deut. xxxii. 10, and (from a later period) Jer. ii. 2 sqq., xxxi. 2, sqq.; Ez. xvi. 4 sqq.; Is. liv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See the article in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1843, p. 711 sqq.

where the most blessed contentment dwells in union with an unfailing zeal to participate in the divine energy. Heathenism depends essentially upon the slowness of the human mind to recognise and hold fast divine truth in its purity; a slowness which having once crept in extends more and more, and knows no end but in utter destruction. But with that fundamental thought of God the Deliverer, there arise within the human soul at once the ability and the courage to recognise all the truth of the Divine Spirit who confronts it, and to open itself to his living influence. And this is a life which, when once it has struck vigorous root among men, can never again perish, but advances with ever multiplying fruits. Thus even here, in this earliest time, there arises an infinite truth, which, developing itself further, could not fail in the end to overthrow all heathendom and usher in our modern age. But whereas among all the other nations there was not as yet one individual who grasped that thought, or was willing to take it alone for his guide, here it not only exerts a living force over Moses, but becomes at the same time the possession and the innermost life of a whole people. Here then we perceive in its germ that which made the history of the ancient people of Israel truly a world-history: that while among other nations that torpidity of soul, Paganism, was assuming more and more rigid forms, until it became quite incurable by the few scattered spirits among them who looked deeper and attempted bolder things, among the Israelites, even in a relatively very early time, and before the heathenish tendencies in them could be fully unfolded, that freedom and boldness of spirit grew up, which, after once beholding the purity and power of the divine light, can never wholly weary of turning towards it a longer and fuller gaze.

How deep and firm was the hold of this primary idea on the national mind is nowhere more clearly shown than in the fact that the whole narrative of the departure from Egypt, as it shaped itself in the thought of the Israelites (see Exod. i.—xv.), is virtually nothing but a history of the true Deliverance. For the contents of that narrative are essentially this:—the spiritual God can truly deliver only when the divine truth respecting deliverance is present (through the true Prophet, for example, as its instrument), and the man or nation, hearing it, has at the decisive moment the right obedience and faith. And as the Israelites began their new course with this consciousness of the true deliverance, and thus beheld in that history the birth of their own higher life; the record of it also

must be the brightest mirror of the spiritual truth of deliverance, the type of every similar struggle for deliverance, and consequently of all real salvation. If, however, it is the later prophetic Narrators that give the grandest and most powerful descriptions of the event, it is because in the course of centuries the community had learnt to recognise more and more deeply the truth which thus lay at the root of their own existence. And we may well affirm that this great First Prophet and his work—the true deliverance through Jahve—first found a completely worthy and satisfactory delineator in the culminating period of the renewed prophetical power in Israel, that is in the ninth and eighth centuries.

But the more clearly this primary thought is seen to be infinite in its nature, the less can we expect it to receive at once a pure and perfect embodiment in any human being. For there is always a wide interval between the first germination of a truth and its highest development. Even purely intellectual truths (of mere science) are at first rather gazed at with surprise than viewed in their whole bearing and carried out to all their consequences. But a truth of purely religious nature—even the highest of that whole sphere—may by the light of its own necessity be at once perceived quite correctly with the spiritual eye, and men may begin to strive to live in it and to receive it more and more fully; and yet what a long course must be gone through before it is so fully developed even in a single heart, that the whole life serves to illustrate its beauty, and thus becomes its perfect exponent to others! Undoubtedly this is its true destiny, to attain which, without or even against the will of any individual men, is part of its essence and life; for every truth which has once arisen by its intrinsic power maintains its ground, and in spite of all obstacles advances to its goal. In this sense that ancient Mosaic age includes within it the Messianic, that is the Christian; not as comprehended by distinct consciousness or direct effort, but as realised through the inherent germinating force of the fundamental idea which here arose, and in its own time necessarily led to it. Thus every great movement in the history of the world appears as a link connecting two others in an immeasurable chain; distinctly closing some earlier vast development of human life upon the earth, and silently introducing a fresh evolution. While Jahveism<sup>1</sup> advances towards its goal in overthrowing Heathenism, it yet

<sup>1</sup> We purposely adopt the term Jahveism as the antithesis to Christianity, rather than Mosaism, which according to p. 455 sq. is less appropriate.

embraces within itself, although at first scarcely visible even in the dimmest outline, a new goal, and therefore an end of its development; as Christianity again closes Mosaism, but at the same time foreshadows the end of its own history, and therein the commencement of a new one. But on this very account we cannot hold too firmly that the mighty and revolutionising thought with which Jahveism entered the world, at first appeared in it, not fully and completely realised, but merely foreshadowed and expected. And if this holds true of Jahveism during its whole course, it must be especially true of its early commencement, before it had developed itself, and thus begun to discern more clearly the goal which it was approaching, and to strive more strenuously for its attainment. There in that primeval time under Moses, did the infinite Truth cast its first bright beam upon the earth; and this beam penetrated so deeply into one portion of mankind that they would never suffer it to be taken from them again. But the dawning truth was yet too vast for one individual, and the whole series of centuries passed until Christ, before that one arrived in whom it became flesh and blood. For this reason those narratives are of such great value which show that not only the exalted brother and sister of Moses, Aaron and Miriam, but even the great Prophet and founder of the congregation himself, sometimes, although but seldom and exceptionally, failed to keep pure his faith in the spiritual God, and therefore could not be regarded as the perfect exemplar of Jahveism.<sup>1</sup> Thus, when that religion would present an historical example of the highest faith, it had to go back to the sacred period of the Patriarchal world, to Abraham (p. 288 sqq.); although, as Abraham properly belongs to a different religious development, this is not entirely satisfactory.

2) But here, where we perceive the limit which confines the new Jahve-religion at its very origin, we discover also distinct bounds within which the fundamental thought must restrict itself in order to maintain its own existence. Thus are produced a number of fixed forms, in which Jahveism henceforth appears; like earthly bodies which it can imbue with its own spirit.

a.) As this fundamental thought at first presents itself to man only as an intellectual idea, it comes to him in the form of a mere demand upon him—as a stern ‘must,’ requiring him to seek the spiritual God and no other. Had this thought been perfectly fulfilled in but one exemplar and become flesh and blood in him, that one, as a member of the community,

<sup>1</sup> Num. xii., xx. 1-13, 23, 24, xxvii. 12-14.

would have at once become the true and eternal type of all, and thus the head of that community: and the thought having been thus distinctly realised in history, this realisation in one on behalf of all would impart to all the blessed trust and the ennobling faith, that they might become like him and be perfect themselves. But that one perfect type being wanting, thought and aspiration are ever carried back directly to him who only commands and compels—the pure spiritual God with his strict demands on man. Jahveism, therefore, in its further development, necessarily becomes the religion of the Divine demands on man, and therefore of Law. From this limitation Jahveism made immense efforts to break free, during the time of its freest development and most spiritual elevation—the age of the great Prophets;<sup>1</sup> but without success, since every religion that remains, as it did, an essentially prophetical one is of necessity one of direct Divine command. So that when this characteristic of Jahveism had culminated during the third and last age of its existence, the New Testament was unquestionably right in placing the religion of the Old Testament chiefly under the category of Law.

Examining more closely the separate ideas which may be contained in this, we can distinguish the following three points. Not only the fundamental thought, but also every other purely spiritual or divine truth here forces itself directly or immediately upon us, because prophecy in its highest development becomes the mightiest instrument of spiritual activity. So here the eternally true God is always first foreboded, felt, apprehended by man *immediately*. He alone in his whole infinity stands over against man; and man knows and desires him alone to be his only Lord and God absolutely immediately, with no intervening medium. But then, secondly, this *Immediateness* naturally entails the use of *Force*, whereby the truth presses itself upon us, and must rule over us. Thirdly and lastly, then, the truth which thus comes to man will soon come to appear a mere externally imposed rigid *Law*, when once it is long established and the mere necessity of its observance is alone remembered. These three characteristics, which are present in greater or less degree, are shown by the progress of history to be the greatest dangers that the true religion has to surmount in order to supply the defects which cling to it from the

<sup>1</sup> Prophets who call the people themselves as witnesses of the truth of their words, as Isaiah i. 18; Jer. ii. 31, and the Deuteronomist, who (xxx. 11 sqq.) shows how easy the Law really is for man,

and how nearly it concerns him, are already preparing the transition to Christianity, i. e. to a religion which regards the Divine will as not utterly extraneous and opposed to the human.

beginning ; and we are surprised to see how the germs of each of the three great epochs which constitute the whole course of this nation's history, are already present here, lying undeveloped side by side.

b.) This fundamental idea requires man always to keep his mind earnestly as well as willingly fixed upon the Divine spirit and upon his will. In this lies an infinite task for the heart and hands of men ; and the example of Moses shows that any one who may strive to fulfil this command in a self-sacrificing spirit will be impelled to the most unwearyed course of benevolent activity ; for he so completely devoted the day to assisting with oracles and decisions all who came with inquiries or complaints, that his father-in-law Jethro was obliged to urge him, lest he should be entirely overcome, to lighten his labours by deputies.<sup>1</sup> The community which gathered round a principle like this must necessarily be led towards the purest as well as the most distinct conception of the Divine. In all that they experience they see the hand of their God directly active ; in all prosperity they feel the favour, in all adversity the displeasure, of that Invisible Being towards whom their every effort ought to be directed. In the whole creation and in human history they perceive nothing so much as the action and supremacy of their spiritual God ; and thus among other things grows up their characteristic view of history, which above all recognises and holds fast the higher and the divine in national events. Especially, by Jahveism, is man set in a vivid contrast with God, of which heathenism had no conception ; for the more spiritual and exalted the idea formed of the commanding God, the more utterly does mortal helpless man, capable only of obedience, vanish before him. Therefore among them when a divine truth is brought forward, it is not, strictly speaking, so much the prophet who utters it, as God himself, coming forth with his all-conquering 'I' (p. 472 sq.). Even the greatest human heroes, as Moses, do not feel themselves to be the deliverers of the nation, but Jahve alone is acknowledged and glorified as the deliverer of all without exception (p. 455 sq.). But the most distinct indication of this exclusive direction of the mind to the divine is given by the fact that the congregation, in the period of its youthful exuberance of energy, chose Jahve alone as its King and Lord, to the express exclusion of every earthly monarch. This strict and exclusive devotion to that which is loftiest, and this determination always to recognise the divine alone, when made the fundamental

<sup>1</sup> According to the oldest account, Ex. xviii.

law of an entire community, deserves the highest admiration. And we may truly say that it was necessary that this concentration of all thought and feeling upon the divine as opposed to the human should at some time spring up, in order that, somewhere upon the earth, there should be established in full power the direct opposite of the prevalent heathenism : as if the human soul, wounded by the growing perversions of heathenism, had clasped with convulsive eagerness the one truth, whose light—too bright to be forgotten—it had once seen shining in the darkness ; and at first had been able to achieve nothing more than firmly to maintain that basis of true religion which it had won. But precisely because the whole aspiration and effort of Jahveism were directed to the assertion of that truth which already shone so brightly, but had not yet become really embodied even in one single individual, and which therefore seemed as if it might easily disappear without ever attaining completeness ; that religion could never gain room to penetrate the world with it in a permanent and completed form, nor rest in calm reliance that everything besides the spiritual God, when rightly known and more carefully examined, leads back to him. It could not therefore as yet embrace science with an equal zeal ; for science in the strict sense does for a moment, during the inquiry, regard its object by itself, as if it existed in independence of God ; and only when it has thus exhaustively explored it, confidently refer it back to the eternal divine law and to God himself. These limitations indeed were nearly broken through in the second stage of the history, that is during the centuries of ripest development of the ancient community ; and up to a certain point the rudiments of science grew up within Jahveism, but beyond such rudiments the ancient Israelites did not advance even in those ages of their existence which were most favourable for science ; and they always returned with increased force and intensity to the pursuit of the one great task of their life, which even in the primitive age they had so clearly discerned—religious truth. Thus they never discovered with the same certainty the basis of an irrefragable science to correspond with it. But in truth to follow out to its completion the true religion is a task grand enough to absorb for many centuries the noblest powers of an entire nation.

c.) This fundamental thought germinated, as already shown, in the midst of the most violent conflicts, and most impressive teachings, of history ; and hence arose alike its own noble truthfulness, and the immense power with which it seized upon

so many persons and became so intimately blended with the whole life of a new-born nation. For only that which thus, through the divine necessity of history, forces itself with overwhelming power upon a nation and is faithfully and intelligently received by them, being recognised as the very salvation which their whole life needs, finds an enduring abode among them. But whatever originates solely in the destiny and the experience of one people finds in that very circumstance its first historical limitation. Israel alone had vitally experienced this fundamental thought, which was brought home to it in the conflict with Egypt, and subsequently in like conflicts with many other nations; so that during the first stress and movement of their history it was directly and incessantly moulded, radically and in a manner decisive of its fate for all future time, into a peculiar possession of this one nation. It was thus completely united with and melted into their whole nationality, and by being so closely bound up with the special life of an individual people necessarily suffered a proportionate loss of purity. In fact the fundamental idea emerging here as the beginning of all true religion, is too spiritual and therefore too difficult of comprehension to be as easily disseminated as a discovery respecting the lower life. Those only who had lived it could comprehend it, and since *they* had grasped it only as a nation engaged in a great national conflict, they espoused it only as the word of their own God revealed to them, and as an everlasting endowment granted them for a defence and weapon against their enemies. Nor is it a small thing that it should thus at first establish itself even among them in all its power, and find among them a firm basis on which to unfold itself further. Jahve becomes the glory, the greatness, and the actual king of Israel; with Jahve as their best weapon David and his men of war fight against the nations round.

It is true, this fundamental thought, grasped in its purity, is so just and so irrefragable that it might well become the basis of true religion for all humanity; there is in itself no reason that it should first arise in Israel alone, for Israel alone develop itself, or remain in Israel alone to the end of time. And in fact we have seen that in the beginning it originated in the closest connection with the most ancient civilisation of Egypt, and on the highly intellectual soil of Egypt, that moreover on the departure from Egypt some Non-Israelites joined Moses, and that, humanly speaking, it was but an accident that Egypt suffered this blessing to be finally snatched from her (p. 462, 489

sq., 505). By this fact it is clearly shown that pure Jahveism in its aim and nature is not the property of one nation only; indeed there always lies concealed in its innermost tendencies a strong impulse to become the light and life not of one nation but of all. At every intense movement and critical turning-point of all the ensuing history this impulse manifests itself more strongly, varying in form according to the age, but remaining essentially the same. It is seen active in the time of David and Solomon, and again still more powerfully in another way in the commencement of the third epoch of the history; and as at the beginning it was only hemmed in by temporary causes, so as the time of its perfect fulfilment approaches, it endeavours more vigorously to break through all such temporary bounds. But even to the latest times these efforts were but weak and incomplete, because this religion, through its origin, had been united so closely and so rigidly with the entire existence of this one people, that, without first achieving its own higher development, it could never with much success transcend the bounds within which it was thus confined. Jahveism, as soon as it arrived at maturity, restricted itself within this one people as in a home, so that if strangers embraced it they were compelled at the same time to enrol themselves as members of the Israelitish nationality. As Brahmanism, being closely intertwined with the national life of the Hindus, could only spread itself gradually, and *pari passu* with the rule of the Hindus, or rather of the Brahmans and Rajahs, and it was reserved for Buddhism, which was at its origin free from these national fetters, to spread over foreign lands and then flourish there chiefly; so Jahveism could itself never force its way beyond the people of Israel, and its completion, Christianity, alone had power to knock down the barriers and attain the result which the former had but sought and striven for. We must therefore recognise even in religion the main conditions to which all that is historical is subject. From the first, and long before Moses, undoubtedly the germs of the true religion existed, but entirely isolated, or at most as the possession of single houses (families).<sup>1</sup> From this stage an immense advance is gained, when its fundamental thought becomes the property of one whole nation; and then, before any further steps in advance are taken, that one nation must be first so thoroughly penetrated by this thought, and have it so inseparably bound up with their innermost life and being during the working of many centuries, that at least by that nation it could never again be lost.<sup>2</sup> But not until the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 317 sqq., 459 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Isaiah lix. 21 with lxiii. 11.

principle of true religion already exists ineffaceably, in spite of all changes of time, in the life of a whole nation, can it advance further, and (striving after and finally attaining its own completeness) successfully break through its national limits. Then, however, it is driven forth beyond them with a power wholly irresistible.

Thus this fundamental thought, as soon as it comes prominently forward, is enclosed in certain definite moulds, which on the one hand constitute its defence while it establishes and develops itself historically, but on the other confine it within cramping bounds, which as its strength increases it must seek to burst. And there are times when, as if foreshadowing a new era, it actually raises itself above them, though never able wholly to transcend them so long as it finds this form and constitution necessary to it, and has not yet attained its consummation.

## *2. Consequences of the Fundamental Thought.*

We see a multitude of new, great, and separate thoughts and eternal truths springing up from the fundamental thought; but we also immediately remark that each of these again is attended by its historical limitation. And we must regard these limitations with equal care, although, since they relate more to special points, they do not continue so essential as those before explained, to the very close of the history.

### *1) Consequences in relation to God.*

a.) One of its first important consequences is the recognition of the true delivering God, as being self-consistent, eternally unchangeable and one. When the human soul is raised to such clearness and uprightness that it acknowledges salvation in the spiritual God alone, it must also apprehend this God as in himself absolutely equable and single, as a spirit that holds together the spirits of all visible creatures with their endless multiplicity;<sup>1</sup> for as man feels unity in his own spirit, and finds all his efforts directed constantly to one object, he must recognise the highest spirit, the constant and unchanging object of his own spirit, also as one only, before whom all that is lower, multiform, and earthly, disappears. Thus the

<sup>1</sup> 'The God of the spirits of all flesh' source (Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16), and is an unusual and very curious designation which has evidently passed into the Book of Origins from a very ancient must therefore be regarded as genuinely Mosaic.

God in whose spirit the whole nation ever finds its light and salvation, must be strictly one. If then the spirit of God alone, as already revealed, and expected to be revealed again and again in future, is to reign over the people for ever; then, as there is only one such spirit, one truth and one inmost connection of all things, there can be but one God whose word man must obey: one God—therefore unity of all thought and action, constant reference of all that is yet dark to his light, and direct progress towards the highest in a common uplifting of all the members of the community undividedly to him.

As the idea of the unity of God thus springs out of the living feeling of the true deliverance, it becomes also immediately fruitful, and prompts continually to a practice corresponding to this truth. It presents itself here, not as a proposition infinitely elevated and yet of little bearing on morality, as in Islam; but as an important, though still only a single truth, only resulting from true religion, not supporting and alone constituting it, as in Islam; where, simply on account of a mistaken antagonism to Christianity, it was carried to an exaggerated pitch. Accordingly it is announced even in the earliest period only historically (concretely), as a truth of which the people themselves had experience, in the words of the First Commandment; ‘I am Jahve, thy Deliverer; thou shalt worship no other Gods before me:’ that is, the true God, whose delivering power thou hast already experienced, him alone shalt thou in all the future seek and reverence. The more definite expression of the thought of the Unity of God, or Jahve, first developed itself in later times, as is clearly seen in the passages which mention it.<sup>1</sup> And yet in that simple expression, thus based upon experience, there lies a sufficiently strong opposition alike to heathenism and to the older religion of the Hebrews themselves, who cannot before this time have grasped Monotheism with that definiteness and clearness, as well as in that sharp contrast to every form of Heathenism in which it henceforth appears (p. 460 sq.). The Unity of God stands in the same position as all true religion. As this in its essence is present from the very first, but in respect to its special truths and their living power, comes more and more prominently forward in the real world in strife with their opposites, so the truth of the unity of God must now have made a great advance.

But there is an expression, undoubtedly derived from that primeval time and from Moses himself, which, without employing

<sup>1</sup> They do not occur earlier than in Deuteronomy proper.

the abstract word ‘Unity,’ does what is far more important and decisive, discloses a genuine conception of this unity derived from the purest sources. This is the description of Jahve as ‘the jealous God, who visits the guilt of fathers upon children to the fourth generation, towards those that hate him; but does mercy unto thousands, towards those that love him and keep his commandments;’ and another, conveying essentially the same meaning, but in reversed order; ‘the tender and merciful God, long-suffering and rich in grace and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving guilt and transgression and sin, but not regarding them as innocence; visiting the guilt of fathers upon children even to the fourth generation.’<sup>1</sup> It is clear that in the olden times Jahve was proclaimed in those solemn terms, when it was designed in few words to indicate his whole nature, somewhat as an earthly king on solemn occasions is designated by all his titles of honour and dominion. The highest idea, then, that Jahveism could form of God was here shortly but clearly condensed; and nothing can be more certain than that these sublime words, which might gradually grow into a confession of faith, are derived from the age of Moses, and from that Man of God himself. Now the very essence of this description is that Jahve is at once the really punishing and the really loving God; the love however is the mightier in him, and therefore (as is afterwards distinctly stated) it is from love alone he punishes. Since then this description of the two sides of the Divine nature, which in Heathenism are always more or less separate, strictly embraces them in a true unity, and distinctly shows how all the varied qualities ascribed by the heathen to their Gods, in so far as they are true, coexist in the one thought and feeling of Jahve; we necessarily recognise in it a conception of the Divine Being in the presence of which a so-called dualism was impossible.

And yet we must here also immediately admit a limitation, which appeared in the course of events, and sprang up out of the midst of the new truth. It must indeed be admitted that the idea of the Unity of God from the very first exalted Jahveism far above any form of Paganism. The latter indeed taught something similar, not in a consistent and salutary way, but

<sup>1</sup> The first of these versions is found in the comments on the Decalogue; of the other the first half only is given by Joel, ii. 13, but the whole in Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7 and Num. xiv. 18; it is clear that the adoption of the one or the other form

depends mainly upon the context, and that the two are identical as to the real thought conveyed. In the diction there are many peculiarities, as *גָּדוֹלָה כְּאַיִלָּה*.

indirectly and by constraint, inasmuch as it always allowed one of its gods to rule over the others: whereas in the Mosaic system of religion, owing to the prominence assigned to the Monotheistic idea, no room was left for the intrusion of any morally dangerous Polytheism, however secret, like that of the cultivated heathen systems. But since Jahve (that is, the spiritual God) was at first understood by the people only as their own God, the chief god worshipped by some other nation might, in the popular mind at least, be thought of as his opposite; as if every religion, and therefore, in the religious condition of antiquity, every nation must have its special God. So in an ancient national song, Chemosh, Moab's God, is contrasted with the God Jahve,<sup>1</sup> and in another ancient song of praise, Jahve is called the 'Incomparable among the Gods,' as if the gods of the heathen had some kind of existence.<sup>2</sup> The higher truth, indeed, of spiritual religion could not be thus wholly suppressed. That Jahve is the God of all nations and of the whole earth, the most ancient words declare not the least forcibly.<sup>3</sup> The wit of the higher religion revenged itself early in a pun upon the heathen gods, by whom as the ruling powers among the heathen, they felt themselves at times oppressed, by calling them Elilim, that is nothings, or no-gods, instead of Elôhim.<sup>4</sup> But so long as Jahve was accepted primarily and with the strongest feeling only as Israel's God, it was almost inevitable that whenever the people, being unsuccessful and hard-pressed by hostile nations, experienced less vividly the power of their God to protect them, they should imagine themselves oppressed by their enemies' gods also, look round to these, and possibly hope to be rescued by their more powerful arm or more gracious regard. In fact this became a chief cause of many later errors and dangers. But for this very reason the pure truth, as yet half hidden by a veil, must have been impelled with increasing force to make itself felt, until at length the true God was understood more and more generally and distinctly, not as God of Israel only, but as the one and only Ruler of all nations.

b.) Since this One God is the pure spiritual being who as the Creator stands eternally above all created things, and far more

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxi. 29; see Judges xi. 23, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 11, whence the phrase is often repeated in later songs, such as Psalm lxxvii. 14 [13], lxxxvi. 8; whilst other late poets preferred to say at once angels instead of gods, Ps. lxxxix. 7 [6] sq.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xix. 5.

<sup>4</sup> That this play upon the word was introduced long before the time of the great Prophets, is proved by the important passage Lev. xxvi. 1, which passed into the Book of Origins from a very ancient source.

above all that is made by human hands, it further follows that no image man devises of him can be equal to his nature or supply his place. This must be true even of those pictures which men form in their own minds of God: such pictures, indeed, constantly obtrude themselves even involuntarily upon the dreaming as upon the waking spirits of men, because all their thought begins in perception and imagination. But every representation of God which is thus formed, depicts the divine merely in accordance with a particular experience which is transient and even momentary, and therefore, though it may in itself be useful and innocent, it can never suffice, nor dispense with the aid of a pure truth by which it may be corrected. Therefore this religion, though by no means repudiating or anxiously avoiding the mythological (or figurative) mode of speaking of God, in its original and most innocent sense, never suffers it to become stiff and rigid, or to be wanting in essential truthfulness and holy reverence. Still more must this be the case with respect to visible images, which men desired to regard as sufficient representations of him who is exalted above all representation, and to worship instead of him whose glory no image can approach.

But as this principle was now for the first time<sup>1</sup> decisively asserted against heathenism, it would easily be carried to excess. The essential character of heathenism is that it causes men to fall away from profound thinking upon God into a more and more superficial thinking and talking about him, and thence easily into image-worship; and Egypt was just the country in which a debased mythology and image-worship had early advanced thus far. Jahveism placed itself in the sharpest opposition to, and freed itself forcibly from, all heathen, that is all degrading, mythology; but with the blow thus given to all the imagery then prevalent respecting God and divine things, Jahveism fell back into almost too simple a method of speaking of the divine, and thus lost that pliability and versatility of poetical imagination without which, e.g., no epic poetry can be developed.<sup>2</sup> Therefore during the following centuries it made

<sup>1</sup> That the Hebrews before Moses generally, if not universally, were accustomed to images, is already proved by the Teraphim; on which see my *Alterthümer*, p. 267 sq. We cannot here investigate whether either Numa or Pythagoras, as Plutarch (*Numa* viii.) says, at a later time prohibited the worship of images, and this prohibition was observed for 170 years; but at any rate that was a recent

age compared to the Mosaic. It would be a more important discovery if we could determine the date of the commencement of the Zoroastrian prohibition (Herod. i. 131); though the Mosaic was certainly independent of it. The Egyptian religious reforms mentioned at p. 516 had nothing to do with image-worship.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Dichtur des Alten Bundes*, bd. i. p. 50, sqq. Similarly Islam rejected

constantly increasing efforts to acquire in this respect a greater flexibility and freedom, without sacrificing its primary sentiments; and it did actually gain by degrees a treasure of figurative conceptions, which were compatible with its own higher truth.

In the same way, it is a righteous and noble indignation which is now kindled by Moses against the Egyptian idolatry. The community which turns to an invisible God cannot possibly recognise any visible, that is any created existence, nor consequently any image, as a sufficient substitute for the spiritual; as was done among the heathen, with whom it was not indeed the view of the philosophers, but the tolerated though degrading and demoralising habit of the people. But even the most spiritual religion does not demand more than this prohibition of the worship of sensuous objects; and the second of the Ten Commandments, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any likeness' really says no more than this; since it is evident alike from the connection of this commandment with the rest, from the idiom of the language, and from the explanation appended to this commandment, that by the term 'likeness' is to be understood only an image worshipped as God. Other sorts of images were by no means excluded by Moses from the service of religion;<sup>1</sup> this is shown by the Cherubim of the ark of the covenant, employed as a sign that the Invisible had there descended, and by the well-known story of the serpent-symbol, or brazen serpent,<sup>2</sup> the signification of which as related can only be that Moses lifted it up, not as an image for divine adoration, but yet as a symbol in the service of religion. But still there remains a certain obscurity respecting the significance of such images. For if the image or idol is never an actual living and helping God, then indeed he who perceived its nothingness may let it quietly remain without subjecting himself to it, and is not necessarily called on to be angry about it or to destroy its external form. But this calm reflection could not easily exist then in the midst of that vehement strife, when both antagonists identified the idol with the God;<sup>3</sup> the heathen from superstition, the others from their fresh indignation at the delusion. The mere image of a God was, at least by the more strict, regarded as the sign of heathenism; upon this sign therefore soon turned the deadly

the old Arabian mythology, and Zarathustra at least inverted that of the older Arians.

<sup>1</sup> As did the later Jews, the Moslem, and many Christians, from mere misun-

derstanding of the Decalogue, which is misunderstanding of Moses himself.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxi. 4-9.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxiii. 24.

strife of religions and peoples, which, although not without deeper and more real foundation, might, as relating to a sign innocent in itself, easily become onesided and degenerate. But while the more rigid carried their zeal and their opposition to the Canaanites, to the destruction of all images of this kind, which is early<sup>1</sup> mentioned as a command of Jahve (though not as early as the Ten Commandments), another part of the community were less able to separate themselves from visible things, and at least preferred to worship Jahve himself under an image;<sup>2</sup> even the brazen serpent gradually came to be venerated as a relic of antiquity;<sup>3</sup> and thus by the exaggeration of a new truth, occasion was furnished for a multitude of errors and divisions.

But though Jahveism thus strenuously asserted the supersensuousness of the Divine nature and the impossibility of representing it by images, it could not, quite consistently, and apart from local and all other earthly relations, maintain a firm hold of its God in this pure spirituality. For the nationality to which the higher religion was after all confined (p. 541 sqq.), now reacted on the religion, permitting that the God who was absolutely exalted above all the world, might yet be acknowledged and externally represented by visible signs as the God of this particular people of Israel. He is indeed an absolutely invisible, mysterious God, yet the place where he is enthroned in the midst of the community must be marked, in order that the people may assemble round that spot, as the family around the sacred hearth in the middle of the dwelling; and there are introduced first the Ark of the Covenant with the Cherubim, and then the holy ever-burning fire,<sup>4</sup> which is in fact similar to the fire in the temple of Vesta among the Romans. But further, the belief became established that although there could be no visible representation of the God of Israel, and he could only be symbolised by his holy place, yet he was equally to be ministered to, and to be honoured with equal splendour, as any chief god of the Egyptians or other nations. Thus, however rigidly in other respects all that was heathen was avoided, yet in the peculiar ceremonies of their religion the Israelites entered into a kind of rivalry with the Egyptians and the other heathen, as if they wished to show that, although their God could not be represented in any outward form, he was not on this account to be any the less laboriously and sumptuously reverenced.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxiii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxii.; Judges viii. 27; 1 Kings xii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Alterthümer*, p. 134 sq.

But indeed it is very remarkable how the true religion, as if early conscious that all this was opposed to its own higher thoughts, separated these priestly additions and adornments from its peculiar truths, as is perfectly clear from the tone adopted by all the Narrators.<sup>1</sup> It is also probable on many grounds that the form of worship was not completely developed till after the conquest of Canaan. Yet this, which borders closely on heathenism, established itself at an early period so firmly, that during the course of the following centuries it was long considered inseparable from Jahveism; and only after great struggles did the view gain ground, that wherever a true community is found there is the true God also, and priestly rites are not required: a view which first became triumphant in Christianity, although even there it was again obscured during the middle ages.

Yet the attempt at a localisation of the Invisible could never go so far that Jahveism should fancy itself in possession of an image of it: for this would have at once destroyed one of its fundamental principles. The Altar could here neither pass for an image of the Most High, nor bear such an image. In the Ark of the Covenant, too, no image of him could be hidden and carried about on the wanderings of the people, to be brought out and shown to them on high festivals. Even the dazzling Temple of Solomon itself must be absolutely without image of him whom it was built to honour. But early antiquity was a time of urgent and struggling seeking after God, of deep longing to see him, the hidden and mysterious, manifest himself clearly and visibly, of desire to approach him in the body, and draw him nearer through the senses. Every nation endeavoured to bring its many or few gods near to it by appropriate images, to kiss and honour them in these images, and thus to preserve them and make sure of them in their earthly representations. And was Israel, against the customs of all other nations, never to behold its God, never to still its deep longing after him in any visible image of him? But if ever individual Israelites endeavoured to supply this want for themselves in heathen fashion, their conduct could not but be soon recognised as erroneous, and indeed as one of the worst sins against the fundamental law of religion. If the people nevertheless still sought for a place where their God was always present in his full glory, only invisible to mortal eye, the heaven was the

<sup>1</sup> Not without reason the Book of Origins postpones the exposition of this until after the Ten Commandments, Ex. xxv. sq.; and the Third and Fourth Narrators

give us still more clearly to understand that the people could not bear the earlier and purer form of worship; Ex. xxxii.-xxxiii.

most natural to occur to them in this capacity. The heaven, consequently, had to the Hebrews a much deeper religious meaning than to other nations. In the earliest times at least, before the insufficiency of even this faith was fully recognised,<sup>1</sup> the Israelites learned to raise their eager and longing eyes to heaven, and then feel the touch of the Invisible Heavenly God in their inmost parts. At that time, the 'Heaven' was to them assuredly more than the mere figure of speech which it afterwards became. The heavens seemed at times to declare more powerfully than anything else the presence of the Invisible in all his might and glory ; and so the Cherub, as the emblem of God's descent from heaven to earth, was the only image worthy to designate the holiest spot on earth ;<sup>2</sup> and so also the changing aspects of the heaven, from storm to brightness, easily produced a powerful and seemingly supernatural effect on the susceptible mind.<sup>3</sup> And yet of course Jahveism could allow neither the heaven itself nor any of the visible objects belonging to it to be a sensible representation of God himself, or even to be in any sense holy.<sup>4</sup>

c.) If, in this way, all the emotions and efforts of men are to be directed solely to the one invisible God, does not every tangible support of human trust appear broken, and all secure guidance lost to the weak sons of earth ? Quite the reverse : from hence arises the very idea of the guidance and real trust. For that eternal truth and spirituality towards which alone each human soul should tend, when once it is actually sought with all the energies of the soul, and truly and vitally received, becomes a guiding and ruling power for man ; because there is a fundamental relationship between the narrow and individual, and the infinite and eternal spirit. And further there exists among men no free and effective guidance, but when the human soul submits to be thus ruled and led by the Almighty, because it has recognised that to oppose his truths and his commands is to fight against its own good. And whatever else may arise from the many kinds of rule and guidance of men by men, that alone can be just or beneficial which does not contradict this highest law. In fact the youthful aspiration after such true guidance, and therefore after wise counsel, runs through the antiquity of all

<sup>1</sup> As in the words in 1 Kings viii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 322, and *Alterthümer*, p. 139  
sq.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ps. xxix. and xix. 8 [7] ; also from Judg. v. 20, and still stronger testimonies contained in the old historical reminiscences which will be subsequently explained.

<sup>4</sup> What folly it is to bring the Zarathus- trian (Zoroastrian) religion into historical connection with Jahveism, is obvious at this point. Zarathustra, like Moses, rejected images, but only that he might deify the pure visible original matter instead. Zarathustra put down altars too, which Moses left standing.

nations. For what is implied in the whole system of Oracles, but that first some individuals, more or less consciously, permitted their lower spirit to be seized and guided by the higher spirit, and to be carried on to the external manifestation of that which they had heard and felt within ; and then others were induced to follow the divine counsels thus revealed ? But though every nation in its primeval age desired the guidance of its gods, yet it is under Moses alone that the great ' I ' first stands decisively opposed to the ' I ' of men. In the short sentence placed at the head of the two stone tables : ' I am Jahve, thy Deliverer,' and in the other scattered words of extreme significance, which show the like genuine Mosaic temper,<sup>1</sup> we can see only the mighty germ of the idea of the true Godhead. It is indeed possible that a heathen god, like man, or any other imagined rational being, may stand opposed to the thinker as an ' I,' as soon as the mind tries to enter into that which is foreign to itself, and to discover the actual or possible thought of another ; but since the God whose thoughts are made known to the earnest seeker, and who appeared in full power to Moses, must be the spiritual and true eternal God (for only towards such a one tended the thought of Moses), his ' I,' that is his revealed thought, is necessarily the voice of a Ruler, to refuse whose guidance is destruction, whose command should be recognised afresh in every truth, and gladly followed whenever it is known. And as this great omnipotent ' I ' first becomes manifest through the Prophet, the latter also straightway submits wholly to him, and suffers himself to be ruled by him alone as a bright example to others. But although these others neither can nor should be forbidden to enquire from such a mouthpiece of God, and to follow him as a model, since this is the very commencement and basis of Jahveism ; yet prophecy exists here not for its own sake : but the end sought is that every individual should, the sooner the better, follow a good guidance through his own conviction and wisdom. This is shown by a beautiful

<sup>1</sup> 'I am Jahve who healeth thee,' Ex. xv. 26; likewise, 'I am Jahve your God,' which is often repeated in Lev. xviii. 2 sq., a passage compounded of many very ancient elements. In cases when the prophets after David rise to a similar elevation of thought and form of expression, it can only be regarded as a continuation of the genuine Mosaic style, these expressions being self-evidently very ancient ; and moreover the expressions in which these later writers speak of the ' I ' are not exactly the same, but only some-

what similar. As to the mere form of speech, the Egyptian priests also put speeches in the first person into the mouth of their gods : see S. Birch in Heidenheim's *Th. Zeitschrift* 1861, p. 228 sq. ; indeed this is everywhere the oldest oracular diction. But the matter which the Egyptian gods are thus made to speak, consists almost entirely of mere flatteries towards the kings. This gives us, therefore, an example of the constant likeness and unlikeness between the Hebrew and the Egyptian character, close side by side.

story<sup>1</sup> which, although first given by the Third Narrator, certainly presents a truth that had early grown upon the genuine Mosaic soil.<sup>2</sup> Thus was instituted here the rule of the spirit, the only enduring and eternally progressive one.

When, therefore, the entire life tends to the truly divine, and the trust of the soul goes forth only to the eternal God, all belief in that which is vain, unmeaning and hurtful is thereby extinguished, the innumerable multitude of heathen superstitions fall away before the clearer light, the idea of holiness is purified, and whatever opposes the better knowledge and aspiration is cleared out of the way. A prohibition of superstition—faith in improper helps and cures—is found in the earliest attempt at a detailed exposition of the law,<sup>3</sup> and again in the Book of Origins, and there also derived from more ancient authorities.<sup>4</sup> And if in these passages certain kinds only of superstition are expressly forbidden, it must be remembered that the form of a law is determined by the circumstances present at the time of its promulgation, and that none of the ancient languages possessed a word answering to the general idea which we express by ‘Superstition,’ while the logical inference from such instances to the general principle is self-evident.

But though this spiritual trust in the spiritual God and his mighty aid existed in those times in wonderful energy, it nevertheless manifested itself under certain historical conditions. Hence arose a peculiar expression of this trust, which in the end might easily lead to a new form of superstition. In purest trust on the true God and filled with his power, the Israelites, provided only with the simplest weapons, had fought victoriously against the Egyptians, who were completely furnished with chariots and horses and every other implement of war (p. 496 sq.) ; in like manner they afterwards overcame the not less formidably armed Canaanites, and took their strong fortresses, although themselves little skilled in sieges, and utterly disinclined to a life passed in fortified cities. Thus was fixed in the mind of the people the conviction consecrated by this first experience, that not chariots nor horses<sup>5</sup> nor fortified cities,<sup>6</sup> but Jahve alone was the true defence ;

<sup>1</sup> Num. xi. 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> For even Joel, iii. 1, 2 [ii. 28, 29], takes this truth for granted; and indeed it must have been generally acknowledged, especially after Samuel had founded the School of the Prophets.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxii. 17 [18].

<sup>4</sup> Lev. xix. 26; and see ver. 31; xx. 6.

<sup>5</sup> See Ex. xv. 1, 4; Ps. xx.; Isaiah ii. 9, and compare Zech. ix. 9, 10; Deut. xvii. 16, xx. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Isaiah xvii. 9; Micah v. 9 [10] sq. The earliest weapons and customs by which a nation has effected great things, are everywhere apt to become established for all its subsequent history. The Hellen-

and so long as this belief was held in its living and heart-stirring power, it embodied one of the highest and most enduring truths. It is surprising to see how deeply this idea leavened the whole life and practice of this ancient people; even in David's time it flourished in full power, and impelled to the mightiest deeds. Moreover, so long as any such idea is held, not as a cold and rigid formula, but as a living inspiration, it can never be hurtful to the pure spirit of religion, because it is then apprehended in its due limits. And if the great Prophets of the eighth century often speak in this strain, and even describe the Messianic age in accordance with it, they do this rather from an exalted recollection of the glorious primeval age of the community, than because they attached any importance to externals of this kind. But it cannot be denied that by degrees the absence of war-horses and chariots, as well as of fortresses, came to be regarded as an external sign of adherence to the true ancient Jahveism, although times and customs had so greatly changed. It was then only a short step further to maintain, that he who abstains from the use of these external means of defence, participates more in the grace of God. Thus would be thrust aside the higher belief that any external means is helpful only insofar as it is used by the spirit with living power, and that then all are indifferent.

d.) And, finally, if the soul of man is fixed without intermission or faltering upon what is true and eternal, then, amid the troubles and perplexities of this earthly life, his hope and trust can never be wholly deceived. That whereon his trust is based is the great spiritual Power, which is incessantly acting, whether in secret, or, at the right time, openly, for the restoration of all that has been put out of order, and thus for salvation and blessing—'the God with whom none can compare, glorious in holiness, fearful in excellence, doing wonders,' as he is termed in the ancient song of praise.<sup>1</sup> If, then, this invisible spiritual Power is ever active for good, its liege subject can never feel that evil either in himself or in the world is too great or too powerful. Rather, as he may at all times flee to that eternal hope which has its seat within, so even from without there may come to him a great deliverance, if he, unweariedly waiting and labouring, knows how to seize it at the fitting moment. And this leads on to the truth of the continual deliverance, or eternal capacity of the soul to rise from a state of bondage and

istic kings always tried to follow the tactics introduced by Alexander; and the Manchu Tartars, who conquered China 200 years ago with the bow and arrow,

have even into our own times regarded these as sacred, and as the best of weapons.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xv. 11.

degradation to one of freedom and of joy, and for ever to advance by conquest of obstacles, from a lower to a higher stage. According to the universal feeling of antiquity, the conception of a God is inseparable from that of a Protector;<sup>1</sup> but the God of Moses is to those who come near to him, not merely the Deliverer of old,<sup>2</sup> but also the ever-present *Healer* or Saviour.<sup>3</sup> But since it is only by entering into the Divine order and its laws that man can be freed from evil, redeemed and strengthened, every true deliverance must be first that of the spirit, and the only true enduring gain is that which the freed and redeemed spirit wins: as it is often said, not horse or chariot of war, not violence or sword, but Jahve alone and his spirit will save, as he in the times of old has saved.

It is true that an effort, a primary uplifting of the wrestling soul, must precede every deliverance that is to be really effected; yet the actually experienced deliverance alone first opens to man a new spiritual world, places him in a higher position, from whence he beholds and delights in that which was before closed to his eye and his heart. Only when thus delivered can he know who the delivering God is; and therefore the deliverance is essential not only to the arousing of any high views or wide surveys, but also to vivify the whole region of knowledge and of action. For what avail the three already described abstract truths, as mere propositions and demands, so long as they do not pass into the inmost life and work as living powers issuing from the heart and soul? They may possibly germinate, weak and scattered, here and there; they may knock gently at the door of the inquiring spirit; but not until they have been received, through experience and therefore through some inward upraising, into the entire life of the individual soul, and so react again from it, do they become strong and fruitful; nay, then first are they manifested in perfect certainty and clearness.

And finally, if this upraising and deliverance has been once attained, whether by an individual or by a community, and has become the blessing of their life, their true task thenceforth is never again to sink down from their hardly won position, but rather, in every new affliction and difficulty to see but a new

<sup>1</sup> I intentionally select this very general idea, believing it to occupy this position as connecting link in the series of Divine attributes, because it can be proved to be a primitive Mosaic thought; whereas the subtler conception (which is really more important on the present occasion) of God as the Creator, who, as Father, cannot do

otherwise than love his own creatures, does not appear till later in the Old Testament; indeed the Book of Origins is the first that assigns any high significance to the creation at all.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. vi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xv. 26.

call to fidelity to that which is already known, and to the achievement of further knowledge and higher stages of life : as it is constantly said that Jahve tempted Moses or the Israelites, whether they would remain steadfast to the blessings already gained, in order to win new ones.<sup>1</sup> This, however, leads us to the origin and constitution of the congregation, of which we shall speak hereafter.

But even here, amid the fulness of this new and overflowing life, there gradually springs up a want ; and amid the great furtherance of true religion, a notable hindrance to it. For that pure trust in Jahve and hope of perpetual deliverance satisfied the people then so fully, and so entirely did they see themselves therein supported and upraised by the Divine Spirit and its guidance, that they, as the people of Jahve, imagined and prefigured their future also in accordance with it. Jahve will continually guide them thus, and conduct them to victory, will bring them immediately into the beautiful land of their fathers, towards which under Moses all their longing turned—this is the one great hope of those days, the exulting anticipation with which alone the Divine word, as declared by Moses, always inspired the people (see p. 490), and which was afterwards so gloriously fulfilled. In this hope and joyful endeavour the whole higher life of the people was at that time concentrated ; and their object was then both noble and difficult enough, because it was of the utmost consequence that the higher religion should for the first time find somewhere upon the earth a nation and a fitting land in which it could firmly establish and quietly develop itself. This blissful hope, elevating the entire nation, was also that of each individual man and hero of that age, in which he gladly encountered death ; looking joyfully to a future which showed to him his house and race enjoying a more and more glorious development in the ever-advancing community of Jahve.<sup>2</sup> But the individual who lived and died on the whole with this lofty trust and hope, was naturally unburdened by any anxious outlook to the future and continued existence of his own soul ; and while the nation as a whole believed so firmly in its everlasting future, the individual paid the less regard to it for himself. Thus the religion also, in its external developments, was wont to lay no weight upon the expectation of continued existence

<sup>1</sup> It appears from Ex. xv. 25, 26, that even the earliest Narrator adopted this view; wherefore the tempting of man by Jahve is even regarded in Deut. xxxiii. 8 as a grace shown by him, and with justice.

<sup>2</sup> In no passage in the Pentateuch is

this feeling expressed with so much truth and vividness as in the words of Balaam, Num. xxiii. 10. And, doubtless, the heroes of Israel in that age went to meet their death as joyfully as the early Christians and early Moslem, though not animated by the peculiar hopes which impelled these.

for the individual spirit, and to desire perpetuity and happiness only for the earthly fatherland. Even the ancient exposition of the Ten Commandments shows this; and all the Divine promises and threatenings in the ancient religion have reference, not so much to this world and the present life, as rather only to that fair land which was the aim and the incitement of all the most earnest labours of the people.<sup>1</sup> In fact we must see in this simply a manifestation of the powerful and self-sufficing life which, springing from Jahveism in the vigour of its youth, long maintained itself unweakened. As a strong man in the midst of the triumphant whirl of life and a multitude of remunerative labours, becomes easily contented with the present, and reflects neither on the terrors of death nor on the rewards of another life; so that ancient community, amid its new great truths and the consequent inspiration of its victorious life, felt itself too preoccupied by the present and the tasks of the immediate future to be conscious of any strong necessity to look much beyond. To this it must be added that Jahveism, while dealing a blow to all the mythology that had hitherto prevailed (see p. 547 sq.), especially abhorred the generally gross heathen conceptions of events after death, because its thoughts respecting God and man's relation to him had so totally changed. Least of all could it appropriate the Egyptian notions, which were little conducive to any high religion, though fully matured into a system, and interwoven with the whole life of the Egyptians. Nay, Jahveism, with its living ardour, presented the direct opposite to the Egyptian religion, which, as easily happens in an over-civilised and effeminate people, busied itself only too much with things after death, and might be as justly termed the religion of death as Jahveism the religion of life.<sup>2</sup> Even of the old faith of the Hebrews as to the condition of man after death there remained visible but few fragments, and these weakened and impaired, and to be found only in traditions<sup>3</sup> and in thoughts and poetry of the common people.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Warburton asserted this with truth, a century ago, in his extensive but incomplete work *On the Divine Legation of Moses*; but was unable fully to trace either the source or the subsequent history of the phenomenon, and thus fell into many errors, particularly concerning the Book of Job.

<sup>2</sup> See the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, edited by Lepsius from the Turin Manuscript, Leipsic, 1842; also Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii., second series, 1841, p. 381 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> As in that of Enoch, Gen. v. 22-24. But the admission to the abode of the Gods, which is promised to all the virtuous both by the poets of the oldest songs of the Vedas and by the Egyptian priests long before Moses, would have no true meaning in connection with Jahveism, and is not mentioned at all in common life.

<sup>4</sup> As is proved by the pictures of Sheol (Hell, or rather Hades), which are scattered through the Old Testament, but never found in declarations of law.

But although the defect which thus arose would not be much felt in the first period of Israel's success and victory, it must in the course of centuries have operated very painfully, when by degrees the ancient earthly prosperity of Israel irreparably vanished, and therewith the pillars of Jahveism itself appeared to totter. Thus, as the later ages were called on to free the ancient religion from its rigidity and poverty in respect to figured representations of divine things (see p. 547) there remained here a yet more sensible deficiency for better developments to fill up. And in both cases it was of the utmost consequence that the gaps which Jahveism had left in the past development (not by chance, but owing to overwhelming influences) should be supplied from its own spirit.<sup>1</sup>

## 2) *Consequences in relation to the Congregation.*

If we next consider, with regard to their external influence, these few great truths, which we have hitherto discussed in their inner relations, it is evident that vitally to apprehend them is the same thing as to recognise their eternal duration, since a truth is pure and necessary only insofar as it is impossible to conceive it destroyed throughout all time. We read, indeed, no express declaration by Moses respecting this consciousness of the eternity of such truths, nor can we expect any from him in that simple primeval time;<sup>2</sup> but the assertion so often repeated by later writers, of the indestructibility of the religion of Jahve, finds its basis and justification in the truths now first affirmed. But that which is recognised as necessary and eternal will ever extend its sphere, and is the firmest bond by which men can be united; thus truths which, like those before us, are necessary for each man as the first law of his spiritual life, will in the end be not only of equal validity

<sup>1</sup> If, on the other hand, Jahveism at its origin had actually denied the immortality of the human soul, it is easy to perceive that it could never afterwards have received this doctrine and harmonised it with its own highest truths. But the original Jahveism never did deny it, but only maintained a provisional indifference towards that whole province of thought, which is a very different thing. This view may at the same time preserve us from erroneous conjectures. It might, for instance, be fancied that that religion regarded God as absolutely supramundane, and thus placed such an impassable gulf between him and man, that man must ap-

pear as nothing before him, and consequently incapable of possessing an immortal soul. But if the religion had started from such principles and reasonings, it would deny the immortality of the human soul, which is not the case. We must therefore say without further subtleties, that both the later doctrine of immortality and the scepticism of Ecclesiastes are completely foreign to the old religion.

<sup>2</sup> Sentences like 'May Jahve reign for ever!' in the ancient hymn, Ex. xv. 18, express rather the consciousness of Jahve as king than that of the eternity of the religion.

and necessity for all, but they will also ere long assemble around them, as aroundt he pillars of a new and secure abode, a great community of congenial minds. The very essence of a community is this—that many persons recognise and permit to rule over them the same principles and aims, as mutually binding them to action, and as entitling them to a participation in the fruits of their common efforts ; so that a truth then remains no longer isolated, a prey to chance, but as the mutual bond of many may speedily become infinitely more firm and strong. Every community grows up thus from pursuits in which all who devote themselves to them see a common benefit ; and it prosters or decays according as its special efforts, principles, and order promote or do not promote this benefit. And those fresh pursuits which arise in a time of increasing civilisation always find in existence older communities of various kinds, which they penetrate, transform, and renovate with their younger life. But from these great and simple truths, and the aims growing out of them, we now see a community arise, which, in spite of all the storms of time, struck imperishable roots in the broad soil of heathen superstition, until at length, casting off its lower branches, it developed its highest and purest bloom, overshadowing heathenism more and more grandly. And just at the moment when these truths go forth through Moses, this community also springs up from its mysterious germ. Once at least it was necessary that Moses, through the great truths which in him had obtained a vigorous life and unbounded power, should inspire a great multitude with answering thoughts and deeds, and that on the basis of these truths the whole people should experience an actual inward upraising and deliverance ; so that it became Jahve's, that is the true God's, people, to him belonging, and from him inseparable ; and that was the true sacred moment of the founding of this community. Without this assumption, the whole history that follows is inexplicable ; but for doubt respecting it there is no ground whatever. (See p. 493 sqq.) Some spiritual elevation the founding of every community demands ; and here what remote laws and claims, and, for that age, how burdensome !

a.) Since then this community is founded on truths which in their nature are indispensable, and, when heartily received and well employed, must prove most beneficial and salutary to every one ; it is obvious that all its members, bound as they are to like exertions and duties, are entitled to equal rights and blessings as their fruit. The demand made on all is briefly expressed, sometimes as ‘to be holy because Jahve is

holy;'' sometimes as 'having once heard Jahve's voice to hearken to it evermore and to follow him,'<sup>2</sup> or to express the same thing in another way, to maintain unbroken the spiritual height to which they had been raised by the living reception of the truth—to live permanently and constantly under those sanctifying influences which they had once experienced, prepared at all times to receive and follow them anew. This is the universal demand from above and duty from below: a duty in which, when pursued into details, an inexhaustible series of special duties lies.

But as all members of the community without distinction are in this sense bound to like duties, they are likewise all entitled to like enjoyment of the blessings which correspond to these duties. These blessings are—Equality of all before God, so that the direct knowledge and full use of the spiritual truths which are the very source and basis of the community is withheld from none; Justice for all without exception, or free access of all to those benign and salutary laws (springing from these truths) which regulate and maintain the community; Unimpeded development of every faculty and power under the protection of the community. 'I will be your God,' that is, ye shall have in me a gracious protector withal, whom ye shall not serve in vain, is without doubt an ancient Mosaic declaration,<sup>3</sup> with which the other, 'ye shall be my people,' that is, ye shall minister to my glory,<sup>4</sup> is naturally joined, so as to complete the idea of reciprocity, which lies at the basis of all right and all religion. But to the protection and the blessings which this God grants to his true people, and which must appear doubly real since they can be exhibited in external ordinances, all without exception have a claim, if they do but fulfil the condition of their attainment. Here therefore, in direct opposition to the Egyptians and many other nations, different castes among the people are not possible; or if, nevertheless, through a sort of weakness, exceptions do occur during the course of the history, such as that of the erection of the Levites into an hereditary sacerdotal caste, still a happier time may come, which will overcome such aberrations, and revert again to the original law on all these points.

Thus, therefore, sounds the joyful word of promise, which

<sup>1</sup> From the ancient passage, Lev. xix. 2, so frequently repeated afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xix. 5, xv. 26, xxiii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. vi. 7, xxix. 45; Lev. xi. 45, xxii. 33, xxv. 38; Num. xv. 41; whence it is clear that this is an expression peculiar to

the Book of Origins.

<sup>4</sup> In the varying passages Lev. xxvi. 12, Deut. xxix. 12 [13], and frequently employed both by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; derived originally from Ex. xix. 5,

introduces and accompanies the founding of this community—the true Gospel of Jahveism:<sup>1</sup>—‘Ye shall be my possession before all nations; for mine is the whole earth;’ and further, as an explanation of this: ‘ye shall be to me a kingdom of Priests (that is a kingdom consisting only of priests),<sup>2</sup> and a holy nation.’ In truth such declarations, when rightly understood, are neither too mysterious nor too high. For nowhere else in antiquity was a nation or a community established on principles so strictly spiritual and indestructible, and starting legitimately from aims so pure. While elsewhere, especially in this early time, the difference was firmly established between the laity and the priests as privileged and more holy persons, standing nearer to the Deity, here every one without distinction was to stand as near to the True and Holy One, as if, in the sense of other nations, he were himself a priest; so that not a few individuals among the people, but the entire people, was holy. And while other national communities, owing to the great multitude of errors and superstitions cherished by them, were separated from the true invisible God as from a foreign and distant ruler, this spiritually redeemed community was undoubtedly before all others his inalienable possession. For as man strictly possesses as his own only that on which he has placed his faith and his thought, which in fact are a portion of his own spirit (for inherited property is to be regarded not as acquired, but only as continued); we may truly say that God himself chooses as his only peculiar possession such a community as this, in which his spirit is really active and living, and to which he must therefore be ever drawn anew as to his own; even as each individual in whom dwells a vigorous spiritual and holy life, feels himself as belonging to God, and not disunited from him. Thus these apparently high-sounding words express no more than a just anticipation of the exceedingly glorious and lasting vocation to which this community was called through its precedent conditions, and which had indeed already grown into life within it. But on the other hand, in that very feeling of deliverance and favour beyond all other nations, is contained that which leads as strongly to humility on the part of this community. To influence their treatment of others, the stranger and the distressed, they find therein the strongest appeal for all possible gentleness and benevolence, for they were con-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xix. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> This is certainly a very unusual and enigmatical phrase, analogous to those mentioned p. 442; but such sharp antitheses and apparently irreconcilable con-

tradictions may be expected in the commencement of every religion of more than common depth, which has to rise in rebellion against long-rooted errors.

stantly called on to remember that they themselves were once in Egyptian—the most extreme—helplessness, and were delivered and made glorious only by Divine grace.<sup>1</sup> In respect to themselves, they found therein the strongest incitement to humility and thoughtfulness; for the delivered community could not but reflect that the greatness of the Divine deliverance must correspond to the fidelity of man, and thus every breach of that fidelity must be more severely and swiftly punished by Jahve, the nearer to him the community had been brought.<sup>2</sup>

b.) The equality of all the members of the community before Jahve, established here, is by no means such as either excludes or abolishes the difference between human capacities and vocations. Even independently of the differences among men in the lower life, there are in respect to the higher or religious life itself necessary gradations.

(i) First and principally, in this community the PROPHET must exist. For it was founded solely by means of prophetic activity (p. 470 sqq.); and that whereby it was founded must as far as possible remain ever effective in it, if it is not to decay. And since its first great Prophet, who was its founder, could only give the earliest and most essential fundamentals of true religion, it was desirable, even on this account, that he should find as many followers as possible to carry on the work which he had but commenced, and which was as yet far from its completion. The more mighty and pure the declaration of the divine word, and the farther it advanced in truth from the principles once given, overcoming errors as they arose, the more gloriously would the community, thus powerfully stimulated, flourish, or at least would emerge the more vigorously after every storm; while it would approach the nearer to its dissolution, as this its innermost life-force grew weak or suffered in its purity: this was the law of the duration of this peculiar community. Whoever, therefore, in it feels himself actually called to be a prophet, must speak as the spirit of Jahve moves him, even if he had been until that moment a mere herdsman in the field;<sup>3</sup> and men must hearken to his words to judge whether the voice of the divine truth is actually heard in them or not.<sup>4</sup> The light of Jahve, which had once shone brightly before the people, and by which the community itself had been

<sup>1</sup> ‘Remember that ye were (helpless) strangers in Egypt’ are the beautiful words, in which this is expressed; often repeated in Deuteronomy from the ancient passages, Lev. xix. 34; Ex. xxii. 20, xxiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The Lord begins the judgment with his own house’ is the shortest expression

for this thought, employed in 1 Peter iv. 17, quite in the spirit and almost in the words of Jeremiah (xxv. 29), as well as of other great prophets of the Old Testament.

<sup>3</sup> Amos vii.

<sup>4</sup> As strictly speaking is testified throughout the Old Testament.

called into life, must constantly beam forth anew, that all may walk in it and take it for their guide.<sup>1</sup> But he who will act as prophet in this community must be prepared to be in all points like Moses, the first prophet and great prototype of all that should follow. As he willingly undertook all services for the community, and with the greatest self-sacrifice sought in all things not his own good but theirs<sup>2</sup>—he who, according to a true tradition<sup>3</sup> derived from the earliest Narrator, was the meekest and most peaceable but at the same time the most sorely-tried man upon the earth, and who (according to the beautiful stories springing out of the genuine conception of the true community)<sup>4</sup> was so far from seeking fame and greatness for himself, coupled with danger or destruction to the community, that unless he could avert these he did not even wish to live—so must any later aspirant learn to be a true prophet, before all else, by discarding his own human thought and will, and avoiding even the smallest act whereby he may in any degree contribute to degrade the community from its once attained elevation. And then he must know, as Moses did (according to the Third Narrator), that all prophecy even the mightiest and most successful, so far from being its own object, ought to desire that it should itself soon come to an end through all members of the community becoming prophets—not indeed in its external manifestation (which is eloquent speech), but in its internal essence, the free spontaneity and power of the divine life (p. 551 sq.). But it is clear that prophecy, taking this position in the community, does but impose heavier duties, and grants no greater privileges, to the man who is invested with it than properly belongs to every member of the community who fulfils his duty. Yet precisely because prophecy in this community was intended to maintain its purest elevation, it could not<sup>5</sup> be accepted as an institution continued without interruption; since the influence of its spirit is the freest possible, coming and going uncalled by man.

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah ii. 5; compare the exposition in Micah iv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xvi. 15, from the Book of Origins.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xii. 3; compare Ex. xi. 3, which passage has probably also been preserved from the earliest Narrator.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxxii. 9 sqq.; Num. xiv. 11–20.

<sup>5</sup> As, for instance, in Egypt, where the prophet's office, being identical with the highest priesthood, formed only one special rank in the priesthood, and therefore hereditary with certain persons, Clem. Alex. Strom., vi. 4; it was therefore placed

at the head of all the special forms of priesthood, or attached to the High Priest's office; compare Choerilus, apud Porphyrium *de Abstinentiâ*, iv. 8, with *οἱ ἀρχιεπίσκοποι καὶ προφῆται* in the Rosetta inscription. In opposition to this system, Jahveism brought Prophecy to perfection for the ancient world, only by freeing it from all external restraints. The connection which even here subsisted in some respects between the prophetic and the sacerdotal office, is not due to the original principle, but rather to the supervening incidents of history.

(ii) The second is therefore the PRIESTHOOD, as a permanent board for preserving and administering the truths already given, as well as the sacred objects connected with them. From the picture of this office given in the Book of Origins, Aaron has ever since been regarded as its exemplar. This rank being a permanent one, easily gained more external influence than prophecy, though far inferior to that both in original power and in independence; but the two functions, precisely on account of their different relation to the same object, religion, might easily come into collision with each other. All this is clearly shown in the mutual relation of the exemplars, Aaron the elder, and Moses the younger, as first described at length in the Book of Origins. Now, if the Priests, like the Prophets, had merely taken on themselves more duties than the rest of the people (on the ground that for the advancement of religion, as for every special faculty and art, it is desirable that persons should be found who can engage in it constantly with more zeal and skill than can be demanded of all), the office of Priest would have become a position in the nation, more permanent and defined by rule than that of Prophet, but still freely movable, and open to all. But history shows that everywhere in ancient times a permanent position in a nation readily became an hereditary one;<sup>1</sup> and to this was added in the case of the Priesthood, that the fitting guardianship and provision for sacred things was even in ancient Israel (see p. 549 sqq.) so very circumstantial, and demanded so great an amount, not merely of peculiar knowledge, but also of special art and skill, that only a priesthood trained up, as in Egypt, by inherited tradition and education in early youth seemed altogether adapted to its object. But that the particular tribe of Levi received the distinction of the hereditary priesthood with all its higher and lower offices, was a result at which history doubtless arrived gradually—accidentally, as it were, and without special design on the part of Moses. This result may have been determined, on the one hand by the more active assistance in his plans which Moses must have received from his own tribe, on the other by the grateful reverence which the people would cherish for their great leader towards the close of his life and immediately after his death.<sup>2</sup> For certainly before

<sup>1</sup> In the earliest age of Greek history prophecy was even hereditary in some houses: see Klausen's *Aeneas und die Penaten*, i. p. 112, and O. Müller's *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i. p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> So in Islam the descendants of the Prophet bearing the name Seid, or (with

certain distinctions) that of Sherif, form the only hereditary nobility, and might very possibly have inherited also the priestly office, if that had possessed the same importance in Islam as in the ancient religions of cultivated nations.

Moses the tribe of Levi did not possess any such prerogative; since according to the earliest accounts Levi was the third and not the first son of Jacob, which of itself shows that he had no claim to sacerdotal preeminence,<sup>1</sup> and since besides in the primeval age he, like Simeon and Judah, appears a merely warlike tribe, and even endowed with a rare degree of barbarism and cruelty, the exact opposite of the priestly character.<sup>2</sup> And there are moreover a multitude of indications which show that this tribe did not receive its priestly dignity even immediately on the appearance of Moses.

An hereditary priesthood, however, really introduces an open contradiction into the highest truths of Jahveism, according to which not one portion of the community but the entire people should be a holy priesthood of Jahve. This principle indeed it was that laid the basis of its preeminence over the Egyptians and all the other heathens (p. 560). That, therefore, which involves so palpable a contradiction can only have arisen from a certain need and weakness of the time, like many other things of the same kind which have been already mentioned. As Jahveism is really suitable for all nations without distinction (p. 541 sq.), and carries within it a decided tendency to universality, but for a while in the narrowness of the age was confined to the one people of Israel; so, as soon as it was shown that the whole people were not yet capable of maintaining permanently unimpaired their exalted truths, and therein their own dignity, there was formed in Israel itself a smaller circle which maintained them for the time with the greater firmness. And for this reason there are certain accounts<sup>3</sup> which permit us to see as in a glass how decidedly the authority of a priestly tribe sprang by degrees out of the perplexities and weaknesses of the time, and that it must therefore again disappear so soon as the entire community had attained the indomitable resolution for ever to protect that which was sacred among them. And this is one of the most excellent characteristics of the Old Testament, that even where its sublime original truths suffer through the violence of the times, it ever permits us to recognise the original essential thought, because in this community itself a consciousness of it could never be wholly lost. But in the end only the one great gospel (Exod. xix. 5) remains preeminent over every other principle—that gospel, which was in existence before all hereditary priesthoods, and outlasts them all, fast-rooted as they

<sup>1</sup> In the primitive age a claim to the priesthood was grounded upon primogeniture.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxiv. xl ix. 5–7; comp. p. 378 sqq.  
<sup>3</sup> Especially Num. xvi. xvii.; Ex. xxxii. –xxxiv.

were for many ages; and since this priesthood had always to tolerate by its side the freest Prophetic office, it was saved from ever becoming completely an Egyptian or Brahminical one.

(iii) Many other ranks, offices and gifts become prominent in this community, with various grades of artists, poets, learned men of every kind; but every individual and every class which seeks to attain eminence in it, must each in a special way, differing according to the particular calling, be yet strongly influenced by that same spirit of Jahve which had founded and constantly upheld the whole community.<sup>1</sup>

c.) Thus therefore, in spite of such gradations, all its members remain legally equal before its God. Here it is the Community that exists first, built up and held together through the divine truths by which it is animated; and not till afterwards, amid this equality of all its members before God, arise the human gradations, which can properly never bar the way to the free access of all to the highest truths, and to the beneficial action of all through them. A community resting upon such foundations is as little to be found elsewhere in the ancient world as is that higher religion itself which in it assumed its earthly body.

But hence it follows, finally, that neither with respect to its duties nor to its blessings can it be imposed, or in any way whatever made compulsory. Rather its possibility only is brought near to men, through a free display of its conditions, and a statement of its objects and import; and only a willing adoption of its spirit and a free acceptance of its duties, bind men to its maintenance and to its laws—laws, however, which, as soon as they are received by men, react at once with full severity against those who transgress them. This is, as was observed on p. 524 sqq., the purport of the conception derived even from the earliest Narrator respecting the solemn Covenant of Jahve with the people, Ex. xix.—xxiv. 11.<sup>2</sup> For everything which is valid as law among men, results from a contract, either silent or expressed, between two supposed parties; and only a free agreement, after the weighing of every reason and the accommodation of every dispute, binds both completely. Even in ordinary communities and kingdoms this is accepted as a

<sup>1</sup> As the seventy elders were in an especial manner filled by the divine spirit, Num. xi. 10–30, and as Jahve fills the best artificers with the spirit of wisdom or (what is mentioned as identical) the Spirit of God, Ex. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 31, xxxi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Origins then imports this idea into the constitution of the three

Premosaic periods distinguished by him, that of Abraham (Gen. xvii.), of Noah (Gen. ix.) and even of Adam (Gen. i. 28–30); though in the latter case, as Adam has not yet erred and there is therefore no severed connection to be restored, the idea of a covenant is less prominent, and the single will of God more.

fundamental principle; and every just contract of the kind, which regarded from without appears to be simply a covenant between two men, or between a king and his subjects, is in its inner essence likewise a covenant between the lower or human principles which are given up and the higher or divine ones which are received—an adjustment of the strife between man and God. But this principle must have been most powerfully operative at the founding of this community, in which under Moses as the Mediator,<sup>1</sup> the most eternal truths and principles, proposed from above and freely accepted from below, became for the first time earthly laws, which were able to bind together the noblest community. It is clear too that what on this subject was most strictly and necessarily true at the origin of the community, must also hold good in all later cases of like kind, even though of less significance: so that, for instance, afterwards, by virtue of the existing sacredness of the community, the king and the people could make a similar covenant respecting some special matter and God himself be likewise present, although the narrative be silent respecting it.<sup>2</sup>

If then the community has originated thus, and starts solely from these principles as its all-regulating laws, the truths which have built it up, instead of remaining external to it, ought rather in process of time to penetrate it even more deeply and become more inseparably its heart and soul. It has had the courage to place its reliance on pure truths; these therefore after each temporary shock, sink ever deeper into its soil, as fruitful scions, and grow with it ineradicably. The stability and the permanence of the community itself become their protection and guard in troubled days; so that in every new age they may awake in fresh power and expansion; as on the other hand they constantly work upon the community, now reproofing and punishing, now consoling and elevating. The consciousness of this high significance of the community cannot certainly be so clear at its commencement, when these results are not as yet discernible; and it is a later Prophet<sup>3</sup> who first declares it briefly and distinctly in the words: ‘The spirit of Jahve can never depart from his community.’ But it is desirable for us to trace the extensive relations of this historical development from its first visible origin, and to confess that, while in the mysterious darkness of the Mosaic time lay the fruitful germ of all the later greatness of this community, in Christianity its fundamental essence endures for ever.

<sup>1</sup> *Mosèrns* Gal. iii. 19.

xi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Jer. xxxiv. 8, with 2 Kings

\* Isaiah lix. 21, lxiii. 11.

*3) The Government : the Theocracy.*

Where the pure divine truths spoken of at pp. 531-558 are accepted from on high, and this principle rules the community here below, these two combine to give life to a THEOCRACY. Every community must in the last resort have a head, by which all its members are bound together, and before which all are perfectly equal, both in obedience and in liability to punishment. When however it is really a higher fundamental thought that has founded a community, which is the case here, as in every spiritual religion, then there is always formed, strictly speaking, a higher community above a lower, a divine kingdom above an earthly one. For ordinary governments, such as arise out of religions of a lower kind, out of merely national necessities, or even from conquests or other similar causes, have always been long in existence, and generally very firmly established too, before a higher religion has sprung up and rallied around itself a more or less numerous band of believers. And since such a higher kingdom forming itself within the lower is properly a kingdom of religion only—that is of hearts and souls under a Divine head, of necessity invisible—it may rightly coexist with the earlier developed lower or national government with its visible human ruler, and even found amidst the diversities of nationality a higher unity of faith and morals, and thus more and more imbue and purify the secular with its spirit; and may also itself at times be chastened with advantage by the visible and external (or secular) authority, when, as is quite possible, it permits itself to be carried away by passion, and thus to do what is utterly opposed to its own end.<sup>1</sup> This has been the case both with Christianity and Buddhism, unlike as they are in their origin.

But that higher religion which rose under Moses upon the soil of older communities, made its advent with such amazing power as to set up the pure spiritual God, who here first appeared on earth and first showed his infinite might, as the sole ruler even for all secular relations, and expressly excluded every human king. So entirely are the Israelites Jahve's own nation, that in the strictest sense they hold Jahve alone to be

<sup>1</sup> This I consider the only sound view on this subject, which leads me to object, on the one hand, to the absorption of the State into the Church, which the Popes desire in blind imitation of the Old Testament as misunderstood by them, and, on

the other, to the opposite extreme desired by some modern philosophers, especially at Berlin; and I believe that the duality of the political and the spiritual kingdoms will cease only with the end of each, i. e. with the Last Day.

their King. Proud as they feel to think that he descended from heaven to receive and name them his people, they manifest an equal pride in the privilege of obeying no other king, and an equal determination for ever to follow his word and command alone. Thus the covenant between Jahve and the people, the general meaning of which was explained at p. 566, binds them together in a union which is at once the closest and the highest possible : it embraces everything, and everything immediately ; there can be nothing, national or otherwise, that is foreign to it. The nation looks to Jahve ; each individual in it looks towards him in everything ; for him alone they live, fight and conquer. By his arm, mighty though invisible, they hope, as in former times, so in all future ages to be saved, and made for ever victorious.<sup>1</sup> They pay him homage and indissoluble vows of eternal allegiance, and expect from him in return unfailing guardianship. Whatever of true love and tender devotion a happy people may feel elsewhere towards an earthly king, is here all given to the King Eternal and Invisible, as the highest object of all thought and love, in incalculably greater strength and purity.<sup>2</sup> They know him to be present, although unseen, with his holy glance and his almighty power, in their camp, their field, their dwelling ; with him as their leader they go forth to battle, and with him return home ; his presence is felt both in the even repose of life, and in yet greater force in all its great crises ; and if he himself in his full majesty is not to be heard by mortal ear, yet in the darkest times they clearly catch the voice of his messengers.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly we find all those titles of distinction and those securities which naturally belong to the monarchical relation, and are elsewhere used in connection with the earthly monarch, here strictly applied to the divine ; eternal dominion, which according to the ordinary custom of language in those countries, is the wish expressed towards an earthly king, is here desired for Jahve,<sup>4</sup> and the offence of indiscreet speech against Majesty, and the actual

<sup>1</sup> It is a very significant trait that the Old Testament regards a man as truly victorious, not when he can put to flight or massacre his enemy to his heart's content, but when he himself is delivered from a danger that threatened his life ; for he only truly conquers who by the Divine Spirit is saved from such a danger, and every true victory is a spiritual salvation ; compare يَوْمٌ victorious and נִיצָחָה victory. The Arabs however have also the same conception in the words انتصر منصور and منصور.

<sup>2</sup> This is not merely proved by the passages Judges viii. 22-24; 1 Sam. viii. sq. but is really echoed from all parts of the Old Testament in the most diverse tones, since whatever form the times might take, the fundamental tendency of the community could never be wholly lost.

<sup>3</sup> The power of this faith is sufficiently evident from such passages as Judges v. 13, 23; 2 Sam. v. 24, Ps. cx. 1, xliv. 10 [9]; or indeed from the entire Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup> In the ancient hymn Ex. xv. 18, and once even by David himself in Ps. xviii. 47 [46].

crime of wanton insult to it,<sup>1</sup> is here committed only against Jahve, and punished on his behalf, as elsewhere on behalf of the earthly ruler.

This is the Theocracy,<sup>2</sup> which was prepared during the Egyptian age, is now established by law, and is to try for the future to maintain its original nature in perfect purity. Accordingly it is not a mere idea or even a mere aspiration, but something perfectly definite, and penetrating the whole essence of the community. Were it nothing more than the declared determination of a people or a government, that they would not consent to an existence without the living power of divine truth, and therefore without constant divine guidance, but that rather they would hold it as their highest glory, everywhere to recognise it, and to subordinate everything to it: even then it should never be wanting as an effort for the present, and as an aim and necessity for the future. Thus in Christianity it is never wanting, where this is anything more than a pretence. But then it was something quite different; it was intended to have a direct and universal force, and therefore strictly excluded all human dominion beside itself. And although this community was intended to have a monarchy, quite as much and as strictly as any other nation, yet it was of a kind until then unknown to any.

It is in this point that Jahveism as a whole first culminates. In its inner life it is wholly spiritual, but entering into the world, it must at once adjust itself to definite temporal relations, and restrict itself within a nationality. But again the temporal and the national do not suffice for it; therefore the spiritual and the national strive to become one in it, the latter being wholly transfigured into the former, and asserting itself only so far as it does not contradict the former. But in practice this requires that every individual among the people should by his

<sup>1</sup> The sin is described in the third commandment, Ex. xx. 7, the crime as something more definite, Lev. xxiv. 10-16.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus implies that the Greeks were not acquainted with any government of this kind, where he says that he had first formed the word θεοπατική, ἐσ τὸν εἶναι βασιλεὺς τὸν λόγον, *Against Apion*, ii. 16. At a later time indeed Iamblichus in his *Life of Pythagoras*, xxx. xxxiii. (174, 240), speaks of the true Theocracy, but probably with no more idea of its actual realisation than Porphyry has of the miraculous calming of the waves mentioned by him in his *Life of Pythagoras*, xxxix. The cases in the heathen world in which

a Prophet or a Lawgiver speaks in the name of his God, as Lycurgus in that of the Delphic God, Zaleucus in that of Pallas Athene, or in which an oracle formed the centre of a political community, are very far from producing a Mosaic Theocracy, if it were only because no community like the Mosaic existed there. There is no need to notice mere copies, such as those of Mohammed and the Popes; Philo terms the Theocracy *Monarchy*: but his book on the subject shows that he had formed no clear and adequate conception of these early Mosaic times. His second book of this name ought rather to be entitled '*On the Sanctuary and the Priests*'.

free determination constantly subordinate his will to the higher will, and acknowledge himself the servant and the champion of Jahve, in order that the selfsame Spirit from above may alone bear rule, as the guide of all. And this is not a mere expectation or desire, it is the highest law binding on all, the fundamental constitution of the realm; for if the King be invisible, his kingdom is visible and outward, for it is the nation. The really grand point of this Theocracy, which is pregnant with important consequences, is that here for the first time a demand for the purest religion was set up with the utmost decision on the part of an entire nation. This nation resolves to seek its entire life and happiness only in sedulously avoiding all human violence and caprice, and always following the better truth alone when once perceived, and in being raised by the eternal, invisible power, just as much as if it had been a visible earthly power; thus shall the Ideal, which has once approximately been among them, abidingly remain with them; and since here below this is not possible unless each individual, with his utmost endeavour, constantly receives into his own will that of Jahve, the most active cooperation of all towards one divine end is demanded. Thus is introduced the strongest contrast to all those worldly kingdoms whose aim and end lie only in themselves, which arise and pass away solely by means of human force and caprice. Here for the first time a kingdom exists, which recognises its end and its aim as something beyond itself; which has arisen not by human power, nor by human power can grow; which because it desires that only which is divine, bears within itself a germ of eternal duration, through which in spite of every change it does in fact maintain itself for ever, so far as its inner truth is concerned, and in Christianity only rises again into a new youth and intrinsic perfection. Whatever form then this Theocracy assumed at first, it was the fulfilment of the great attempt to grasp a true religion, and the most distinct expression of its spirit.

However self-consistent and safe a principle the Theocracy must have appeared, it obviously came into its historical existence among the Israelites with reference to its direct antithesis, the form of government of which the nation had just had a severe experience in Egypt. There the Israelites had long and bitterly felt what human kingship is, where it governs without the truth and grace of the Divine Kingship, that is, without true religion (p. 430 sq.). And in every heathen rule, all the corruption inherent in a false religion

readily develops itself most powerfully. No wonder that the Israelites, upon their great deliverance, felt an unconquerable abhorrence of all human kingship as it had hitherto existed in the world, and as they especially had tasted its bitter fruits ; and that they desired, in the direst opposition to it, for ever to devote themselves to him alone as their King, whose saving hand they had known as no other people, and whom through Moses they had learned to reverence. And this contrast evidently influenced them very powerfully.

The first form accordingly, in which the Theocracy established itself, was indeed the strongest and most direct, and therefore liable by exaggeration to become the most onesided, because it strictly forbade all human kingship ; but it was withal the boldest and the most gigantic conceivable. For if even the individual with difficulty dedicates his entire life at all times to the service of the Invisible One, of whom he must each moment preserve a clear consciousness, unaided by any external support or hope : how much more difficult must it be for an entire people, without any human kingship and the external order and stability thereby gained, ever to find their unity and strength in the invisible and mystic kingdom, and voluntarily to renounce for their kingdom every support from without ! It is obviously easier for an individual than for an entire nation to do justice to the demands of a theocracy ; and indeed history shows that while its vivid apprehension gradually decayed in the nation, it still flourished in many individuals with ever increasing fervour. That it was once actually received and maintained unanimously by an entire nation as their highest law, was a gigantic effort—one of the Titanic enterprises to which nations in the vigorous period of their youth often do rouse their powers—and it was an effort that raised them into the noblest sphere, and strained all their highest moral powers. Only during a period of lofty courage and extraordinary spiritual elevation, in which a nation had actually had living experience of the true delivering God (as we must picture to ourselves the first happy period of Israel's deliverance), is the unanimous resolution to adopt such a form of government intelligible—a resolution far nobler and bolder than that of expelling the Tarquins or the Peisistratidæ. The fact that in Israel there had hitherto been no royal house, that the nation in fact had never before had a native king, and that at this time the entire machinery of a constitution had to be formed from the beginning and put on a secure basis, undoubtedly operated very favourably for the pure Theocracy, and permitted

its complete establishment without injury to any member of the nation. But the fact that those whom circumstances had placed at the head of the community, and especially Moses himself, did not follow the example of other nations<sup>1</sup> and found a kingdom for themselves or their favourites, when it would have been so easy to do so, points obviously to a time, when the sufficiency of the protection of the invisible God was experienced with such power that even the mightiest ruler among the people recoiled from the thought of founding an earthly kingdom.

But amid the redundant fulness of this trust in God, there existed a defect, at first indeed scarcely perceptible, but which in the course of time made itself the more painfully felt. This defect concerns the nature and office of human rulers under the Theocracy; for such there must be under any form of government, and they are not excluded by the Theocracy (p. 562 sqq.), when they appear as mere instruments of the true unchangeable king Jahve, and are recognised as such by the community; and if such instruments could be always found in the requisite succession and efficiency, this theocratic constitution might suffice for ever. Certainly Moses was such a perfectly sufficient instrument; and the true Prophet in the oldest sense of the word (p. 470 sqq.) is always the most capable of acting up to the demands of such a constitution, because through him the best counsel is always promulgated, and the whole nation hangs upon his words, as the words of God himself. Only among a people in the midst of whom Prophecy had already appeared and enjoyed the purest development and the mightiest influence, could such a constitution become possible, still less develop such enduring power.<sup>2</sup> It was not indeed to be expected that the command of the guiding prophet should be always immediately followed;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It might be supposed that perhaps the reason why Israel in those early ages had no king, was, that in simpler times royal power is not yet needed, as was the case in many old German, and many Arabian tribes. But with regard to the Hebrews this supposition would be wholly erroneous. The Egyptians and the Canaanites, with whom the Israelites had chiefly to contend, had long been monarchial; and likewise the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Idumeans, to whom the Israelites were most nearly related by blood; although respecting the last named, the establishment of Monarchy was still remembered: compare Num. xx. 14, with Gen. xxxvi. 31-39. The Midianites indeed, as well as most of the pure Arabian

tribes, do not seem to have possessed it: but the essential and the only peculiar feature of the case of the Israelites is this, that, not eschewing monarchy, but rather desiring as much as any other nation to possess it, they wished to have an invisible king.

<sup>2</sup> See Ex. xviii. 19, where this thought is most clearly expressed by the earliest narrator: 'Be thou (Moses) to the people confronting God,' i.e., their Mediator before God.

<sup>3</sup> The history of Moses himself, indeed, as will presently be shown, bears witness of the contrary. In like manner Mohammed by no means everywhere found immediate obedience.

but in the end the community was always constrained after all to recognise in his words the divine command and the true guidance, while he himself never desired to rule independently, but was always trying to establish an understanding between the community and God, and referred them to God alone as the source of power, being distinctly conscious that he himself was only an instrument in his hand. So long as Moses lived, therefore, the defect was concealed; and might so continue for a long time after, according to the scope of the influence projected by his spirit upon the following age. But in what people could a prophet so great and so universally recognised by a nation be at all times found? And as soon as ever such a prophet was wanting, instead of the highest order, the proper concomitant of a Theocracy, extreme helplessness and disorganisation might easily rush in; while yet the original dread of an earthly king might long continue, and even in the course of time become inveterate. The most wonderful and gigantic course, might therefore here, as ever, prove the most dangerous; and in the very principle which was the crown and summit of the whole, lay dormant the possibility of an awful insecurity and decay.

### *3. The Regulations and Morals of the Community.*

1) The permanent erection of the community itself, with Jahve, not merely as its eternal, but also for the present in the strictest sense its only king,<sup>1</sup> was the great institution of that age. As for the consequent specific arrangements of the community, they might, it is true, be quite as simple as were those fundamental principles. Nevertheless, the newly awokened spirit did not at once act with equal force in all directions of the national life. In every newly organised community, much that belonged to its earlier condition is sure to be retained for a considerable period. Some however of its existing elements may be absolutely incapable of being penetrated by the new spirit, and therefore remain foreign, or even utterly at variance with it. These may be gradually thrown off and annihilated in the progress of civilisation. Such for example was the fate of the custom of avenging bloodshed; which, although in fact practised for a considerable period after Moses, was very early condemned on principle by the new spirit, which tolerated neither murder nor private revenge, and was

<sup>1</sup> As is said poetically and beautifully, but briefly, Deut. xxxiii. 2-5; on the meaning of the words, see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iii. p. 234.

therefore abolished in actual life at no very late period. Or when an old institution seems to be comparatively unimportant or harmless, it may be left long untouched, almost unnoticed, but protected by the force of custom; an example of this we see in the Levirate (or marriage of the brother's widow).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, such institutions as clearly run directly counter to the new ideas and aspirations, are soon and completely put aside, at all events by the more scrupulous; this we see exemplified in the worship of images. While thus sifting and rejecting, the new spirit also appropriates to itself much that was old, and attaches to it its own new interpretation so firmly and inseparably, that only an exact knowledge and investigation of the previous history can again dissolve and exhibit separately the originally diverse elements. Thus to the primitive custom of circumcision was attached the idea of the community and its sacredness; and yet more strongly to the ancient eve of the Spring-festival (the Passover) was attached the idea of the great historical deliverance whereby the community achieved its existence; so that the festival became a yearly remembrance of this deliverance.

But the foundation of the Israelite community and their distinct national development fell in a comparatively very early period, in which men were most exposed to the impressions, the compulsive force, and the enchantment of nature. If the Egyptians and the Canaanites were then in many respects already far removed from nature, yet the Israelites with their simpler civilisation still stood very near to her. Accordingly, from this primeval age of the community much has been retained by it, which evidently testifies to the original great dependence of man upon nature. In the midst of all the customs and usages of Jahveism, this still exists as a separate portion, forming the link which attaches it both to its own primeval age and to heathenism. To this belong many arrangements for the service of God himself: on these the Israelites bestowed the more scrupulous care, as they thought it necessary to show that they did not less securely possess, nor less carefully honour their invisible God than did the heathen their visible deities. To the same class belong, further, the ancient sacrifices, which were tenaciously retained in their stringent form, and even carried on to greater extremes, the further the nation was removed from the effeminate life of the Egyptians (p. 481). To the same class also especially belong the many regulations respecting purification, concerning which

<sup>1</sup> See my *Altorthümer*, p. 239 sq.

outward rite the Israelites, like the nations of the Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) religion, became excessively scrupulous, mainly from the feeling that inwardly, through their earliest training, they were a pure and holy nation. But if Jahveism in this last respect shows a spirit very similar to the Zarathustrian, in other points it differs very widely from it.

2) But the new spirit awakened through Moses would not show any very great power, if beyond the general institution of the community it had called forth no new specific arrangements, which at the time strictly expressed, and to future ages preserved, its own spirit. And such new Jahveistic institutions there are. The institution of the Sabbath, for instance, can neither be proved to have existed before his time, nor to have been established subsequently. It is certainly purely Mosaic, and it perfectly expresses the sentiment of the new spirit which was to animate the community. For the demand made upon the community by the new religion is, that without break or relaxation they should always live for holiness alone. But amid the labours and the needs of actual life this demand cannot every moment be perfectly fulfilled, because the mind becomes immersed in worldly toils also. Therefore let the community, at least at definite periods not too far apart, have a pause in the common lower cares and avocations of life, and collect their energies with the greater zeal for the life of holiness, that they be not too long and too far estranged from it. No institution could be devised which would require so few outward signs or equipments, nor which would so directly lead man both to supply what is lost in the tumult of life, and effectually to turn his thoughts again to the higher and the eternal. Thus the Sabbath, though the simplest and most spiritual, is at the same time the wisest and most fruitful of institutions; and thus it becomes the true symbol of the higher religion which now entered into the world, and the most eloquent witness to the greatness of the human soul which first grasped the idea of it. But again, because in the Sabbath the new life first found its adequate expression, its author sought to carry it out through the changes of human existence with such youthful energy and grand consistency, that it should become the regulator and the restorer of all that in man's slow progress may be disordered or destroyed in the ever widening circles of the nation, the country, and the realm.

With respect, then, to the outward forms, in which the new thoughts took shape; the Community itself, and as its corrective, the Sabbath, in the widest sense of that word, are the new

creations which sprang out of this grand period; and they possessed foundations so indestructible, and at the same time were so closely united, that they have both lasted through all times down to our own, essentially unchanged.

3) But the new direction which life assumed in this community expresses itself not merely thus in the creative force necessary for founding new institutions which shall represent and encourage its own spirit; it turns itself also with energy against all that is inimical to it, and to put powerful restraint upon this, it readily adopts various new usages. And the more peculiar and intense is the new direction of life in which a community finds its salvation, the more negative and exclusive will be the attitude assumed by the community towards all that is foreign, especially during its first zeal, and before the new element has gained its full inward clearness, power, and independence. And if in addition the community is restricted to one special race, as was then the case, the national antagonism and aversion, which under any circumstances may be great, are developed in the intensest form. Since then the Israelites in very early times were thrown upon the earth as unheard-of strangers among those ancient nations, in comparison with whom they were but a small community; and as their religion presented the strongest contrast to that of other nations, and naturally aroused their hostility and ill-will; it cannot excite surprise, that at first they sought to keep strictly to themselves, and to exclude as dangerous everything foreign; and that the more all that was individual to them was in danger of being torn away, the more resolutely they maintained it after every attack. It were indeed erroneous to imagine that Moses held nothing to be of more pressing import than to inspire his own people with abhorrence of all others, and to forbid to those who stood in the covenant of Jahve, or (to use the striking expression of an ancient writer, p. 500) the Confederates, all communion with strangers. For if this had been intended to be vitally important or indispensable, a commandment to that effect would have been placed in the Decalogue, which is not the case. On the contrary, that which came to pass in this respect, proceeded from the general position of the people in Jahveism, and from the necessities of the times. But how rigidly the national mind took this direction is shown especially by the law of interdict,<sup>1</sup> by which not merely the objects of heathen superstition, such as images of gods, but also other heathen possessions which fell

<sup>1</sup> בְּנֵי and see my *Alterthümer*, p. 86 sqq.

into their hands as booty, especially chariots of war, were to be offered to *Jahve*; that is, destroyed, from inward abhorrence of them, and to the honour of *Jahve*, that they might not allure to evil. And, as we can understand from p. 501, 553 sq., not only the chariots, but even the horses of their enemies were an abomination to them, and they preferred to disable<sup>1</sup> all captured horses rather than to take them into their own service for war.

From principles such as these, so long as they were firmly maintained, could not but proceed a nation of unique stamp, maintaining itself and fighting with amazing courage in the midst of every danger, because inspired by the highest divine truth; renouncing all earthly blessings and attractions; conquering and aggrandising, but not insatiable either in pleasure or in conquest. In almost all these respects the Hebrew nation may compare with the Arabs in the first bloom of Islam, but differs from them inasmuch as, springing from a sound and lasting germ, it became a confederation of one narrow national circle; and in battle, like the ancient Swiss Confederation, relied not on the horse, but on the indomitable force of the infantry. Moreover, as they ridiculed the superstition of the Heathen, they especially slaughtered and ate bulls and other animals, which by others were held sacred and carefully fed and preserved in the temples. In this light the nation appeared even in the Egyptian struggle (p. 500), and such it continued to be long after the days of Moses.

#### 4. *The name Jahve (Jehovah).*

But a new religion does not create new institutions and customs alone: it also exercises a mighty influence upon the language as well as the thoughts of its adherents, and leaves behind it the trace of this influence in new ideas and words, or at all events in the new employment of old words. In the Hebrew tongue, of which, with the exception of proper names, we possess from the Premosaic age scarcely any perfectly demonstrable remains, we cannot do much towards proving the great change which must have taken place at the time of Moses. But one clear proof of it at all events we do possess, in the employment of JAHVE as a name for God—a proof than which none can be more decisive. For one of the most certain monuments in which the genius of every religion, and

<sup>1</sup> יָמַת Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4; compare the Arabic يَمِتُ 'to hough the sinews of the foot' in Tabari's *Arabic Annals*, i. p. 118, 11.

of every remarkable age, will generally reveal itself, is precisely this innovation in the employment of Divine names. How sharply and clearly a short name of this kind, or a new turn in its use, epitomises the ruling views and ideas of an entire age, may be proved from all periods of history. Thus when the later Hebrews (the Jews) gave way to a slavish veneration of the actual letters of the sacred name, this mistaken fear of desecrating it prevented them from any longer pronouncing the true Mosaic name Jahve at all. As certainly as the title *God of Hosts* (*Sabaoth*) is quite foreign to the Mosaic period, and indicates a subsequent stage of national culture, the name *Jahve* is the distinguishing mark of the Mosaic religion, so that the glory which the greatness and sacredness of this diffused justly streams back upon that name. Moses undoubtedly announced his revelations under this name, when he spoke as a Prophet, and he thus stamped it as the word of chief power in the community. The Book of Origins, whose author had long known it as the most sacred name on earth, describes in solemn words the moment when God (*Elohim*), instead of the great name *El Shaddai*, whereby he had spoken to the three Patriarchs, first revealed himself to Moses by the higher name *Jahve*;<sup>1</sup> and the Fifth Narrator imitates this in his peculiar way.<sup>2</sup> But from the time of Moses this name runs through a rich and peculiar history, which it is very instructive to examine. In the first place, for some centuries afterwards it was not much employed in ordinary discourse; then by degrees it became frequent, and even very general. Thus (to mention only one instance) the Earliest Narrator on all occasions names God *Elohim*; the Book of Origins makes it a rule not to name him *Jahve* until that moment in the life of Moses when this name was revealed to him; the Fourth Narrator is the first who from the very creation introduces the name *Jahve*. At first this name was seldom used by the community in the formation of personal names (and then shortened as an affix into *jahu*-*jah*), or as a prefix into *jō* or *j'hō*); Moses himself, as a beautiful tradition<sup>3</sup> records, changed the name of his faithful successor Hoshea into Joshua,<sup>4</sup> as if to fix more firmly the memory of the new religion, and to connect it with his young and trusted friend. But afterwards it grew into more frequent use for this purpose: and in fact in the days of the later Kings of Judah it was employed everywhere as if for the purpose of display—a

<sup>1</sup> Ex. vi. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iii. 13-15.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xiii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Just as Muhammed gave to some of his followers new names; see my *Lehrb.*, 7th ed. p. 671.

proof how deeply at that time the religion had mingled with human customs. On the other hand in the Premosaic period such names are not found at all (with a single exception, which will be adduced immediately); indeed even in the Mosaic age, with the exception of Joshua, there is no similar man's name, while during this period there are very many names compounded with *El*, and others even with *Shaddai*.<sup>1</sup>

We might therefore naturally suppose that Moses himself invented the name; but many indications oppose this supposition. For in the most ancient songs or fragments of songs<sup>2</sup> is found the shortened pronunciation *Jah*, a form only used in poetry, and by later writers rarely even in poetry. Moreover the name has in Hebrew no clear etymology, which is scarcely conceivable if it owed its origin to Moses or his age.<sup>3</sup> But the chief point is, that so far as we can discover, no other person in antiquity but Jochebed the mother of Moses shows a trace of this name of God before the time of Moses.<sup>4</sup> This fact leads us to the idea that the name *Jahve*, formed analogously to *Jacob* and *Isaac*, was already employed as a

<sup>1</sup> See my Lehrb., 7th ed. p. 669.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16. With the exception of these two fragments of very ancient songs and Isaiah xxxviii. 11, יְהָיָה is employed only by very late poets.

<sup>3</sup> For if יְהָיָה be of the same root as נִמְלֵה it must be Premosaic, because this root in Hebrew never again became נִמְלֵה except under the Aramaic influence of later times, and with that exception is invariably pronounced יְהָיָה. The word might denote 'the Existing, i. e. the real, the permanent, the eternal,' in opposition to the 'sham or non-existent,' בְּנֵי לֹא, p. 546. Thus the Fifth Narrator, writing at the time when Jahveism was felt to be a living truth, and was understood in a highly spiritual sense, in the eighth century, very appropriately interprets it, in Ex. iii. 14 sq. In the Premosaic age, however, if יְהָיָה (compare the Arabic لَهُ), is properly *fieri*, from a root meaning 'to make, prepare,' the word may perhaps have been equivalent to 'Creator' (Sanskrit *dātṛi*). But the safest course is to start from the evidently extremely ancient idiom יְהָיָה

(Gen. xix. 24), which is paraphrased 'from the *heavens*', (compare Micah v. 6, and Snow coming δε Διος in Homer, and the Latin *sub Jove*), and reminds us that even in later times Jahve is always regarded as essentially the God of Heaven;

the name would thus in itself denote either the Heaven or the God of Heaven, and we might compare لَهُ, a rare word, which, like كَوْد and كَرَّه, may express the idea of *height*. But the comparison of the

Arabic لَهُ 'air,' as if it corresponded to the Sanskrit *dēva* and Latin *deus*, would be erroneous; for that Arabic word does not, like the Sanskrit *div*, denote 'bright, shining,' and thence come to be a designation of the heavens, but means 'an interval, empty space,' like the Sanskrit *antariksha*.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59. From such proper names as Elioenai (1 Chron. vii. 8), Irahiyah (ib. 8), Abiah (ib. 8, ii. 24), Ahijah (ib. 26), it might indeed be inferred that the name Jahve had been much used even before the time of Moses. But the list of those ancient genealogies drawn up by the Chronicler may very probably have been filled up in many instances by later names, substituted for the forgotten originals. It would be an equally hasty conclusion to infer from the proper name חֶרְמָה (1 Chron. iv. 18), that the Jew Mered had married an Egyptian princess. The fact stands here too isolated to admit of any certain inference from it. Moreover the name חֶרְמָה might be borne by a Jew, since it might be a derivative from the Hebrew root יָמַד.

name of God in the Premosaic age, to which indeed all other simple names of God, and words of more than usually obscure signification, are to be referred; but that before Moses it was probably used only in the house of the maternal ancestry of Moses. It might be the peculiar name of God in this family; for we can conceive the germ of the religion of the Israelites itself to have existed in the Premosaic age (p. 317 sqq.); nevertheless it remains certain that it was only through Moses, the great son of a mother belonging to this house, that it obtains its importance in the community.

Although we may not now be able to give with perfect certainty the literal meaning of this name, which through the great son of that mother has become part of the world's history, yet at least we will no longer designate it by the barbarous form Jehovah (which was only produced three centuries ago through Christian aggravation of a Jewish superstition), but we will restore its real sound *Jahve*, were it only as a sign that now among us the Hebrew antiquity springs up out of the grave of ages endowed with fresh life.

### *5. The Decalogue and its Ten Clauses.*

Finally, we do not hesitate to assert that all which has been already described as new was actually derived from Moses and from his age. It is not only that these thoughts and these creations can be nowhere shown to have been Premosaic; they constitute also the true foundation upon which all the subsequent history of Israel turns, and they are the few and mighty impulses, which from that time forward incessantly acted in ever widening circles and with ever increasing result. Besides they constitute in themselves such a distinct and well connected whole, that we cannot but confess that in their original unity they must have proceeded from one great creative spirit, like Pallas springing at once fully armed from the head of Zeus. But we may still recognise in an original document of that age, designed only for the general use of the entire nation, namely the two stone tables of the Decalogue (see p. 442), essentially the same fundamental principle with the new thoughts and institutions which we have been considering.

1) For in the first place it cannot be doubted that the Ten Commandments were designed solely for the general use of the people, as a first attempt to bring the new truths and the essential principles of the community into legal language, for practical use in ordinary life. They possess in their construc-

tion the proper form of public laws, each commencing 'Thou shalt'; and if we take away from the two copies which have been handed down to us, Ex. xx. and Deut. v., the additions and explanations which we find there,<sup>1</sup> they exhibit perfectly that sharp clear brevity which every law ought to possess, for the advantage of the judge as well as of the judged. It is true no definite punishments are annexed; but nearly the same thing occurs in other ancient laws,<sup>2</sup> because many points in the carrying out of the punishments were evidently still hardly defined. To this must be added, that these Ten Commandments, being an attempt to reduce to precepts of the shortest form all the most important new truths, restrict themselves solely to these eternal truths themselves, as if they had descended from heaven. They are therefore content with simply enforcing these, and not solicitous to carry them into detail; in this respect resembling rather the purely religious than the civil laws, which become immediately associated with temporal punishments, and therefore with such a change in the course of time. They therefore most nearly resemble the ten highest laws of Buddhism,<sup>3</sup> which endeavour to express in an equally brief compass all that is most essential. But as certainly as these Buddhistic commandments are only an ingenious extract from a much larger multitude of truths and opinions, so Moses also knew and taught much more than these Ten Commandments, which taken alone are a mere dry skeleton, but considered with reference to their intrinsic character and significance, imply a religion originally taught with a perfect living fulness.

But with all this effort after condensation, and this restriction to the small number of twice five laws (in which we

<sup>1</sup> A separation which we are perfectly justified in making; first because in these comments, and in these only, the two existing versions exhibit important variations, while the actual commandments themselves agree together in the two versions in a far more striking degree (for in the tenth commandment only the words are gratuitously misplaced by the Deuteronomist through the interpolation of the comment); secondly, because old charters and other records, more especially those on stone, are always restricted to the most necessary words; with which is connected the further reason, that if the comments were written, the first table with its five commandments must have contained incomparably more words than the other, while we naturally expect a certain uniformity, even in outward appearance, be-

tween the two tables.

<sup>2</sup> I have here in view those of Lev. xviii. xix.

<sup>3</sup> See 'The Catechism of the Shamans,' translated from the Chinese original by C. F. Neumann, London, 1831. The Buddhists had originally only five commandments, which were then variously enlarged to ten, to ten and five, and so on: see A. Rémusat's *Foe koué ki*, p. 404; Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, p. 23 sq., 27 sq., 32, 35, 37, 83, 86 sq., 113, 130 sq. (8 or rather 10), 153, 193 sq., 243, 252, 270, 276, 284, 286, 288, 290, 308, 427; also 42 (i. e. 6 × 7) are found, see Schiefer in the St. Petersburg *Bulletin der Philologischen Arbeiten der Akademie*, ix. p. 70. Many vi. 91 sqq. also enumerates ten virtues of the Brahmins.

still trace the very simplest method of counting upon the fingers of the two hands,' we find here nevertheless precisely the most indispensable and comprehensive propositions, as judiciously selected as they are skilfully arranged in a consecutive but well divided series; so that we are thus obliged to assume that the same master-mind to which the profound truths described above were clearly present, also arranged this happy collection of brief statements for popular use. Answering to the fingers of one hand, there is first a series of five consecutive commandments, embracing and separately specifying the various forms of duty owed by the inferior and dependent to the superior and primary (what the Latins term *pietas*), commencing with the highest, with the relation between Jahve and man, and closing with the corresponding earthly relationship between parent and child. Since one commandment only (the fifth) is required to do full justice to this last relation, the four preceding ones remain for the treatment of the numerous and intricate relations between God and man; and the selection and arrangement of these deserve our especial admiration. After the opening words 'I am Jahve thy God and thy Deliverer' which contain only the announcement of the God who is speaking,<sup>3</sup> the first commandment forbids Polytheism. The second, in the words 'Thou shalt make to thyself no image'<sup>4</sup> (i.e. no idol), in reality forbids only sensual worship—prayer or veneration directed towards any seductive external or earthly object of the senses. These two commandments having put aside the corrupt, the two next

<sup>1</sup> The essential feature to be observed is that the number five here is the root of everything, and indeed throughout the ancient world constantly peeps forth clearly enough: see Hom. *Od.* iv. 412, and τὸ δριθῆσαθαι πευρδοσαθαι λέγουσιν, Plut. *de Is. et Os.* lvi. How this ancient system of numeration is expressed in the very forms of the numerals, I explained as long ago as 1837, in an incidental observation in my '*Hebräische Sprachlehre*'.

<sup>2</sup> This is evident from the slightly abbreviated version of the same phrase, 'I am Jahve your God,' occurring in the series of ancient laws in Lev. xviii. sq.; it might of course also serve as a concluding formula.

<sup>3</sup> יְהוָה is originally a *stone* image, and is from this very fact (see p. 343) more certainly referable to a high antiquity. The following words, 'any form which is in heaven above, or in the earth be-

neath, or in the water under the earth, to these shalt thou not bow down, nor serve them,' are only a further explanation of the preceding; Deuteronomy correctly omits י before נֵדֶד; and moreover it is false that נֵדֶד is ever synonymous with יְלֹד idol. But it is clear that this further explanation, or rather distincter expression of a kindred thought, is of equal antiquity, and in fact truly Mosaic, not only from its threefold division of the world, which is very ancient, but of rare occurrence in other parts of the Old Testament, but also, and chiefly, from the fact that the special form of this declaration shows the diretest reference to the Egyptian zoolatry. As a final reason for this declaration, the true nature of Jahve exhibited in his twofold moral action is then referred to: 'for I Jahve thy God am a God who,' &c. (p. 553 sq.); whereas an idol cannot punish, far less reward.

establish the correct in corresponding sequence, the third answering to the first, and the fourth to the second. If all other gods are to be put away, there remains only the one true spiritual God, the sole ruler, to whom all power and glory belong; and since he in this community is regarded as at once the true eternal king and the sole ruler, the *crimen læse majestatis* immediately affects him, the deliverer and founder, the lord and protector of the community. Therefore the third commandment is couched in this form, ‘Thou shalt not sinfully pronounce the name of Jahve thy God;’ that is, thou shalt not blaspheme or otherwise speak evil of it, or in any way misuse it, or employ it perversely, but shalt keep it holy, absolutely and in everything.<sup>1</sup> And if the thought and heart of man ought never to sink down to an idol, nor even to Jahve in any form of sensuous homage, as is ordained by the second commandment, then he ought rather, instead of it, ever and anon in the spiritual festival of the Sabbath to look upwards to the pure spirit of Jahve. Thus arises the fourth commandment, ‘Thou shalt remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.’<sup>2</sup> Thus the third answers to the first, and the fourth to the second; in the place of what the first two abolish, the last two lay down something to be really done. At the close is given the commandment respecting parents.<sup>3</sup>

The other series of five commandments, coming down to the earth, treats of mutual duties between man and man. By an equally skilful grouping, from the numerous command-

<sup>1</sup> That this is the meaning is clear also from such passages as Lev. xxiv. 10-16, Ex. xxxii. 27 [28]; besides which the addition ‘for Jahve will not hold him guiltless who pronounceth his name sinfully’ also points to one of the greatest and most punishable offences.

<sup>2</sup> The words next following after this fourth commandment are, as in the case of the second and tenth Commandments, only a comment, which in Deuteronomy is expanded to somewhat greater length. But the reason added by the Deuteronomist for the commandment is more antique than that in Exodus, derived from the Creation: we must therefore admit that the author of the Book of Origins here imported into his transcript of the Ten Commandments that history of the creation which is characteristic of him, and always possesses to him a special importance, whilst the writer of Deuteronomy had before him an independent transcript.

<sup>3</sup> The reason, here fittingly referring only to the Divine blessing, ‘in order that

thy days may be long in the land which Jahve thy God will give thee’ is, like all the other comments and reasons (with the exception of the already mentioned allusion to the Creation in the Book of Origins), most ancient, being doubtless derived by oral tradition from Moses himself, and affords a memorable testimony that Moses really regarded Palestine as the object of the journey (p. 490). In fact the contents of the blessing show such a striking antique simplicity, that even the Deuteronomist has to explain the expression, ‘to live long’ by the addition ‘to be prosperous;’ and rightly to understand this antique expression, we must transport ourselves back into times in which nations looked upon the simplest necessities of life, for instance bread and fruitful land, as the highest gifts of the gods, a view which is most clearly exemplified in the oldest hymns of the Rig-vēda and the most ancient portions of the Avesta.

ments which might here be given, four of the most general application for the protection of life, of chastity, of property, and of civil security are selected; thus passing in a natural sequence from that which is the most primary of all blessings to the individual, to secondary and later requirements. But since the mind that ordained all this so wisely, well knew that in social life the evil deed can scarcely be avoided, if the thoughts and desires have once taken a wrong direction, he closed this section with the commandment ‘Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s house;’<sup>1</sup> and by this precept, relating to thoughts alone, he made the close of this great religious command accord with its commencement. Nothing therefore can be more excellent and unique than these five and five commandments of the two tables of stone, both in their contents and their arrangement. Accordingly the two series of five have this also in common, that in each the first four belong closely together, and the fifth forms a natural close.<sup>2</sup>

The two tables, however, in the versions which we have of them (p. 443), differ in the following point. All the five commandments of the first are furnished with additions, partly elucidatory and partly justificatory; the justification of the first being however sufficiently effected by the prophetical preface, which (according to p. 583) naturally stands first of all. But the five of the second table have no such additions, with the exception of the last, the addition to which, though seen by its very nature to be ancient, is really only an elucidation. After all that has been explained above, it cannot surely be maintained that these elucidations and justifications were given on the tables themselves. We give the picture of this smallest

<sup>1</sup> The words ‘thou shalt not covet thy neighbour’s wife, his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox or his ass, or anything which is his,’ evidently contain a mere exemplification. The Deuteronomist however, confounding together the comment and the original short commandment, and altering the words very freely, makes up a long new one, in which the word *House* is invested with a very different meaning; but this is only another instance of the licence assumed by this writer, which is well known from other cases.

<sup>2</sup> The old dispute, recently revived in Germany, respecting the proper division of the Decalogue, the most valuable product of which is the excellent treatise of Joh. Geffken (Hamburg, 1838), can never be so settled that no controversy remains possible, but by study both of the general

plan on which the commandments are arranged and of the special position of each one. Undoubtedly the original meaning of this arrangement was already in great part lost in the times of the earliest Fathers of the Church, or even earlier: and with what licence the number Ten was made out and expounded in those days, may be seen especially in Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 7 sq.: yet even Philo, in his treatise on the ‘Ten Words,’ has the division correct, although he very improperly refers the Third to perjury only, and follows the incorrect transposition of the sixth and seventh, which originated with the LXX. and was very widely adopted. On the most recent flood of Decalogue-writings see the *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* ix. p. 144 sqq.

but oldest and most important of all works of law. The Law of the Two Tables was undoubtedly as follows :

### I.

*I am Jahve, thy God, who delivered thee out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.*

- (1.) *Thou shalt have no other God before me.*
- (2.) *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image.*
- (3.) *Thou shalt not idly utter the name of Jahve thy God.*
- (4.) *Thou shalt remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.*
- (5.) *Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother.*

### II.

- (1.) *Thou shalt not murder.*
- (2.) *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*
- (3.) *Thou shalt not steal.*
- (4.) *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*
- (5.) *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.*

It is obvious that the first four commandments of the second table least want any elucidation or justification. But an examination of all the additions as they now stand yields (as has been shown above in single instances) the important result, that, with the exception of the justification of the fourth commandment contained in the Book of Origins, all the additions are not only very ancient, but identical in tone and style with the commandments themselves, and therefore necessarily to be ascribed to no one but Moses himself. The great Prophet and Legislator himself could best expound and inculcate his Laws, so that the people might never forget them. That the real old elucidations to the commandments are certainly by Moses himself, is apparent also in the fact that in the first half they even by themselves form one connected series of progressive thoughts, thus : 1.) *I am thy God, because thy deliverer ;* but then, 2.) *I am the true God, in his double character (towards friends and foes) ;* and therefore, 3.) *my dignity is not to be insulted with impunity ;* 4.) *it is I who led thee to higher tranquillity and refreshment, and* 5.) *shall now lead thee to a land of thy own—one of the highest of blessings, but one which, like all the things of earth, although gained, will, in the absence of constant genuine goodness, certainly be soon lost again.* Thus the running commentary on these five laws itself flows from one stream of thought, and distinctly betrays the age of Moses—if it were only in the composition of the fourth and

fifth propositions. Here therefore the author of the verbal expression and arrangement of the Ten Commandments appears to expound his work and direct attention to it, out from the deep feelings and train of thought of his own soul. As every word which is indisputably Moses' own must have an incomparable value to us, it is very important to note all these details with care.

2) But the early origin of the Decalogue, and the remarkable influence which it must have exercised upon the very earliest writings from its universal recognition as a groundwork by Moses himself, may be proved by other indications, which sometimes carry us down below the age of Moses, but which are notwithstanding most suitably discussed here. The Pentateuch contains several other such series of laws, in the form of Ten Commandments, which must be here examined.

a.) First, we find in the second half of the present book of Leviticus a number of extremely concise laws, or rather legal proclamations (oracles). These were certainly incorporated by the author of the Book of Origins into his own work, because evident traces of his hand are scattered through them, but their intrinsic character is quite peculiar,<sup>1</sup> and proves them to possess extreme antiquity. Here we note only the following particulars. These fragments are distinguished by the solemn words 'I am Jahve' (p. 552), pronounced at the commencement or the close of a declaration. These words, considered as to their outward form, serve only to mark the declaration as spoken by Jahve himself;<sup>2</sup> but, considered as to their inner meaning, they flow out of that strong simple feeling, according to which the true Prophet announces what he receives not humanly, but divinely. In the earliest times this feeling was most direct and powerful, so that the human being seemed wholly to disappear in presence of the God who spoke through him; and the language corresponded with the feeling, expressing in the strongest way that God alone spoke, and spoke moreover strictly as God, that is simply commanding; wherefore the irresistible power of his word was announced by the expression 'I am Jahve,' either preceding or closing it. There is clear evidence this must have been the genuine Mosaic method of

<sup>1</sup> Shortly touched upon at p. 94 sq. The broad distinction remains, that the writer of the Book of Origins never allows his treatment even of legal matters to fall into such short sentences and detached commandments, but rather loves a comprehensive and calmly explanatory style of composition; moreover, he cannot

be proved to have been a prophet.

<sup>2</sup> Where the Book of Origins itself employs the phrase 'I am Jahve,' it is clearly repeated from an ancient authority; but it is found in fact only in and after Lev. xviii, and on the exceptional occasion of Ex. vi. 2, 6-8, 29.

giving oracles. The Decalogue shows this (p. 583), and the same peculiar method is followed in the passages of which we have now to speak. So far as language is concerned, if we can anywhere recognise the genuine Mosaic character, it is here: for even the Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries adopt a very different style. As more of human feeling minglest with their message, their constant expression ‘Thus says Jahve,’ which takes the place of ‘I am Jahve,’ shows that with them prophetical discourse and divine command are no longer so entirely one as they were in Moses.

Since these antique sentences no longer lie before us in their first form, but only as they were incorporated into the Book of Origins, and possibly into even older works, their earliest form can only be approximately discovered by us. But thus much is perfectly clear—that so large a number of short detached sentences must have been connected together by some external bond, as otherwise they must have fallen asunder. But then what bond more obvious than that already made sacred by the Decalogue? And we actually find upon closer investigation that in these passages such an arrangement still shines unmistakably through all subsequent elaborations; as often in ancient temples traces of earlier ones are discovered, of whose materials they are in part constructed. Briefly to illustrate this, let us here examine the important example furnished by Lev. xix:—

1) Here we find three commandments on the same subject as those of the first table of stone of the original Decalogue,<sup>1</sup> with which may be suitably connected two others which now stand quite isolated in Lev. xxvi. 1, 2.

2) There next follow five commandments in which the subjects of the second table are more fully treated.<sup>2</sup>

3) We then find five similar ones, also defining the duty to the neighbour.<sup>3</sup>

4) After a fresh general introduction, five commandments follow, which have reference to something new—the domain of feeling, and consequently of the becoming and unbecoming.<sup>4</sup>

5) Finally, after another general introduction, five command-

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xix. 2–4, the first words of ver. 2 being rejected as an introduction added by the Book of Origins, and the first member of Lev. xxvi. 1 as a mere repetition of xix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 9–13; for every word of ver. 5–8, which give certain regulations about sacrifices, must belong to the Book of

Origins.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 14–18.

<sup>4</sup> Ver. 19, 26–28, 30; whereas two other enactments, that in ver. 20–22 on fornication, with the similar one in ver. 29 on prostitution of daughters, and that in ver. 23–25 on first-fruits, are in their every word characteristic of the Book of Origins.

ments treating of the socially equitable and just, close the entire series.<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly we have here a brief but complete work of law of 5 + 5 commandments, each commandment (this is a new feature) divided into two or three lines or members, and thus assuming something of a poetical form. The matter also points to a high antiquity, as it appears to be the earliest amplification of the original Ten Commandments; and if Moses himself in his later years was not its author, some other prophet of the same age must have been. Similarly in Lev. xviii. the forbidden marriages and lusts appear to have been originally treated in four times five such sentences.<sup>2</sup>

b.) Secondly, we possess in Ex. xxi. 2—xxiii. 19 another work of law, which like that concealed in Lev. xix. is evidently intended to embrace the entire circle of national law, but treats every part with greater detail and precision than is done in the passage of Leviticus (p. 74). It is true the author of this work no longer employs the phrase 'I am Jahve,' and throughout follows a more descriptive method, entering into numerous individual cases, and on this very account less resembling the form of the oracle; but a nearer view discloses that he also endeavoured to divide the entire mass of the commandments into fives and tens, as if the legal form were in his day still influenced by the model of the original Decalogue. And as the description in general is more detailed, the individual commandments could here assume a longer form than in that earlier fragment; but here as there, they necessarily consist of at least two members; only the first or the last of a series might consist of only one.<sup>3</sup> Compared with the passage in Lev. xix., this work, though not wholly uninjured, preserves far more of its original form. What is extant comprises the following elements:—

1) Ten Commandments on the rights of the home-born men and maid servants, xxi. 2-11, falling into two perfectly equal divisions.

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 32, 34-36; for ver. 33, although now standing in close connection with ver. 34, is seen by its style to belong to the Book of Origins; as also ver. 31, which moreover contains a decision foreign to this series respecting idolatry; see xv. 32, xxii. 8. On the other hand, the two members of ver. 16, beginning with נִשְׁתַּחֲוֵת נָאֹת, which form distinct commandment, were probably originally placed before ver. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Namely, Lev. xviii.; 6-23 as explained in the *Allerthimer*, p. 226 sq. except that neither ver. 20 on fornication, nor still less ver. 21 on the worship of Moloch, belong originally to this place, but are in their every word characteristic of the Book of Origins; besides these verses only the first member of ver. 23 reminds us of that book.

<sup>3</sup> As in poetry proper: see my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, Bd. i. p. 72 sq.

2) Five commandments on murder and its punishment, **xxi. 12-16**. The single commandment (ver. 17.) on the punishment of those who curse their parents, stands here perfectly detached, and looks as if it were a fragment only of a second much mutilated half, which may have mentioned the crimes which were to be considered as heinous as murder.

3) Five laws on bodily injuries not punishable by death, **xxi. 18-27**;<sup>1</sup> to which five others are added as a continuation, **xxi. 28-32**.

4) Ten laws on injuries done to property, **xxi. 33—xxii. 5 [6]**:<sup>2</sup> here the two halves are not sharply distinguished.

5) Ten laws on breach of trust with regard to property or to honour, **xxii. 6-16 [7-17]**; divided into two very obvious halves.

6) Ten laws in two halves, **xxii. 17-30 [18-31]**.<sup>3</sup>

7) Ten more, also in two halves, **xxiii. 1-9**.<sup>4</sup> These twenty conjoined describe purely moral conduct, to the breach of which no external punishment can be attached, as is done in all the former laws. The fact that in these two decalogues the same command occurs twice with scarcely any change, in **xxii. 20 [21]** and **xxiii. 9**, has but little importance, because the frequent employment of such a series of tens necessitated some freedom in externals.

8) Lastly, ten commandments on festivals and offerings, **xxiii. 10-19**, in two halves.<sup>5</sup>

With these the work might well close: but when we call to mind that with this fulness and variety it was evidently intended to give a comprehensive view of the legislation, while yet many essential points are wanting, and also that in this case it would be very strange to begin with the slaves (**xxi. 2**), we are justified in supposing that it has lost some series of tens, which loss may have occurred even as early as its introduction into the work of the First Narrator. Instead of eight times ten, it may easily have contained originally ten times ten laws: and we actually now find in **xx. 23-26** five commandments which look just as if they might be the real commencement of

<sup>1</sup> Viz. ver. 18 sq., 22, 23-25, 26 sq., as the sense requires.

<sup>2</sup> The Masoretic text has indeed only 9, but the LXX. have in **xxii. 4 [5]** the missing one: see *Alttesthümer*, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Viz. vv. 21-23, 25, 26, 28 and 29 [**22-24, 26, 27, 29 and 30**] belong together.

<sup>4</sup> In the second half, vv. 6-9, where ver. 9 clearly forms a fitting conclusion, if ver. 7 were divided into two commandments, each would be too short; but it rather seems as if here two members had

fallen out, since as the verse now stands, its two members do not harmonise very accurately together.

<sup>5</sup> The brief ver. 14 may form a fitting close to the first half, if for no other reason at least for this, that its contents are repeated more definitely in ver. 17. Before ver. 10 a declaration on the year of Jubilee may have fallen out, as vv. 10 and 11 must form together only one commandment.

this great work. We need be no more surprised at this method of legal exposition in language bound by many of the restraints of verse, than that the ancient Hindus force into verse their endless multitude of laws, of which the *Mānava Dharma Āśṭra* (Code of Manu) is only the best known example.

c.) Thirdly, if we come down to the Book of Origins, whose principal subject is that of law, we there find the amplification of the laws which had been already begun in the earlier work, so fully carried through, that the fetters of the arrangement by tens could no longer be employed. The once prevalent method of delivering the laws was already so far changed, that all circumstantial explanations of laws were put in an historical dress which referred them to Moses, leaving of the ancient method nothing more than the introduction of the words by Jahve himself. We find however in Lev. vi. and vii., incorporated into the Book of Origins, a passage which was certainly earlier, and proceeded from another author, but yet was not very far removed from the age of that book. This is a summary of the duties and rights of the Priesthood with reference to offerings of all kinds, which as a brief memorandum for the priests the author seems to have brought designedly into this quaint and ingenious form (p. 88 sq.). Apart from the historical introduction which precedes each subdivision, and the historical matter at the final close (vii. 34-38) we here find :

- 1) Five ordinances on burnt-offerings, vi. 2-6 [9-13], and five others on corn-offerings, vi. 7-11 [14-18].
- 2) Five ordinances on the offerings at consecration, vi. 13-16 [20-23], and five others on sin-offerings, vi. 18-23 [25-30].
- 3) Ten ordinances on trespass-offerings, vii. 1-10.
- 4) Ten on thank-offerings, vii. 11-21.
- 5) Again twice five directions respecting the portions of the animal sacrifices allowed to be eaten, vii. 23-27, 29-33.<sup>1</sup>

So accurate a grouping as this cannot be accidental. Here are  $5 \times 10 = 50$  directions, whence we perceive that the old sacred form of legislation was still well known at that time.

But even the Fourth Narrator set forth the original Decalogue suitably renewed for later times.<sup>2</sup> In Psalm xv., of considerable antiquity, the duties of the pious are still distributed into ten poetical sentences.<sup>3</sup>

Now that we are thus enabled by clear indications to trace

<sup>1</sup> In this computation it is taken for granted that vi. 13 [20], forms two ordinances, and that vii. 11 and 12 form only one.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 12-26; the ten being as

follows: First five, ver. 12-16, 17, 18, 19-20a, 20b; Second five, 21, 22, 23-24, 25, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xv. 2-5b; into these ten members are the 3 of the older song, Ps. xxiv. 4, expanded.

the history of the wording (form) of the various commandments, we distinctly perceive what a remarkable influence the original Decalogue must have exercised, to call into existence solely by its own example an entire and influential branch of literature.<sup>1</sup>

## B. VICISSITUDES AND FINAL VICTORY UNDER MOSES.

### I. VICISSITUDES.

#### **1. The Elevation and the Relapses of the Age.**

When we once more turn our attention to the true nature of the guidance of the people by Moses, and the new order and constitution of their life which was then established, taking a connected view of the whole, we cannot but feel that everything which in the long series of following centuries was great and glorious, whether in intellectual truth, or in the order and aims of life, was, at all events in its germ and its primary impulse, derived from the mysterious elevation of the Mosaic age. As by the wing-stroke of a mighty spirit, a new power was in that distant age set in motion in the world, whose pulsations vibrated through the whole of antiquity, and which, instead of becoming weaker with the roll of centuries, reached out still further and shook the ground more and more powerfully, until it finally culminated in Christianity and in Islam; attaining then a position which suddenly converted it into a vastly more powerful movement. Not that these few but eternal principles of true religion and of a life ruled by it had sprung up entirely pure and unmixed. On the contrary we have seen how in entering the world and time these principles were by time and the world modified and narrowed. At one time with excess of youthful boldness they attempted things that they could not permanently sustain; at another, through too great zeal in the prosecution of the new, they put aside the old which ought rather to have been adopted in a purified form; and on other occasions they were too weak to oppose the reentrance of earlier corruptions. Thus were developed a number of obstacles

<sup>1</sup> This is a sufficient answer to a question which was first publicly brought forward by Ernst Bertheau in a treatise entitled 'Die sieben Gruppen Mosaischer Gesetze in den drei mittleren Büchern des Pentateuchs' (Göttingen, 1840). I reviewed this work in detail in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, for 1841, p. 65-73, in an article which was broken off in August

1840, after the examination of Ex. xxi.-xxiii. I intended there to prove at length, what I have here briefly shown to be my opinion, namely that the conjecture in that work was not without foundation, but ought to be more rigidly defined and reduced within narrower limits, and that thus that work possesses a peculiar merit of its own.

and corruptions equal to that of the original good principles, which not less than the latter entered into the history and determined its form. These evil principles, however, only so restrained the living and imperishable germ once planted, that, developing to the full its hidden power, it pressed up with even greater force, and conquered every restraint, until it finally shot swiftly upwards into full maturity.

But the nation which in that primeval time had once had the high courage to embrace the truths and principles of living without which no true religion can exist, had in that very act too nearly identified its entire life, its well-being and its happiness with the prosecution of the aim of true religion, ever again entirely to fall away from it; already it had seen so much of the pure light, and tasted so fully of the higher blessedness which lay enclosed therein, and so clearly seen the prosecution of this object to be its special divine mission in contrast to other nations, that it could never lose the noble pride and unwearied pertinacity with which it prosecuted that aim. Therefore every obstacle which it encountered, and every false path into which it was led, threw it back at last all the more forcibly upon the straight path to the attainment of this aim; all the divergent efforts of its life gradually converged into the single aim of attaining the perfection of true religion; until finally in the extreme strain of the effort to attain this object it lost its own independent life. That which alone is great and of value for the world in this nation, lies in the fact that as a whole, or as a nation in the strictest sense of the word, it entered actively and willingly into the highest demands of religion, and strove after that ultimate object with entire self-sacrifice; while among other nations, more especially the Hindus, individuals endeavoured to discover the truths of religion, and some few to realise them in their lives, but there was never formed a true Community bound together by pure religion. But since religion is far more powerful for the entire nation and for the world than for the individual, it follows that it was only by means of the true Community that it could attain its highest form.

The ultimate source, then, from which all this sprang, is assuredly the sublime age of Moses. But upon a closer consideration we cannot look upon that age as if it had always constituted a pure untroubled glory around Moses. Far from it; where the lists are opened to so much spiritual freedom as was here conferred by the fundamental laws of the community, there dangers from within are to be apprehended—violent

movements, vehement demands and excesses, dangerous plots, conspiracies and disorders. Where, as in this community, the demands of God, whether already fixed in laws, or continually announced anew by the living voice of the Prophet, ever pointed to the purest and the highest, there from various causes the opposition might be all the more powerful and obstinate, reacting against what was already in existence, and springing up with even greater violence when a further development, however needful, was about to be introduced. Thus the Old Testament history often and urgently complains of the stiffness of Israel, which in the course of the following centuries was constantly increasing and growing more conspicuous, the higher rose the general development of the truths and requirements of Jahveism. But even in the case of Moses himself, accounts some of which are very ancient do not conceal the fact that after the covenant made at Sinai discontent arose against him, now louder now more subdued; not merely on account of the absence of external blessings, but also from envy of his pre-eminent prophetic power, combined with the idlest suspicions of the whole guidance assumed by this gentlest and best of men. And this discontent arose not merely from the general multitude, but also from the privileged Levites who stood nearer to Moses himself, and even from Aaron and Miriam. The history as it has come down to us furnishes a grand exemplification of the universal truth, that the best and most capable man of a community is often the most misunderstood and persecuted, and a manifest type of that aspersion and persecution which constantly assailed the best men of this community in after ages. We cannot imagine the petty states of Grecian antiquity more full of commotion and agitation, than according to the most certain indications of history the kingdom and people of Jahve were during many periods of their history. No age and no position is secure from the temptation to such misuse of a noble freedom: even the priests and prophets we see at times deeply degenerate and crowding to help on the corruption. And it is obvious that from all these causes were derived many great obstacles to the realisation of that better principle, the foundation of which was already laid in the community. But pernicious as these perplexities and disorders frequently were, they were yet so little able permanently to destroy or even hinder that better principle, which was really stronger than they, and had set even them in motion, that the better principle, after every such attempted interruption, was enabled through the concentration of its various powers to gain

firmer ground and advance onwards. Even the longest and most confused struggles in the end brought about only a greater victory of the pure truth, as the history of every period up to its last great catastrophe will show. And all the best men of the nation, with Moses at their head, to what purpose were they the best, unless it were that in combatting such hindrances they might gloriously and successfully prove their power and their allegiance to higher truths and duty? To be misunderstood and persecuted to death by contemporaries, but thereby to be impelled only to a still purer and intenser pursuit of the True and Eternal,—is not this too a blessing from above, and often the very best—a blessing to the sufferer, and a blessing to others also? Therefore in respect to Moses and all others who are called into similar contest with pressing inward difficulties, almost the only point of interest is, in what way they solve their problem, how far they prove themselves victorious, or in what degree they leave the struggle to their successors. Spiritual freedom itself, although often restricted or suspended during the course of such entanglements, in the end always returns only more peaceful and more free from vague conceptions.

But we must now take a nearer survey of the relapses of that age, since only by estimating them aright can we understand why it was only at the close of his long life of public activity, that Moses could secure to the people through his guidance even the very beginning of the necessary external advantages of position. For these advantages, though often the natural consequence of a great elevation of spiritual life once attained, can yield permanent fruits only when this elevation has won a firm and imperishable basis in resolute strife with its antagonistic principle. Were the truths and institutions then established extraordinary in their novelty and purity?—then the more readily even under Moses himself would various relapses occur, so soon as the first strong and general but momentary enthusiasm had passed away; such relapses as those of which the early Christian history also is full, from Judas Iscariot downwards.

1) No great importance attaches to various unconnected trespasses of individuals who could not at once accustom themselves to what was now recognised as the right course. Thus the Book of Origins tells of a man, who being the son of an Israelitish mother, but of an Egyptian father, suffered the punishment of leze-majesty for blaspheming the name of Jahve,<sup>1</sup> and of another who suffered in the same way for

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xxiv. 10-23.

breaking the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> More important would be the case of Nadab and Abihu, the two elder sons of Aaron, who, having at first been men of influence and acted as deputies for their father,<sup>2</sup> afterwards, according to the Book of Origins,<sup>3</sup> because ‘contrary to Jahve’s command they brought strange fire before his altar,’ were killed by the ‘fire of the altar:’ but it will be made clear below that this tradition does not properly belong to this place.

Among the backslidings of the entire people the most pardonable appears that momentary vexation which proceeded out of merely local hardships. It is indeed easy to understand that the Desert, in itself terrible and most trying to the patience, would draw from a people accustomed to the rich soil of the Nile, many passing sighs and even random words and projects. The existing traditions contain clear indications that this did often occur. Yet such ill-humour, momentary though it be, cannot be justified before the tribunal of Religion, inasmuch as it springs from impatience and want of faith, and weakens the higher aspirations. The murmuring of the people at the want of sweet water at their first encampment after leaving the Red Sea,<sup>4</sup> is mentioned by the Book of Covenants merely as a trial of their patience. But the writer of the Book of Origins treats with more severity their frequent murmurings and wranglings on account of deficiency of bread, meat and water, and in his peculiar way attaches to these the explanation of many sad but instructive events of which memory had still to tell. According to this account, when the people murmured for bread and meat, Jahve gave the manna, which was the characteristic food of the unproductive desert, to satisfy their hunger while they wandered there, without as yet betraying any anger with them for the claim thus set up, since it referred only to the barest daily sustenance. But when subsequently complaints of the want of meat were loudly renewed, first by the lower rabble who had come with them out of Egypt,<sup>5</sup> and then by the Israelites themselves, allured by their example, Jahve still gave them the food so clamorously demanded, more indeed than they could wish—vast numbers of birds of passage thrown

<sup>1</sup> Num. xv. 32–36.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ex. xxiv. and the Book of Origins.

<sup>3</sup> Lev. x. 1–3, and on all these passages of narrative compare p. 88–91.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xv. 23–26.

<sup>5</sup> This singular account (Num. xi. 4; see p. 505) accords with a similar one by the First Narrator in Ex. xii. 38, while the

Book of Origins nowhere makes such a distinction. But the whole of the very lifelike account of the manna and the various modes of preparing it, in Num. xi. 7–9, appears also to have been interpolated here from the earliest book by the latest Narrator, especially as the description of the Manna in Ex. xvi. is somewhat different.

suddenly by the wind upon the camp. But since their desire was now not restricted to a reasonable demand, Jahve granted it *in anger*; the effect of which was that while these presumptuous claimants were feasting in the utmost carelessness, a great plague<sup>1</sup> broke out among them. For he who eagerly and clamorously sues God for something not really necessary to him, may sometimes actually obtain it without difficulty, but then it never brings with it a blessing.<sup>2</sup> And later, when the people ran to Moses and Aaron wrangling and chiding for the want of water, Jahve showed Moses how with his sacred staff he could bring water even from the solid rock; yet here also the violent wrangling of the people had at least one evil consequence, that Moses and Aaron themselves, having for the moment lost their composure and their firm faith in Jahve, were from that time no longer so completely pure and without stain as before.<sup>3</sup> The Fourth Narrator, according to his custom, has removed this story to a much earlier period, and does not give it that beautiful moral, according to which every immoderate demand, even when granted, is always followed by some evil consequence.<sup>4</sup>

But such momentary ill-humour or despondency becomes dangerous when it threatens to break down all those con-

<sup>1</sup> Termed strictly with still greater vagueness 'a stroke' Num. xi. 33, without indication of its real nature. The event which had so sad a result was very significantly placed at the encampment 'Graves of desire.' The outbreak of severe disease after a long fast followed by too eager enjoyment of too rich food is conceivable.

<sup>2</sup> The two narratives Ex. xvi. and Num. xi. (without vv. 1-3, which in this position are quite irrelevant, and possibly stood originally after ch. xiv.) are seen from their general plan to be derived from the Book of Origins, in which they probably stood together, the story of the manna preceding that of the quails. The story of the manna in Ex. xvi. cannot have been pushed back to so early a point of time by any older writer than the Last Narrator, because in vv. 32-36 it presupposes not only the institution of the Sabbath, which had never before been expounded, but also the Tabernacle, which was not made till Ex. xxv. Moreover, these passages have been not only torn asunder, but also greatly enlarged and altered by the Third and Fifth Narrators. In Num. xi. the long account of the prophetic choice of the seventy Elders (from יְהוָה בְּשֻׁבִּי מֵאַת, in ver. 10 to ver. 30), gives evidence of being a mere interpolation or modification by the Third Narrator

bearing reference to Ex. xviii; for surely this choice can in the nature of things have but little to do with the disturbances produced by the want of animal food. On the other hand, much of what now stands in Ex. xvi. 6, 7, 9, 10 must originally have stood between Num. xi. 10 and 31; for according to Num. xi. 32, 33, they gather heaps of flesh-meat for two days, but even while devouring it with their teeth, they are punished; now this is exactly as if they were to learn in the evening of one day the greatness of that good God who delivered them out of Egypt, and in the morning of the next day the injured majesty of the punishing God; in which character, moreover, he immediately (ver. 10) shows himself in the glory of his pillar of cloud, as if he had heard the violent murmuring: see Num. xvi. 5, 19. But the Latest Narrator, giving a different application to this antique phrase (as is clear from his gloss in ver. 8), inserted here what must have originally stood elsewhere, and gave to the whole the form in which we now have it in vv. 6-13; and since in the original narrative in Ex. xvi. it was only manna and not flesh which was expected, vv. 6-13 must be a later interpolation.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xx. 1-13.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xvii. 1-7.

nected exertions which the circumstances of the time most absolutely required. Of this a remarkable instance is preserved in the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> where it is beautifully narrated in full detail. Just after the giving of the Law, and when Moses had prosperously led the people by the nearest way from Sinai to the south-eastern boundary of Canaan, and the conquest of the country was about to be undertaken thence, the people were suddenly seized by a strange despondency and cowardly fear of war, and with a surly or rather mutinous feeling against Moses refused to move from their tents into the open field. In thus refusing they appealed to the terrific accounts brought back by the deputed spies, most of whom shared their fears; but this was only a result of the despondency which had already taken deep root, and naturally sought to shield itself under any pretext. So easily may a mind which had previously appeared resolute recoil at the critical moment before real or imaginary danger; and an approaching crisis must bring to light every concealed fear. Moreover in this instance, speaking humanly, some excuse may be found in the fact, that at least a considerable proportion of the people had not long been even redeemed from bondage, and had until then met with no enemy of importance in Asia: for the fight with Amalek, which the Fourth Narrator<sup>2</sup> describes as occurring at that early period, may in the end have served only to excite more strongly in such an enemy the desire of vengeance. Yet such a cowardly recoil, at the very moment when the reward of the long and toilsome journey in the desert from Sinai to Canaan was at length to be gained, cannot on any high grounds possibly be condoned. Moses, however, and some others of their best men contended in vain against the general feeling; and the bond which had until then subsisted between the people and their leader became dangerously loosened. And as one misfortune or misunderstanding of this kind seldom comes alone, there occurred soon afterwards another calamity. Many of the people, as if suddenly converted, desired hastily to atone for their delay, and ventured upon an inroad into the southern border of Canaan, while Moses with his closest adherents remained quiet, warning them of excess and indiscretion (for the first enthusiasm was past, and in the interval the Canaanites might have strengthened their position). But, rashly advancing, they suffered a severe defeat.<sup>3</sup> They then<sup>4</sup> complained loudly that Jahve had betrayed them,

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xvii. 8-16, see *supra*, p. 523 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xiv. 39-45.

<sup>4</sup> It follows with great probability from

Deut. i. 45, 46, that, as was conjectured above, the passage Num. xi. 1-3 stood

and fell into worse and worse confusion ; until, as the story says, the Divine vengeance came upon them in the shape of a deadly fire of Jahve.<sup>1</sup> At length Moses had to pray for the misguided people ; and the evil consequences of such a relapse having been sufficiently manifested, this plan for the conquest of Canaan was abandoned, and their thoughts were directed to other enterprises.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, to this series belongs the very distinct narrative of the Brazen Serpent,<sup>3</sup> which even in its present form appears from all traces to have originated with the Earliest Narrator. The people advancing towards the Red Sea, weary of the hardships of the tedious march, and tired of the scanty nourishment afforded by the manna of the desert, complained loudly to God and Moses of the want of bread and water. Instead, however, of obtaining relief, they then incurred a much greater evil, being furiously pursued by a multitude of large and venomous serpents, from the bites of which many died. In this they recognised God's righteous punishment for their murmuring, and repentantly entreated Moses for his prophetical interposition. Then Moses by divine command fixed a serpent of brass upon an elevated banner, that, gazing on it, those who were bitten might be healed ; and this actually occurred. The obvious meaning of this story is certainly not that Moses set up the image of the serpent as an object of adoration ; it was obviously only a sign that, as by the command of Jahve this serpent was waved on high, bound and harmless, so every one that looked upon it with faith in the redeeming power of Jahve would

after ch. xiv. even at the time of the composition of Deuteronomy ; because Deut. i. 20-44 is a repetition from Num. xiii. xiv., and consequently the author, in order to write ver. 45, must have found after Num. xiv. something of similar import to Num. xi. 1-3.

<sup>1</sup> By the consuming fire of Jahve (Num. xi. 1-3), nothing else can be meant by the Book of Origins, but sacred fire derived from the altar (compare Lev. x. 2, and ix. 24; Num. xvi. 35 and xvii. 2 [xvi. 37]) ; in accordance with the belief that the sacred fire can suddenly burst its bounds to the destruction of evil ; though Job speaks differently, in i. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Again in the passage Num. xiii. xiv. the truly prophetical description in xiv. 11-25, which exhibits great affinity to the narrative in Ex. xxxii.-xxxiv, but in its present position is only an elegant paraphrase of verses 26-36 (as can be proved from the diction), is inserted here by the Fourth and Last Narrators. From ver. 26

the last author has only here and there added a word or two according to his usual custom, viz. 'נָא נְלֵן' ver. 28 (compare ver. 21), 'נִזְנַת דָּבָר' ibid. (on which see p. 587), and in ver. 31 the clause containing 'דָּבָר', because this verb is quite foreign to the Book of Origins, although excessively common in other, especially rather later, books, and in other passages demanding attention here, occurs only in Num. xi. 20, and several times in the long prophetical interpolation, Lev. xxvi.; finally the word 'לֹא' in ver. 33, appears quite foreign to the Book of Origins in this sense of 'Unfaithfulness' in general, in which it is first used in Hosea ; although the corresponding verb does occur thus early of idolatry, but yet only in phrases of considerable fulness, as Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxi. 4-9 ; and compare the important fact mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. 4.

be preserved from evil. It was therefore a symbolic sign, like that of St. George and the Dragon among ourselves, or the serpent itself among the heathen. As that creature, by nature the most noxious, and yet supposed capable of being tamed (p. 486), became the image of remediable bodily ill, and consequently the symbol of Aesculapius, so here we have something of the same import, but with an element of reality and practical necessity, since that desert has from the earliest times abounded in venomous serpents which conceal themselves in the sand.<sup>1</sup> Such a symbol may in itself be quite innocent, and certainly was so at first under Moses; and we may hence justly conclude, that, as before remarked, Moses neither forbade nor despised the use of images as the symbols of higher truths (p. 533). Still it is to be regretted that the despairing people could not dispense with such an external support for their faith; for though, so long as a great prophet like Moses kept alive the significance of the symbol, no great misuse could be made of it, yet it is not surprising that afterwards a kind of superstition and idolatry was actually connected with it.<sup>2</sup>

2) An infatuated jealousy even of Moses himself rose up repeatedly and from very various quarters; on this we possess ancient and in part very distinct traditions. But the influence of Moses constantly advanced in despite of all such petty jealousies and intrigues, and posterity soon could regard him only as the noble and divinely protected leader, whom to injure was a double wrong. Accordingly even the Book of Origins regards these particular relapses with an especially severe eye, and gives peculiarly animated descriptions of their Divine punishments, scattered traditions of which may have been long retained in the memory. Even his sister Miriam with Aaron, according to the Book of Origins, at one time envied his higher prophetical gifts, and strove to obtain the government; but for this Jahve in his displeasure punished her with leprosy. Although delivered from this through the magnanimous entreaty of the very leader whom she had repudiated, she could not possibly be regarded as having committed no wrong, and be immediately received again into the community.<sup>3</sup> This is

<sup>1</sup> Strabo xvii. 1. 21 (and compare Aelian's *Hist. Anim.* xvii. 3), as well as Istachri in his *Geog. Arab.* p. 30 Möll., say that such serpents were very common in the desert between Pelusium and Heroopolis; and modern travellers, as Burckhardt (p. 814, 818) and J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 329, ii. 738), affirm the same also of the surrounding deserts. On the signi-

fication of such images among the heathen see Gerhardt *Ueber Agathodæmon*, in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, for 1847, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> Which was first forcibly extirpated by king Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xii. It is to be regretted that this passage, the contents of which are extremely curious, is not preserved to us in

clearly a beautiful combination of two traditions which may have been long in circulation respecting the inspired sister of the Prophet, the one claiming for her such prophetical gifts as even to rival those of Moses, and the other relating that even she, the sister of Moses, had once suffered from leprosy.

Later, when such dissensions in the house of Moses himself appeared to be silenced for ever, there arose from without, according to the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> a much more dangerous discontent, which broke out even into open mutiny. The cause of the insurrection of Korah, of the tribe of Levi, and of the elders Dathan, Abiram, and On, of the tribe of Reuben, with their 250 followers, appears very clearly to have been a low jealousy of the prophetical supremacy of Moses and of the priestly power of Aaron, founded upon an overstrained interpretation of the nature of the community as just then set forth by Moses; implying that from the newly promulgated idea that the community was to be holy and the seat of Jahve, it followed that the individual was already holy and perfect, and consequently had no need of any earthly guidance, priestly or other.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly every age which like the Mosaic first brings strongly to light the highest truths respecting the idea of the community, must contain also within its bosom a multitude of misunderstandings and excesses, false imitations and vain pretensions, as the histories of the first ages of Christianity and of Islam abundantly teach us. The occurrence of a mutiny based upon

its integrity. To judge by its conclusion in ver. 14 sqq., it must be from the Book of Origins; but even the word פָּנִים, used in ver. 2 in addition to פָּנִים, points to a recasting of the passage by the Third Narrator; and, to judge by similar instances occurring elsewhere, the noble passage in vv. 6-8, which speaks of Moses as standing far higher than ordinary Prophets, is inserted only by the Third Narrator in place of other words which the Book of Origins may have used, and is besides preserved in our present text very incorrectly; in ver. 6 should probably be put after יְהוָה, וְאַכְרֵב, and בְּבָרֶךְ פָּנִים, be

read; and in ver. 8 חֲמֹתָה and לֹא מִלְאָה should be read without ל; so that the whole passage would be as follows: 'And Jahve said: Hear now my words: If any one of you be a prophet, I make myself known to him in a vision, I speak with him in a dream; but not so is my servant (i. e. the steward of my house) Moses, but he is accredited in my whole household, mouth to mouth do I speak with him without vision, and not in mysteries does he behold the very form of Jahve.' Ver. 1,

with which (according to p. 563, note 3) I connect ver. 3, must have been borrowed by the latest narrator, not from the Book of Origins, but from the Earliest Narrator, for the reason that the jealousy of prophetic endowments expressed in ver. 2 bears no intrinsic resemblance to the vanity of noble birth and to the consequent reproach attaching in ver. 1 to a matrimonial connection with an ignoble (black or Ethiopic) race. This woman herself must certainly—such is the spirit of the story—be regarded as passing for a concubine taken by Moses after the death of his first wife, as Abraham did, Gen. xxv. 1.

<sup>1</sup> From which ch. xvi. and xvii. of Num. are derived; in xvi. 1 read לִיְקָלֵן as in vv. 3, 11, 19, xvii. 7 [xvi. 42], xx. 2, Ex. xxxii. 1, for לִיְקָלֵן; in xvi. 18, 19 the division of the verse is wrong. The omission of the Levite in Deut. xi. 6 is perhaps due to the fact that the Deuteronomist never likes to touch on matters discreditable to that tribe.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xvi. 3, 13, compared with Ex. xix. 6.

views so strange might even be adduced as a fresh proof (if such be needed after what was said above, p. 500 sqq.) that these exalted views respecting the nature of the community were at that time vividly felt and widely spread. The fact that from the tribe of Reuben three elders rose up in jealousy against the new power of Levi, although themselves obliged to seek a Levite as their confederate, agrees very well with the earliest history of the twelve tribes. But certainly there is nothing intrinsically more dangerous and reprehensible than the employment of such exalted truths for selfish ends, and the abuse of such freedom as a cloak for personal ambition, lawlessness, and dissolution of all order, as if the holiest things given to man could be trifled with with impunity. Against those who thus seek to use holy truths and blessings merely as a means of universal corruption, the Holy itself turns round and becomes their instantaneous destruction. The story of Korah and Moses is here exactly what that of Ananias and Peter is in the Apostolic history. How the insurrection was put down in strict history, is a riddle which is scarcely to be satisfactorily solved by the aid of the only existing narrative, that of the Book of Origins.<sup>1</sup> In this account nothing is distinctly expressed but the clear consciousness of victory, and of the enduring greatness of the house of Aaron as the true priestly race, and a deep abhorrence of the proceeding, with a consequent belief that no punishment could be severe enough. And since attention had been thus long fastened exclusively on the Divine side of the event, the chief point of the story, here as elsewhere in the history of the words and deeds of Moses, is the image drawn of the true Popular Leader. Accordingly the historical traditions here preserved have taken the following forms :

a.) Moses did not at once proceed to punish the offenders ; but with the dignity of a true Leader, while severely and justly calling them to account for their infatuation, he would not be judge in his own cause : let them as well as Aaron take their censers, i. e. assume priestly functions, and approach the sanc-

<sup>1</sup> The death-stroke mentioned Num. xvii. 11-15 was possibly in the original tradition the overthrow and destruction of the guilty portion of the people by the hand of the rest ; at least something of this kind appears to follow from the story told by the same author in Num. xxv. 1-15, as well as from another clearer case in xiv. 36, 37 ; and it is quite conceivable that the guilty were put to death, either through a judicial sentence pronounced

before the altar, or through a sudden outburst of rage on the part of the well-affected, and so were considered to have fallen under a Divine plague and punishment ; in fact the Fourth Narrator gives this clearly to be understood in Ex. xxxii. 35 (to be compared with vv. 26-28). But the aim of our present Book of Origins clearly is to strip off as far as possible every human addition, and hold fast only the divine signification of such occurrences.

tuary of Jahve and see whether he would receive them graciously or no.<sup>1</sup>

b.) Nevertheless they persisted to extremities in their infatuation, and were implicating the entire people in their self-seeking agitation against Moses and Aaron, and now did not recoil even from the sanctuary itself. Now, therefore, that they were past hope, there descended upon them at last the miraculous punishment they had long deserved, which a prophet like Moses could foretell without drawing it down by his own will. The ringleaders were swallowed up by the earth, which could no longer bear such thankless children;<sup>2</sup> the remaining 250 were annihilated by the sacred fire of the altar.<sup>3</sup>

c.) When, a short time after, the people still murmured and thought Moses and Aaron to blame for the destruction of so many men 'of the people of Jahve,' a plague was sent forth by God, to root out the last traces of this delusion, cutting off 14,700 victims; and its further ravages could only be stayed by Aaron's untiring exertions, accompanied by an acceptable offering. So certain is it that the offended superior power must itself forgive, and seek with trembling haste to give the swiftest alleviation to the punishment decreed.<sup>4</sup>

d.) Through such incidents Aaron's rod, i. e. the rule of his house, was only the more firmly established; and, as if to afford a Divine proof of this among the twelve rods of the twelve tribes which, as if for choice and decision, were laid up before Jahve<sup>5</sup> in the sanctuary, only Aaron's bloomed afresh. It was then deposited there as a sceptre for ever; to become, alas! also a rod of punishment for future rebellions. The age of innocence is now gone; after these warnings the people henceforth cling trembling to the sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> Thus the author

<sup>1</sup> Num. xvi. 4-17.

<sup>2</sup> Although such images must have been originally derived from landslips, yet here the miraculous conception alone is the real soul of the story, almost as in Isaiah v. 14. The Greek stories of Amphiarous and of Trophonius are analogous; see Pausanias *Perieg.* ix. 37. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xvi. 18-xvii. 5 [xvi. 40]; and compare xxvi. 9-11. According to the Book of Origins, therefore, only the three (or four) ringleaders were swallowed up, even Korah's children being spared; which is probably to be imagined as happening thus, that the three standing with their censers close to the sanctuary, at the head of the 250, raised their presumptuous hands against it, and were instantly thrown down, while at the same time the 250

were destroyed by the sacred fire of the altar, as in Lev. x. 2. But the Fourth Narrator, conceiving the ringleaders as being suddenly swallowed up with all their families and possessions, laid all the stress upon this point, and consequently placed the execution of the sentence in the neighbourhood of their tents; as if Moses had previously warned all others to depart from the neighbourhood of these tents. Hence it comes that in xvi. 23-33, instead of the words of the Book of Origins, we now have those taken from this later work inserted.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xvii. 6-15 [xvi. 41-50].

<sup>5</sup> By a species of soothsaying; see my *Alterthümer* p. 299.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xvii. 18-28 [1-13].

of the Book of Origins explains the rise of the priestly power, which in his own day was in full bloom.

3) It is noteworthy that a relapse into the worship of strange gods, which as a denial of all the truths already existing in the community would involve not less guilt than the crime just described, is not mentioned in the Book of Origins until towards the close of the long wanderings in the desert and of the life of Moses, when many of the people, at an impure festival of the Midianite god at Mount Peor, allowed themselves to be drawn into a participation in the licentious sacrifices there offered. But this immorality at once aroused such indignation among the better portion of the community, that according to the account in the Book of Origins 24,000<sup>1</sup> of the guilty fell as if smitten by a Divine stroke. And this work of avenging anger continued until the young and vigorous priest Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, at the same time brought it to a climax and ended it. For, while this dreadful punishment was raging, an Israelite of considerable rank appeared before his grieving brethren, in the company of a heathen woman, also of high rank but of dissolute manners. Phinehas quickly seized a spear, chased him to his tent, his chamber, and his bed, and ran them both through; thereby, as it were, forcibly attacking and destroying at once the seat and the cause of this licentiousness.<sup>2</sup> I attach importance, as I have already stated, to the fact that the Book of Origins places this relapse at the close of the life of Moses, because the worshipping of other gods must have been one of the last crimes<sup>3</sup> into which the people were likely to fall, both from the general spirit of early antiquity, and still more from the vigorous life into which the religion of Jahve had grown up among them. And it agrees well with this view, that (according

<sup>1</sup> In 1 Cor. x. 8, the Apostle makes the number 23,000, apparently only from a slight slip of the pen.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxv. 3-18; vv. 1 and 2 are derived in the extant narrative not from the Book of Origins, but from the hand of the Fifth Narrator, who (as will be presently explained) confounded the two nations Midian and Moab. If the original commencement of the story has been altered, then it is easier to explain how in ver. 6 the definite expression נָא כְּנָעַן can be used instead of the indefinite, which was to be expected there; we should otherwise have to suppose that 'the Midianites' is used simply in a contemporaneous sense, as equivalent to 'the heatheness, the unchaste,' but in the present form of the narrative, the Midianites are brought in we know not why. For the

rest, we can even now conjecture from xxxi. 16 (and compare ver. 8), what may in the Book of Origins have been the original commencement, now cut off: apparently the chief aim of the Last Narrator in changing this commencement was to omit all mention of Balaam as the seducer of Israel, seeing that after the events related in Num. xxii.-xxiv. he could not believe anything so adverse to the Israelites of him.

<sup>3</sup> For the 'murmuring against Jahve, mentioned often besides in the Book of Origins, Num. xi.-xvii, indicates only discontent with the oracle and the fate appointed by it, principally therefore discontent with Moses; from which point to the falling away to another God is a long step.

to the narrative itself) the worship of Baal-Peor at that time was after all neither general (for Moses punished the guilty not personally, but by means of the Elders), nor based upon anything deeper than a sudden allurement rather to unchastity than to any deliberate revolt from Jahve.<sup>1</sup>

The Fourth Narrator speaks very differently. His tendency being to shift all the possible events of a period as far as possible towards the commencement of it,<sup>2</sup> he transfers to the very beginning of the residence at Sinai a relapse of the whole people into idolatry and licentiousness, which is almost without parallel in its inexcusableness. For we should neither expect from the people, that after they had had such deep experience of the glory of the invisible God, they would at once during the first forty days fall away so generally from that state of exaltation, nor from Aaron that he, without any very obvious reason, and certainly without offering any serious opposition would yield at once to the demands of the people. But clear as it becomes upon closer investigation that the Narrator incorporated many older fragments<sup>3</sup> into his account, it is equally certain that there is no other genuine historical ground for this narrative, than the fact that during the first centuries after

<sup>1</sup> But it is as impossible to deny the guilt of these relapses, as that Hosea, who some centuries after the composition of the Book of Origins alludes to this story (ix. 10; and compare xi. 2), had a right, in connection with his denunciations, to employ this event of ancient history as an example of his proposition, how quickly and readily the people turned from Jahve to Baal-Peor, from truth and salvation to destruction; for how short, after the lapse of centuries, would the entire period passed in the desert appear! But it is remarkable that Hosea does not refer to Ex. xxxii.-xxxiv. Later writers certainly do attach some importance to the fact that the Israelites had been faithless to their God in Egypt, and so could the more readily commit the same offence again under Moses, Josh. xxiv. 14, Ezek. xx. 8; but these are only very general reflections.

<sup>2</sup> That is, in the passage Ex. xxiv. 12-18, xxxi. 18-xxxiv.; for upon reflection no doubt can be entertained but that this entire narrative was continuous, and derived from the Third and Fourth Narrators. The long intermediate section taken from the Book of Origins, Ex. xxv.-xxxii. 17, must be regarded as having been intentionally placed here by the Last Narrator, as if to fill up the space of the

forty sacred days which Moses passed on the Mount; as indeed is intimated in xxxi. 18. When we try to separate accurately the portions due to the Third and to the Fourth Narrator, which the Last compiler has fused into one, we find that xxiv. 12-18, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 29-35, xxxiii. 7-11 are from the Third Narrator, and ought to stand in the above order, xxxii. 7-11 especially coming after xxxiv. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the genuine Mosaic words in xxxiv. 6, 7 (mentioned before, p. 544 sq.) many more scattered words and sentences point to an ancient poem which must have lain before the narrator. Purely poetical are the two words בְּשִׁמְעָה 'to the whispering, i. e. to the malicious joy of their adversaries,' and the connection in which they are found in xxxii. 25 does not lead us to expect common prose. Further, in the feeling dialogue between Joshua and Moses in xxxii. 17, 18, on the tumultuous sounds in the distant camp, in which Moses (who always hears more clearly than even a Joshua) from a distance catches the exact words used more distinctly than Joshua, many peculiar words occur; and his answer is quite poetical:

'No loud shout of victors,  
And no loud answer of the conquered,  
But loud singing do I hear!  
See also *Gött. Gel. Ans.* 1862, p. 26 sqq.'

Moses, Jahve was actually often worshipped by the people under the form of a bull,<sup>1</sup> and even with the assistance of priests of Aaron's race. Since Aaron was regarded as the type of the priesthood generally, and since earlier traditions<sup>2</sup> relate that he did not always agree with Moses, who was the higher spirit, the new idea might easily arise at the time of the Fourth Narrator, that once during Moses' absence Aaron himself at Sinai had actually given way to the demands of the people, and set up a calf as the image of Jahve. But the point, as also the beauty of the story as we possess it, lies not so much in this as in the manner in which Moses is represented as taking up and treating such a case. At a folly thus possessing men in the highest position, a true Leader, as a man, would naturally burst into the utmost indignation and act with all his power and decision for the destruction of the evil; but in his higher or Divine character he would labour still more zealously and unweariedly to prevent its extending further, since every depravity of this kind, if the opposing influence of good be not still more powerful, must draw upon itself a boundless and ever deepening ruin, or (to speak as from above) God's unbounded wrath. On the truth of these two ideas rests the whole story in its present form, especially as developed in the sublime dialogues between Jahve and Moses, the highest conceivable man. Moses is summoned to the top of Sinai to receive the two stone tables with the Ten Commandments and other sacred books of the Law;<sup>3</sup> but while he, believing that everything is well arranged below, ascends into that mysterious sanctuary, remains there for forty sacred days,<sup>4</sup> and receives the tables;<sup>5</sup> on the earth beneath an insurrection breaks out, sanctioned even by Aaron.<sup>6</sup> But this is at once observed by the All-seeing eye above, and

<sup>1</sup> Or a calf, because the image was commonly made smaller. In modern times this has generally been regarded as an imitation of the Egyptian worship of animals, and as being either the Apis of Memphis, or the Mnevis of Heliopolis (which latter, according to p. 505 sq., were the more probable); besides which Athôr (Venus) was worshipped by the Egyptians in the form of a cow. But although even Philo (*Life of Moses*, iii. 19, 20, 37) thought it might be an imitation of Egyptian worship, yet this is impossible, seeing that actual worship of animals is the special characteristic of the Egyptians, from whose yoke and influence the Israelites had just been delivered; and this idea is expressly excluded by the designation of this God as the deliverer of Israel from Egypt, Ex.

xxxii. 4, 8; 1 Kings xii. 28. We may, therefore, more correctly suppose that it was the ancient symbol of the Hyksôs, which the Israelites, having stepped into their shoes as the enemies of Egypt, could now appropriate to themselves, especially as it may have been retained in use among their confederates the Midianites.

<sup>2</sup> As in Num. xii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xxiv. 12, 13.

<sup>4</sup> The 40 days mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 18 are also (according to Deut. ix. 9-x. 10) different from those named in xxxiv. 28; certain as it is that at the time of these writers a period of 40 days must have long become a proverbial expression.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxiv. 14-18, xxxi. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. xxxii. 1-6.

Moses with difficulty restrains the immediate outburst of the Divine anger, which would instantly destroy the thankless people, raise him as the sole guiltless one and put him in their place.<sup>1</sup> But as he descends from the mountain the actual sight of the evil overpowers the hero, who was after all but man, more completely than he had anticipated, so that in his anger he throws from him and breaks the sacred tables of stone; for what can these written laws now avail, after the people have trampled their contents under foot? In his uncontrollable religious zeal he then, to the horror of all, breaks in pieces the idol, silences Aaron, and by means of the Levites, who are easily incited to the task, brings to reflection, by a Bloody Assize, many who seem to be growing hopelessly demoralised.<sup>2</sup> But these penalties and executions do not kill off the evil principle now roused into life, nor appease the wrath of Jahve. The sublimest part of the account is that which describes how the human hero with inflexible courage strives against the Divine wrath, at the sacrifice of all personal fame and advantage; and how on the successful issue of this contest he attained the noblest reward of victory—for himself the blessedness of penetrating deeper into the unfathomable nature of Jahve, and for the people the recovery of all his former favour. At his first entreaty he obtains only the assurance of Jahve, that he will still cause the people to be led by Moses as far as Canaan; but will not himself go with them as their immediate Lord and protector, but only send an Angel before them.<sup>3</sup> But if so, Israel will be only like any other nation, none being without some kind of god as an Angel of the Highest. Moses therefore becomes still more urgent with him whose immediate presence is the only source of perfect aid, in favour of the people, who manifest a deeper and deeper repentance; and obtains a promise of the restoration of his own immediate guidance—the special privilege of a community relying not on images and mediators, but on Absolute Truth itself.<sup>4</sup> Then Moses, to confirm not only the restoration but even the increase of the grace of Jahve, ventures on the last and boldest step of all, makes the nearest approach to the Unapproachable possible to mortal man, and in that holy presence earnestly repeats only his

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxi. 7, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxii. 15, 29.

<sup>3</sup> An important deviation from the conception held by the Earliest Narrator, of the Angel as the people's guide. However, even this concession from above is only the result of a long negotiation, Ex. xxxii. 30—xxxiii. 3; but the position of

the ver. xxxii. 35 is certainly not original.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxxiii. 4-6, 12-17; the discourse of Jahve in xxxii. 14 cannot be taken otherwise than as interrogative: 'Must I myself go to procure thee rest (i. e. contentment)?' The necessity of this will be recognised as soon as the connection of the whole is clearly apprehended.

petition for the people.<sup>1</sup> Jahve, now at last entirely reconciled, solemnly renews the broken covenant, restores the shattered tables of stone, and confirms afresh the holy laws.<sup>2</sup> A glorious picture, perfect in its kind and full of eternal truth, if only it be not treated as dry historical fact!

It is a constant truth, exemplified here very soon in numerous cases, that many such backslidings of the people must seriously relax the firmness of the laws originally so simple, and render severer and more numerous ones necessary.<sup>3</sup> And they might also at last paralyse and overcome their leader. Since Moses himself can be regarded only as the great and unique originator, not as the completer of this new direction of human life, the Book of Origins very appropriately relates how even he together with Aaron once fell from the pure height at which this community should for ever rest, and thus lost the untroubled Divine favour. It was indeed only a momentary despondency respecting the higher ends of life, excited by repeated acts of insubordination on the part of the people, who were always relapsing into their old want of faith. But, however caused, the least lapse, which in another would have been readily forgiven, could by no means be passed over in a leader so exalted; and we see the great dangers into which continual disturbances and perplexities from beneath might hurl this noble spirit, who was watching constantly over the good of all (see p. 537.).

## *2. Survey and Chronology of the Wanderings.*

But these relapses of the people have also another result, over which we, as historical inquirers, must mourn. They early obscured the Israelite's own historical knowledge of the long period of the wanderings, and thus left a gap in the reminiscences of later writers which our most careful investigations can now never wholly fill up. The cowardice of the people (mentioned above, p. 598), which was manifested as they stood on the southern boundary of Canaan, the consequent severe defeat, and the open insurrection which apparently fell not much later (p. 601 sq.), were disasters that must have cast the

<sup>1</sup> xxxiii. 18–xxxiv. 9; in ver. 9 read נִתְבַּחֲנָה instead of 'מִתְבַּחֲנָה'.

<sup>2</sup> xxxiv. 10–28; the two tables of stone alluded to in ver. 28 are (according to xxii. 19, xxxiv. 1, 4 and the sense of the whole passage) undoubtedly not those containing the original Ten Commandments,

but those which contained the words of the covenant as repeated in vv. 10–26; see above, p. 591. But something must have fallen out after xxxiii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Consider the real meaning of the end of the stories in Num. xvi, xvii, and Ex. xxxii–xxxiv.

people down again from their scarcely secured moral elevation, and sunk them for a long period in dangerous commotions and dissolution. But times of continued misfortune and deep humiliation soon appear in the recollection of a nation only as obscure spaces, containing neither progress nor change; and what we have already seen to have been the case with respect to many centuries of the residence of the people in Egypt, holds good here also on the smaller scale of some tens of years.

When the people were already established in Canaan, and looked back upon the long period of their wanderings in the desert after their Exodus, undoubtedly the view became fixed among them that the time passed in the desert had been forty years—a round number, the early adoption of which may be inferred from the Book of Origins.<sup>1</sup> But when its author sought to assign to the several still remembered events of this long period their proper dates—their years, months, and days, we see at once how difficult it was even then to effect this in any historical sense. For while the entire middle of these forty years remained a completely blank space, of which nothing further is said than that the generation which came up from Egypt had to die in the desert for its backslidings, in order to make room for a better,<sup>2</sup> all those events which could not belong to the close of the wanderings were placed in the first two years, and all the remainder in the last year of the forty. Within these three years, which are not even quite filled up, the exact month and day are occasionally defined. The following instances, however, comprise the whole of these specifications. In the first year: the fifteenth day (i.e. the middle) of the second month;<sup>3</sup> the day of the third month (i.e. the day of the new moon, or first day of the month).<sup>4</sup> In the second year: New Year's day, for the setting up of the sacred Tabernacle,<sup>5</sup> the first day of the second month,<sup>6</sup> and the twentieth of the same.<sup>7</sup> In the third year: New Year's day.<sup>8</sup> In the fortieth, the first day of the fifth month.<sup>9</sup> It requires no long reflection to perceive how vague and indefinite after all are even these isolated data, to say nothing either of the forty days' journey of the spies, which corresponds to the forty years of the

<sup>1</sup> With which agree some passages of the older prophets, as Amos ii. 10, v. 25. The early Arabs also used the number 40 for a long and dismal period, as for instance their two greatest wars before Mohammed, those of Dâchis and of Basûs, each of which was said to have lasted 40 years.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xiv. 28-35.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xix. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xl. 2, 17; and Num. ix. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Num. i. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Num. x. 11.

<sup>8</sup> xx. 1.

<sup>9</sup> xxxiii. 38.

whole period<sup>1</sup> in the Book of Origins, or of the forty days assigned by later narrators to the abode of Moses upon Sinai (p. 606).

While it is from this cause difficult for us to form a connected history of the journeys and fortunes of the people in the desert, a fresh difficulty is presented by the fact, that the latest narrator can be clearly shown to have omitted many circumstances from the middle period of the forty years as described in the Book of Origins. At the very point where this narrator introduces for the second time many passages from the earliest record,<sup>2</sup> he must have made various omissions from the Book of Origins, unless we assume that these are due only to later copyists. For whoever is at all accurately acquainted with the style and method of the Book of Origins, the most beautiful as well as the grandest historical work of the ancient Hebrews, must confess that such a leap as that between Num. xx. 13 and xx. 14, where the narrative passes without preparation from the second or third year of the journeyings to the fortieth, cannot possibly be attributed to it. That a long desolate period would follow is indeed already indicated with tolerable clearness in the fourteenth chapter, but its actual entrance, and the transition to a new and better generation in the fortieth year, must necessarily have been related before xx. 14. To this must be added that the first words of chapter xx. appear quite disconnected; which is contrary to the usage of any historian who gives a connected narrative, and especially opposed to the detailed descriptive method of the Book of Origins: ‘The children of Israel came in full congregation to the desert of Zin in the first month—and the people abode in Kadesh.’ For as we cannot possibly understand this first month to belong to the second year, on account of Ex. xl. and Num. x. the reader has not the slightest clue as to which year the narrator intended. Indeed we might even think the fortieth year was meant, since the events following after xx. 14 obviously belong to that; especially the death of Miriam (mentioned xx. i.), since the death of Aaron, which is mentioned soon afterwards,<sup>3</sup> undoubtedly<sup>4</sup> falls in that year, and the Book of Origins always treats as typical this exalted family. But the general spirit of this book obliges us to consider the vehemence of the people in their craving for water, as well as the yet faltering faith of Moses and Aaron, to point not to the close but to the commencement of the forty years. The complaint uttered by the people in verses 3–5,

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 25, xiv. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Between Num. xx. 14 and xxii.

<sup>3</sup> xx. 22–29.

<sup>4</sup> According to Num. xxxiii. 38, 39.

takes us back to the same time. We cannot therefore doubt that this event ought to be assigned to the beginning of the third year. Thus the abruptness of the commencement of the history of the later period appears even more striking.

Through this mutilation of the narrative of the very book which certainly contained the fullest account of the whole forty years, every attempt now made to obtain a connected idea of that long period would fail, had we not, besides other accounts, two distinct auxiliaries, from which some light may be thrown upon the subject. The speaker in Deuteronomy gives a short but connected survey (chaps. i.-iii.) of all the journeys and fortunes of the people in the desert from Sinai onwards : and since, judging from many indications (see above, p. 458), he employed for this purpose other authorities besides the written ones now extant, this survey, although short and written at a late period, is in some respects invaluable. Then we possess also the lists of encampments which have been already dwelt upon (pp. 444 sqq.) ; which, although consisting chiefly of dry names of places, yet, as being very ancient documents, should always be first consulted ; and these bald names are of the greatest importance of all, where the other accounts either differ from them or leave a blank. Taking all these various authorities into full consideration together, the most likely view which we can obtain of the whole of this long period is the following.

1) Considering that Moses (according to pp. 490 sqq.) at first intended to lead the people by the very nearest way from Egypt north-east to Canaan (without touching Sinai), and only when compelled by unexpected obstacles abandoned this design in order first to establish at Sinai a new national organisation,<sup>1</sup> we need not be surprised if then, on the completion of this organisation at Sinai, he led them without further delay to the execution of his object. Now it is certain from the very words of the ancient exposition of the Fifth Commandment (p. 584), that this object was no other than the conquest of Canaan. Indeed all historical indications point to the fact, that Moses desired promptly to use the fresh enthusiasm and general exaltation of the period immediately following the deliverance and the giving of the law, for the attainment of the nearest earthly

<sup>1</sup> How necessary it then was on every account first to reorganise the people, is clear also (see p. 518 sq.) from the fact that Moses after the passage of the Red Sea did not take the straight road to the east, direct across the peninsula of Sinai towards Elah (though this route, recently described by Bartlett, was undoubtedly practicable also in those days), but first retreated southwards into the sacred fastnesses of Sinai.

object held out to his people. After the breaking up of the camp at Sinai, which according to the Book of Origins occurred in the second month of the second year, the Israelites, guided by Jethro and his Kenites, who were acquainted with the desert (pp. 467 sqq.), advanced exactly as if they were to force their way immediately into Canaan. The Tabernacle was brought by several stages<sup>1</sup> from the desert near Sinai into the desert of Paran.<sup>2</sup> The name 'Desert of Paran,' as used in the Book of Origins, is very general, denoting, like the present name *el-Tih*<sup>3</sup> (desolate), nothing more definite than the great desert to the north of the Jebel el-Tih—the mountain chain which rises higher towards the south, and culminates in Sinai, forming the southern half of the peninsula enclosed by the Red Sea.<sup>4</sup> And as this desert, intersected by some lower ranges, extends to the southern boundary of Judea, it was quite the natural order of things that Moses,<sup>5</sup> if he was preparing for an immediate incursion into Canaan from the south, should at once send out from thence his twelve spies to gain information on the routes and the inhabitants of the country to be conquered; as in similar cases when a hostile country is to be immediately entered.<sup>6</sup>

But the story already considered (pp. 598 sq.), with all its brevity on secular affairs, still allows the fact to peep through, that this second attempt of Moses to enter the Promised Land as soon as possible, was miserably frustrated through the guilt of the people. Just when the fruits of these wearisome journeys were to be gathered, cowardly despondency first, and then an overthrow consequent on an ill-considered advance, threw the attacking party far back from the goal which seemed already within reach (see above pp. 598 sq.). The Israelites

<sup>1</sup> Num. x. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Which are inserted in xi. 34, 35, xii. 16; compare xxxiii. 16-18.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. ئەنەن 'desert, wilderness,' out of which was formed the Arabic التىن; see Sur. v. 29. This more general use of the name is found also in Deut. i. 1; but originally Paran must have been one distinct spot on the eastern border of the Great Desert, as appears especially from Gen. xiv. 6; 1 Kings xi. 18. The Valley of Feiran فعيران to the north-west of Sinai (mentioned p. 522), although identified with this Paran as early as the time of the Fathers of the Church (on account of such passages as Deut. xxxiii. 2; Hab. iii. 3), undoubtedly was originally a very different locality; but we may well com-

pare the Maranites in Strabo, xvi. 4. 18, and Pharnitis in the *Geography* of Moses Choren., p. 362.

<sup>4</sup> See especially the large map of Arabia Petræa which appeared in Paris, 1834, as a supplement to the previously published Journey of Vicomte Léon de la Borde; and Berghaus's large map of Palestine, Gotha, 1835. To these are now added the great map of the Peninsula of Sinai given by Robinson in his *Travels*, and C. Zimmermann's *Atlas of Palestine and the Peninsula of Sinai*, sheets 7-15 (Berlin, 1850). The newer maps, Vandervelde's (1855) and Robinson's (to his *Later Researches*) here contribute nothing new.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xiii., xiv.

<sup>6</sup> See similar cases in Num. xxi. 32; Josh. ii. 1-iii. 1, vii. 2-4.

were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites as far as Hormah,<sup>1</sup> a city which is at least known<sup>2</sup> to have been situated in the extreme south of Judah; from which we can infer how far the army must have penetrated northwards. We possess however, as it seems, a second and really more distinct tradition of this overthrow, in a passage which now stands quite isolated, but which was certainly derived from the Earliest Narrator.<sup>3</sup> In this account the Canaanitish King of Arad, a city<sup>4</sup> which lay not far from Hormah on the northern edge of the Desert of Judah, attacked the Israelites, and took some prisoners, as soon as he heard that they were advancing by the way of the ‘Atharim,’ which, though as yet obscure to us, is undoubtedly the true historical name for the direct way from Sinai to Judea. But when it is said (vv. 2, 3) that Israel then smote the Canaanites in return in the same district, and in accordance with a vow devoted them and their cities, i. e. devoted them to destruction (for which reason the place had the name of Hormah the ‘devoted’), we must not thence infer that this requital followed immediately upon the defeat, since we find elsewhere<sup>5</sup> that a fierce contest raged at a later time between the Canaanites and the Hebrews for this very southern border-city, formerly called Zephath.

For this much is quite clear, that the frustration of this second attempt to push into the mountains of Judea from the south not only drove back the people for a long period from the visible goal of their wanderings, but what was much worse, dethroned them from the new and scarcely secured elevation of their spiritual life; and that a long dark interval ensued, to which later ages gladly closed their eyes. The Book of Origins connects the threat of a forty years’ sojourn in the desert directly with the insubordination which broke out there; and such open insurrections against Moses and Aaron as that of Korah, and others hinted at in the traditions preserved from that age (see

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiv. 45.

<sup>2</sup> From Josh. xii. 14, xix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxi. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> According to Josh. xii. 14; Judges i. 16. The site of this place has been found by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.*, 2d ed. p. 101) in Tell ‘Arād (where however no ruins are now seen), yet during the Middle Ages it was well known; see Carmoly’s *Itinéraires de la Terre-Sainte* (Brussels, 1847), p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Judges i. 16, 17. As Hormah, therefore, in Jos. xv. 30 was only the Israelitish name, it is conceivable that in

الصنادل الصفي and its diminutive, names of places to the south of Tell ‘Arād, a trace of the old name of the city has been retained, as Robinson conjectures (*Bibl. Res.*, 2d ed. ii. p. 101, 201); but these names, which are moreover not very uncommon in those parts, now denote merely narrow defiles, and we are as yet too little instructed in the topographical details of this region to hazard an opinion. Rowlands (in G. Williams’s *Holy City*, p. 488) thinks he has found Sepātā much farther to the south.

pp. 601 sqq.), must surely have followed not long after the external misfortunes; since all history teaches how ready are all the reserved elements of internal discontent to burst forth after a disastrous campaign. The people could go neither forwards into the promised land of Canaan nor back again into Egypt; the thread of their secular efforts was broken; and history throws a veil over the sorrowful remembrance of a long period of humiliation which followed the surprising elevation only just attained. Therefore it is said elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that 'the people abode in Kadesh many days which could not be counted,' thus not giving in that passage their exact number.

In general, the fortunes of the people during those many years undoubtedly took very much the form presented in the Book of Origins. But if with the account of the wanderings given there we compare the ancient list of the encampments given in Num. xxxiii., which was indeed its own authority (see pp. 444 sqq.), we see that here the Book of Origins must have shortened and contracted much of the original history; as indeed has already been noticed, pp. 444 sqq. The task therefore which remains for us—to restore the whole as far as possible to its original clearness, by the help of this detailed list of encampments—is one of especial difficulty, because though the direct way from Egypt to Sinai has been very often described in modern times, the remaining parts of the peninsula have not yet been sufficiently explored in all directions by well-informed Europeans.<sup>2</sup>

The two first encampments on leaving Sinai are in the passages quoted above (p. 612) Kibroth-hattaavah (*Graves of Desire*) and Hazeroth (*Courts*): this last encampment<sup>3</sup> recent travellers subsequent to Burckhardt have traced not without probability in a place possessing a well, called El-' Hudherah, which lies to the north-east of Sinai.<sup>4</sup> Though it might appear from

<sup>1</sup> Deut. i. 46.

<sup>2</sup> I still let this remark stand, although since it was written many recent travellers, as J. Rowlands, J. Wilson, &c., have travelled through those parts; still the chief part remains to be done, especially so far as accuracy is concerned. The latest journey, also, described in the *Audland* for 1851, p. 359, gives us nothing instructive on this point. Since 1856 however the great work by Lottin de Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique et l'Égypte moyenne*, has been published, on which see *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 140, ix. p. 123 sq.

<sup>3</sup> In the pronunciation adopted by the LXX., 'Ασρέθ, repeated about the second century before Christ by Demetrius, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Eus. *Præp.*

<sup>4</sup> Ev. ix. 29. The plain of the same name farther to the west, which J. Wilson (*The Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 256–260) says he has discovered, and which he prefers, would in any case only be named from the well.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, I cannot with Seetzen (*Reisen* iii. p. 89) and Raumer (*Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, 1843, p. 6) see in Di-zahab, which is mentioned in Deut. i. 1 after Hazeroth, the Dahab which lies on the sea-coast directly to the east of Sinai; because in Deut. i. 1 a district in which Moses was speaking in the fortieth year, north of the Arnon, is evidently meant; and if Sûph be the same as Supha in Num. xxi. 14, then it is a question whether in agreement with this pas-

this that the march, having been first directed towards the north-east, must have so continued as far as Elah, the seaport at the northern extremity of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, especially as that would be a very slight deviation from the direct road to Canaan ; yet we find in the names of the following encampments no proof of this. We meet next<sup>1</sup> with twelve encampments which are mentioned nowhere else in stories of these wanderings. As these are here left without explanation, and comprise not a single name well known from other sources, it is very difficult to determine their position.<sup>2</sup> Since, however, according to the foregoing views we must at all events look for the directest road to Canaan, the first place, Rithmah, appears to coincide with the present Wâdi Abu-Retemât, which name is only a modern Arabic form of one signifying ‘shrubbery.’ This place lies south of El-‘Augeh (or El-Abde), and has plentiful wells in its neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> It is situated, indeed, at a considerable distance towards the north ; but this need create no difficulty, since smaller resting-places between the previous encampment and this may have been passed over. Among the following eleven names there are according to all appearance several which are elsewhere reckoned as belonging to the most southern part of Judah : Rimmon-parez, v. 19 ;<sup>4</sup> Libnah, or according to the pronunciation of the Septuagint, Lebôna, v. 20 ;<sup>5</sup> Hashmonah, v. 29 ;<sup>6</sup> possibly also Rissah, v. 21.<sup>7</sup> It results from this then, that the Israelites had already advanced a considerable distance into the mountains of the south of Judah ; and we need have no further doubts on this point, because even the Book of Origins mentions that they had been driven back as far as Hormah in the extreme south of Judah,<sup>8</sup> which

sage we ought not to read בְּנֵי for בְּנִי, or (according to the Septuagint) the latter in both places ; Hazeroth may be another place of that name.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 18-29.

<sup>2</sup> The names themselves appear to have been in general pretty faithfully preserved, since most of the variations in the Septuagint concern only the pronunciation of the vowels ; Σελωνά in ver. 29 is probably taken from ver. 41 ; but in ver. 26 Καραᾶ guides us to the reading קָרָא for קָרָא.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson was there (*Biblical Researches*, i. p. 192-194.), but he did not think of the Biblical Rithmah (LXX. ‘Ριθμᾶ), because he views the entire wandering of the Israelites differently ; but De la Borde had already referred to this place. It is true, places named from the desert-shrub Rithmah are not infrequent in those parts at the present day.

<sup>4</sup> Rimmon, assigned to the tribe of Simeon, lay to the south of Judah : Josh. xv. 32 (compare xix. 7), Zech. xiv. 10 ; the Τεμουῦ in the Darôma, in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius ; the epithet Perez, too, guides us (according to p. 365 sq.) to Judah ; while Rimmon, obviously derived from the god of that name, worshipped from the earliest ages in Canaan, occurs very frequently as the name of a place.

<sup>5</sup> The Libnah mentioned in Josh. xii. 15 evidently lies in the south of Judah, to the north of Arad.

<sup>6</sup> Compare this with Heshmon in Josh. xv. 27.

<sup>7</sup> If Ρῆσσα is the correct reading in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xiv. 15. 2 ; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Num. xiv. 45, and compare Deut. i. 44 ; the latter passage shows that in

implies that they had previously advanced much further than Hormah.

2) Thus repulsed, the Israelites may then first have sought a refuge on the north-western frontier of their kindred, the Edomites, in Kadesh, a place which emerges from the darkness of those times as especially important, and where evidently the community of Israel had their central station during a very long period. As the name Kadesh itself declares, and the remaining extant traces of its history teach, this place long before Moses was a sanctuary upon an oasis in the desert, in whose still solitude an oracle had its seat. As from Egypt pilgrimages were made to the near oracle of Ammon in the desert, so from Edom and other adjacent districts many oracle-seekers in the most ancient times undoubtedly came to Kadesh.<sup>1</sup> Around this sanctuary had long gathered a considerable city,<sup>2</sup> which with its surrounding territory appears then to have belonged to the Amalekites (pp. 466 sq., 523). From these Israel took it by several victorious combats. The exact position of this old sacred spot has not in modern times been discovered with certainty, indeed its sanctuary seems to have been already destroyed not long after David.<sup>3</sup> But it is more definitely described as being not in the desert of Paran, but in that of Zin,

the seventh century this extreme southern region belonged to Edom.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest name of this place was therefore the 'Well of Decision,' i. e. of the 'Oracle,' Gen. xiv. 7; where the word קָדֵשׁ stands in the same sense as above p. 519.

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xx. 16.

<sup>3</sup> This place seems to have retained its importance till the time of David (Ps. xxix. 8), though called by the Deuteronomist (Deut. i. 2 and Josh. x. 41), and sometimes in the Book of Origins, though only towards the end (Num. xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3, and here possibly by a later addition), by another name—Kadosh Barnea. This can only be explained by supposing that a neighbouring place called Barnea had become of greater importance, so that Kadesh took its name as a distinctive epithet. But Barnea itself must have soon disappeared; for the Targums, Saadia, and the *Chron. Samar.* xxii., instead of Kadesh give *Rakim*, whose position indeed is not accurately defined in *Istachri*, p. 35, Möll., in the *Lex. geogr.* i. p. 479, and in *Abulfeda*, but which even Josephus in the *Antiquities*, iv. 4. 7. 7. 1, regarded as identical with Petra. Robinson believes he has found the site of Kadesh in 'Ain el

Weibeh, and builds a great deal upon this identification (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 173–176); but his reasons are quite general, and might equally well apply to another spot; moreover el Weibeh appears to me to lie too far to the south. And in fact J. Rowlands, with the assent of J. Wilson and G. Williams, tries to find Kadesh much further to the west, not far from the Wādi 'Arsh, which pours its waters into the Mediterranean, and lies to the north-east of the Jebel el-Halāl,—this place being still called *Qudae* by the desert tribes living there (see Rowlands's *Holy City*, pp. 487–492, ed. 1); but Count Bertow (in the *Bulletin de la Soc. géogr.*, 1839, p. 322) claimed to have discovered to the north-west of el-Weibeh on the Jebel Mādarah, a place, Kadessa, whose position would in fact probably suit the best. Moreover, earlier still, Seetzen (according to his manuscripts quoted in C. Ritter's *Erdkunde*, bd. xiv. p. 840, and in his printed *Reisen*, iii. p. 48) discovered a Wādi Kdeis, of which no further note has been taken. Besides, a tribe Kudairat has its settlements scattered over the same region, and there is an 'Ain-Kudairat. This entire question is therefore still in want of a final settlement: see also *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 228 sq., viii. p. 142 sq.)

and on the Edomite frontier.<sup>1</sup> From the fact that the desert of Zin stretched to the south-west from the Dead Sea, and during the independence of Israel bounded the tribe of Judah on the south-east,<sup>2</sup> and besides was evidently of less extent than the desert of Paran, we can form at least an approximate estimate of its position. To the south or more exactly to the south-east of it lay the not less ancient Paran,<sup>3</sup> which ultimately gave its name to the entire desert on the eastern edge of which it lay.

It now becomes easy to understand that the seat of power, which from the nature of that age was identical with the seat of the oracle, was provisionally established at Kadesh in preference to all other places.<sup>4</sup> But though the Israelites here were sufficiently strong and secure against the wandering Amalekites, yet their relation to Edom was obviously not yet settled, and should the mountain country of Edom behind them become hostile, their position might become a very serious one. Therefore we must repeat in this place the observation before made (p. 467 sqq.), that all the nations connected through Abraham's name must at that time have held more closely together and made common cause against the Aborigines, as well as against the Canaanites. From Edom especially, as the nearest of their kindred, the Israelites might then fairly hope for the readiest sympathy and protection. During those days of trial in the 'Desert of Paran,' they evidently obtained help and repose by keeping as near as

<sup>1</sup> This follows from the Book of Origins, Num. xiv. 25, xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiv. 4; Deut. xxxii. 51; Josh. xv. 3, and compare with Num. xxxiii. 36 (see above, p. 446), and especially Num. xx. 16. This is not invalidated by the fact that on one occasion (Num. xiii. 26) the more general name Paran is used instead of Zin, especially as in this passage the word is on other grounds open to the suspicion of being a false reading, as will soon be shown. According to Deut. i. 2 it lay on the eastern route, eleven days' journey from Sinai.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> This follows especially from Gen. xiv. 6, 7, according to which one turns from Paran to the north-west to go to Kadesh. The fact that the Shur, mentioned p. 521, is always described, in contradistinction to Paran and Kadesh, as the city which bounded on the west this great desert of the north of the Peninsula, and that all such topographical definitions were certainly adapted to the frequent communication maintained between Petra and Egypt, also furnishes a datum for determining the position of Paran. The Phara

which Schubert (*Reise*, ii. p. 363) says he found in the plateau to the north of the Hazereth mentioned p. 614 has not yet been noticed, so far as I know, by any other traveller. Feiran also (p. 612) is distinct, which in the age of the Fathers of the Church, and in the *Itiner. Ant. Mart.* xl. ed. Tobler, was called Paran, and in that of Edrisi (i. p. 32, Jaub.), Aaron's Paran.

<sup>4</sup> Since the Book of Origins so greatly reduces the number of encampments as scarcely to name the first two, it is not surprising that it takes the Ark of the Covenant at once from Sinai to Kadesh, or at least does not describe it as being carried with the people into the mountains of Judah (Num. xiv. 44); yet it does not speak till later of the entire congregation as going to Kadesh (xx. 1). This contradiction would cease if Kadesh were omitted in Num. xiii. 26; and in fact it ought properly not to come till after Zin, xx. 1, 14, 22 (and compare with xii. 16). However, Kadesh was read in Num. xiii. 26, even by the Deuteronomist, as follows from Deut. i. 19.

possible to the western boundary of the mountains of Edom, thus, as it were, putting themselves under the protection of the older and then more powerful sister-nation.

If Kadesh was only the central seat of the community, it is obvious that the separate tribes would spread out from thence over the desert, when and where they could best find food and shelter. Notwithstanding the paucity of stories of that troublous period, we can bring forward one example which shows that this was the case. When the whole people came to Kadesh in the desert of Zin (so says the Book of Origins), the people quarrelled with Moses on account of the want of water, and even Moses and Aaron doubted for a moment of the divine aid, so that both had to be put to shame by Jahve himself; therefore the well of water which was then opened and ended the difficulty and despair, was called the water of Meribah (*strife*).<sup>1</sup> This place, Meribah, therefore, lay near to Kadesh, whence it was also called Meribat Kadesh (i.e. Meribah near Kadesh);<sup>2</sup> and we gather from this that the people also spread themselves abroad around Kadesh. Another similar place was probably Taberah (i.e. *place of burning*), in which another Divine chastisement is located.<sup>3</sup>

But another peculiar difficulty arises in the consideration of this and all other stories of the residence of Israel in the desert during this long period. We possess in the Book of Origins an accurate enumeration of the tribes at the time of Moses. We have, first, in Numbers i., ii., an estimate of the number of the people at Sinai; in which the men capable of bearing arms in all the twelve tribes with the exception of Levi, from the twentieth year upwards, were 603,550. Next, in Numbers xxvi. we have an estimate made in the last days of Moses' life, after the people had suffered the defeat in the south of Judah,

<sup>1</sup> Num. xx. 1-13. Here the guilt of wrangling is ascribed to the people only (ver. 18), while the want of faith is charged upon Moses and Aaron also (ver. 12). In other passages also of the same Book of Origins this is dwelt upon as the special guilt of Moses and Aaron; as in them even a transient unbelief is a much greater fault than a more abiding incredulity in the people (Num. xx. 24, xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51). Since, however, a similar trial of the patience and faith of the people on account of the want of water had been placed by the Earliest Narrator even before the arrival at Sinai (Ex. xv. 25, 26), the Fourth Narrator was enabled to present at the last encampment before Sinai a story similar to that in the Book of Origins, and to pretend that

close to the sacred mountain of Horeb itself the names *Well of Massa* (Trial), and *Meribah* had originated (Ex. xvii. 1-7, and compare the repetition of the same in Deut. vi. 16, ix. 22). A different view is, that the trial is to be regarded as a gracious allotment of God, because by withstanding it man cannot but grow in blessedness; which view, taken from the ancient passage Ex. xv. 25, 26, is in Ps. lxxxi. 8 [7] applied to Meribah, and in the poetical passage Deut. xxxiii. 8 at the same time restricted to Levi, in obvious connection with the history given in Ex. xxxii.-xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51; compare Ezek. xlvi. 19, xlviij. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xi. 3; Deut. ix. 22; see above, p. 599.

and had besides endured the many terrible privations of the desert during so many years; in this we find the collective number of the men capable of bearing arms not considerably diminished, but amounting to 601,780.<sup>1</sup> Even if we assume that from those capable of bearing arms beyond the age of twenty there were only excepted the very old men who were quite incapacitated, still the whole people at that time must have numbered about two millions. But all modern travellers, from Bonaparte to Rüppell, De Laborde and Robinson, state, in some instances from careful computations, that the entire peninsula of Sinai at present has not many more than 6,000 inhabitants, and that from its unfruitful soil it could not support a much greater number. How then could so many Israelites have supported themselves there for so many years, and this too while, as we have seen (p. 466 sq.), Midianites and Amalekites also dwelt there in mutual enmity, and by no means in small numbers? If we should try to obviate this difficulty by supposing that the Book of Origins has transferred to this period the computations of a later time, we should do injustice to that work. It is true, indeed, its historical statements are not to be interpreted so literally as to imply that the computation took place on the precise days indicated. The general plan of the work is opposed to this, as has been frequently shown, and a special proof to the contrary is contained in the fact that the census which took place several months earlier gives as many adult males as does the first computation of those capable of bearing arms.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, in the separate tribes the numbers very seldom descend even to the tens and never to units. But otherwise the numbers of the single tribes are evidently accurate, both among themselves, and upon a comparison of the two computations at the beginning and at the close of the journey, and must be held to rest upon old historical data; and the leaders assigned to each tribe in Num. i. ii. are equally historical. It cannot be doubted that the author possessed ancient census-papers, which he used in the composition of his work (see p. 450 note, and 94 sq.). We cannot therefore fail to see that then the peninsula must have supported a far more numerous population than now; in a condition of great privation and trial certainly, of which indeed in all the tradi-

<sup>1</sup> This number is given in ver. 51; but in special cases the numbers of the LXX. show a greater divergence, vv. 18, 25, 41, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxviii. 26, compared with Num. i. 1 sq. That assessment is put in the first, and this enumeration in the second

year of the exodus. Comparing with this the round number 600,000, given in Ex. xii. 37 and Num. xi. 21 as that of the men who went out of Egypt, we see clearly that all these numbers must be taken from ancient tables of taxation.

tions there is frequent complaint, but still so that a frugal and laborious people would not absolutely perish, if only they made the trials themselves sources of warning and of strength. From the present number of the inhabitants of a country which has moreover been utterly neglected by the human hand, no certain conclusion respecting its earlier state can be drawn : and that peninsula is not the only country from whose present scanty population we should never have guessed the former density of human life. The most various causes, such as increasing idleness or barbarism in the inhabitants (which are indisputable in this case), destruction of good land by sand thrown upon it by the winds of the desert, a change in the temperature of the soil, may likewise contribute to produce the gradual desolation of a country. Which of these causes may have been in operation here, has been hitherto little investigated in recent times. This only we can already perceive, although the country has not yet been thoroughly explored in all directions by intelligent Europeans, that it is by no means one vast sandy plain, but possesses a multitude of hills and mountains besides Sinai ; and the most recent travellers have repeatedly remarked that it shows clear indications of having been formerly much more extensively cultivated.<sup>1</sup> Moreover we cannot exactly know how far the various tribes may have straggled out from Kadesh to procure subsistence ; for it is clear that Kadesh was only the resting-place of Moses and the Tabernacle, and the meeting-place of the community on appointed days.

3) Into this region of scarcity, then, the people were at first thrown by mere necessity. But we recognise the mark of a master-mind in the fact that then Moses sought to retain the people as long as possible in that seclusion and stillness, in order completely to transform them into another nation, physically as well as spiritually. The idea that as a Divine chastisement for their last presumptuous deeds a new generation must grow up in the desert, as the Book of Origins says, is in fewest words the exact truth concerning the history of these years : for although the people were already freed from Egyptian superstition, yet there still clung to them too much

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Rüppell (*Reise in Nubien*, 201; Bartlett, p. 121) and other travellers. The same observation may be made of many other regions in those parts—of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, of North Africa, according to Shaw, Pelissier, and others, and even of the district about Mecca, according to Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, i. 240, ii. 63 sq. Seetzen's observations also (*Reisen*. iii. p. 121, 129, and comp. p. 100) have reference to the same subject. The doubts of the historical character of the numbers have been often repeated of late, being especially prompted by Colenso's work on the Pentateuch ; but they have not been put on a sounder basis, nor have the real sources of the narrations been properly discriminated.

of the soft languid Egyptian character; and the best means to eradicate this effeminacy would naturally be found in a prolonged residence in the desert, with its terrors and its various and severe privations, at least for a people who were still accessible to better influences. If the Israelites, as they had just shown to their own great loss, notwithstanding the elevation to which they had raised themselves through the freedom they had attained, and through the improved religion and government they had established, were still too much accustomed to the effeminate life of the luxurious land of the Nile, and had been in Egypt too long degraded to dependence and weakness, to be able effectually to oppose any formidable enemy of a different character from the Egyptians: it could then by no means injure them to be powerfully impelled by the difficulties and privations of the desert to the use of their slumbering energies, and to be invigorated by the purity of that Arabian air, which has ever breathed into the sons of the soil courage to endure and to conquer. It was not without its value that the school of the new constitution and religion, which aroused all the highest powers of this nation during the early youth of their independence, was the Desert—the very region which at the same time strained and strengthened all their lower or bodily powers. These two fundamentally different incitements to culture—the new religion and the dangers of the desert—continued to work together for a considerable time. In the end we see the people who when first placed in their new position were querulous and cowardly, born again into a wonderfully powerful and courageous nation. And as the ancient tradition recounts, one single year, the fortieth after the Exodus, the original half-demoralised generation being now extinct, speedily retrieved all that seemed to have been delayed or lost during all the previous years. Hence in the later traditions, next to Sinai, the mountains of Seir, the plains of Edom, and the desert of Paran form the hallowed grounds of ancient history, as places where in the midst of difficulties they had yet experienced wonderful deliverances, and Jahve had displayed his glory, shaking the nations before them, as they advanced to victory.<sup>1</sup>

But in order to understand, as correctly as the means at our disposal render possible, the peculiar circumstances and possi-

<sup>1</sup> In the ancient song, Judges v. 4, 5; of the verse and to accord with the similar Hab. iii. 3 and Deut. xxxiii. 2, where for passages mentioned p. 612 (compare ver. the unmeaning רְבָבוֹת קֶלֶש we must read 8); the force of the מִנְחָה may continue from מִרְיבָּת קֶלֶש both to preserve the structure the previous clause.

bilities of this last crisis in the life of the great leader, it will be well first to call to mind the following points, most of which are established by scattered data already discussed. In the first place it is clear that Moses, when at length he thought the time had arrived for leading the people to Canaan, had to take a different route for the attainment of his object, from that formerly attempted; and since the path into Canaan from the mountainous country on the south was now certainly barred on every side, there remained only the far circuit around the Dead Sea, to the fords of the Jordan on the north-east. Besides the Aborigines scattered here and there and generally designated Amorites, there dwelt upon this circuitous route three nations related to Israel, namely Edom to the south-east of the Dead Sea, and adjoining them Moab to the east of that sea, and Ammon more to the north on the east side of the Jordan, and separated from Moab by a kingdom of the Amorites which had just risen into power. And since (as has been explained above, pp. 467 sqq.) the mutual relations of these kindred nations, which were united through their common forefather Abraham, were not so distant and even hostile as they became in the following centuries, especially after the supremacy of David, the Israelites under Moses might hope for an amicable arrangement with them; by which perhaps their passage through the land might be permitted, or at all events they might be secured against further molestation or hostility, or they might perhaps even obtain from one or other of them a friendly reception and alliance, on the basis of mutual aid against the Aborigines, if ever the case should arise. When we further reflect that when Moses decided upon this circuitous route, he stood some way towards the north, in the desert adjacent to the south of Judah and the western boundary of Edom, it becomes clear to us how, as the oldest narrative relates,<sup>1</sup> he should ask the King of Edom for permission to pass through. The straight direction to the north-east across Edom to the boundary of Moab would in that case shorten as far as possible the circuit upon which they were entering. But the King of Edom refused the request of Moses:<sup>2</sup> what dangers the transit of even a friendly army may bring, needs no explana-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xx. 14-21.

<sup>2</sup> In Deut. ii. 29 it is asserted that Edom did not forbid, but kindly permitted his passage. This can only be regarded as an inaccuracy committed in the heat of discussion, in order to establish a similarity with the case of Moab, and especially because the Deuteronomist is always

favourable to the nation in question (see especially xxiii. 8); and not as a deliberate contradiction of all other witnesses and of the necessities of the case; because the speaker himself had shortly before (ver. 8) given the more accurate account, which he evidently derived from his older written authority.

tion; and besides, we have every reason to suppose that the kingdom of Edom was then very flourishing and powerful, and therefore had no need of the contingent help of a kindred people. Since then it was quite impracticable for Israel to force a passage, Moses was compelled to lengthen his journey by another circuit. In order to pass by desert paths from the north-western to the north-eastern boundary of Edom, there remained only the long circuit to the south, round the extensive mountain range named Edom or Seir: passing first to the south-east, on the west of the valley still named Arabah,<sup>1</sup> down to the gulf of Elah, and then past the seaports of Elah and Ezion-gaber in the district of the modern 'Akabah, and lastly bending round from this southern angle again to the north-east up along the eastern boundary of the Idumean mountains and the edge of the great Arabian desert, to the river and valley of Zered (the modern al-Achsá) the most southern feeder of the Dead Sea from the east, which must then have formed the boundary between Edom and Moab.<sup>2</sup> Little as we know of the exact boundaries of Edom at that time, to enable us accurately to follow this long and irksome<sup>3</sup> journey of the Israelites, yet when we vividly seize and connect the meagre traditions and casual hints which still remain, we cannot doubt the general direction of the march<sup>4</sup> to have been that just given.

Besides the elevation of the Brazen Serpent, already referred to (p. 599), but few facts concerning this journey have been handed down. The serpent's image, both from the context and from the nature of the case, was certainly erected on the western boundary of Edom to the south of Judah. But here again, several names in the old catalogue of encampments (Num. xxxiii.) come to our aid, and help us to supply the deficiency. If we follow the series of these encampments from the place where we broke off (p. 599), the five next names

<sup>1</sup> The ancient חָנָכָה had a much greater extension to the north also.

<sup>2</sup> The Zered appears distinctly as a boundary-river in Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18; and the probability is thereby enhanced that it corresponds not merely to the present Wadi el-Achsá, but also to the river elsewhere named נַחַל שְׂרֵכִים, and forming the southern boundary of Moab (Isaiah xv. 7, with which compare Amos vi. 14). On the other hand, it is not mentioned at all as an encampment in Num. xxxiii. 44; and the encampment here mentioned as 'Ruins of the Abarim,

mountains' (Ije-abarim) forms the boundary of Moab, both in this passage and in Num. xxi. 11 (where the encampment on the Zered is not mentioned till after it). At all events these two places, the valley and the mountain, cannot have been far apart; and possibly the difference between עֲרָבָה or עֲבָרִים and עֲרָבָה was only one of pronunciation.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxi. 4; see Bartlett's *Forty Days*, p. 107, 109, 145.

<sup>4</sup> From the short notices in Num. xx. 21, xxi. 4, 10-12; Deut. i. 40, ii. 8 (the most important passage), 13; compare this with Num. xiv. 25, xxxiii. 37, 41-44.

(vv. 31–35) seem to designate the encampments of the march along the western side of the mountains. This is self-evident of the last of these places, Ezion-gaber;<sup>1</sup> the first, called Moseroth, or by another authority<sup>2</sup> Mosera, is also specified by this latter, who generally appends some comments to the names, as the place of Aaron's death. According to the Book of Origins Aaron died in the fortieth year after the departure from Egypt,<sup>3</sup> and was buried on Mount Hor, which must have stood on the west side of the mountain range.<sup>4</sup> These two divergent traditions may be most easily reconciled by supposing the two places to have been not far from each other; Hor lying strictly more to the north, but used, as the name of a high mountain easily might be, to designate a larger district. The next place, Hor-hagidgad (that is, the Hill of Gidgad, also called Gudgodah) is probably identical with the Wâdi Ghudhâghidh,<sup>5</sup> supposing this name to have been formerly extended more to the east. The three next places after Ezion-gaber, Zalmonah, Punon, and Oboth, are then to be sought upon the east side of the mountains of Seir.<sup>6</sup> Next came the southern boundary of Moab.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the still clearer description in Deut. ii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. x. 6, 7; a passage which now stands very isolated; in which four encampments are named, but Mosera does not come till after Bene Jaakan (or more fully Beeroth Bene Jaakan). The latter place is named by Eusebius in the Onomasticon as not far from Petra, and still known in his time as the place of Aaron's death. Nevertheless, though sedulously propagated and widely spread in later times, this opinion that Mount Hor, where Aaron died, lay near Sela or Petra, afterwards so celebrated a city (whence the mountain itself was called Jebel Hârdîn, and the territory of Petra Wâdi-Mûsa), is a mere conjecture; and perfectly untenable when it is seen that Israel could not touch the territory of Edom, and therefore would not approach the mountains near Petra. I find no proof that the name Hor still lives in the mouth of the people; and the Moslem consecrated these places only because Aaron is mentioned in the Korân together with Moses. Even J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, p. 294, 295) could not find Aaron's grave there.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xx. 22–29.

<sup>4</sup> Although in Num. xxxiii. 37–39 it does not now come till after Ezion-gaber.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, i. p. 181 sqq.; the sounds do not differ too much. It would be less correct to identify it with

the modern Gudyan (*Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* ix. p. 121). The following name, Jotbah-thâ, sounds very like the ancient Jotabe, which at all events lay somewhere in that region (see *Rel. Pal.* p. 533 and Procopius, *Bell. Pers.* i. 19. 7); and a trace of Ebro'-nâh, which then follows, immediately preceding Ezion-gaber, is perhaps found in a place to the north-west of Elah, called by the diminutive form Humairavat.

<sup>6</sup> The Onomasticon of the Fathers says distinctly that Punon or Phinon (*Phœnón*) lay to the north of Petra and south of the Zoar mentioned p. 314; and other ancient writers speak of a *Fœnus* in that district (*Rel. Pal.* p. 961); but so far as I know, the place has not hitherto been identified, and the passages Gen. xxxvi. 41 and Num. xxxiii. 41–44 do not quite suffice to enable us to find the exact position of such places. (See Ritter's *Erdk.* xiv. 994).

<sup>7</sup> Throughout his exposition of Num. xxxiii. no further assumption is made than that the encampment in the Desert of Zin (or as the author of the Book of Origins adds, of Kadesh) and that on Mount Hor (which according to Num. xx. 22 was the next following) are to be pushed back from vv. 36–39 to vv. 30 and 31, on the ground that they do not stand suitably after Ezion-gaber, since the high mountain of Hor is evidently placed by the Earliest Narrator (Num. xxi. 4) on the western side of the range. I conjecture

## II. LAST PERIOD UNDER MOSES.

1. *His last activity.*

But with this wearisome journey the chief difficulties were overcome; so that following the authorities of Deuteronomy,<sup>1</sup> we may justly place here the end of the long affliction and the commencement of a new and victorious period. At first the Israelites marched only along the eastern boundary of Moab, and therefore still on the edge of the Arabian desert.<sup>2</sup> But the Moabites, then settled between the rivers Zered and Arnon, the latter of which flows into the northern half of the Dead Sea, soon granted them a free passage, at least through the country formerly occupied by them north of the Arnon; and the Israelites, coming from the desert on the north-east, settled down in many places in this fruitful land. This not only follows from the list of encampments,<sup>3</sup> but also appears as a recognised tradition in the story of Balaam,<sup>4</sup> in Deuteronomy,<sup>5</sup> and elsewhere.

that only later readers have transposed the order of these two encampments to bring Num. xxxiii. into closer agreement with Num. xx. 22 and xxi. 4-10, without reflecting that the actual author of the Book of Origins elsewhere also passes over many intermediate encampments. Hence also we may account for the insertion, from xxi. 1, of the irrelevant remark in xxxiii. 40, noticed above, p. 445. A similar transposition is found in Deut. x. 6, 7.

With this also falls to the ground the single plausible argument for the hypothesis of Robinson, ii. p. 175, 193-5, and of Raumer p. 11, 12, that Israel was twice in Kadesh—a perfectly gratuitous assumption, and supported by no single valid argument. I do not mean to say that the causes of such cross-journeys as from Kadesh to Ezion-gaber and back again are not at all hinted at by any of our authorities; but I do maintain that apart from the position occupied by Kadesh in Num. xxxiii. and xiii. 26, all the accounts and traditions are opposed to it. The expression in Num. xiv. 25, xxi. 4, 'in the direction of the Red Sea,' inasmuch as in that context the western or Egyptian gulf cannot possibly be intended, must mean merely 'towards the south-east,' just as in Deut. i. 2, the words 'toward Seir,' are intended to mean only 'towards the north-east.'

Léon de Laborde, however, in his *Commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris 1841), deals still more capriciously with nearly all the encampments. Let any one who would see the absurdities into which a slavish subjection

to the mere letter of the Bible even on these questions may lead, examine this work. The position of Kadesh, moreover, is determined without any basis whatever. See my remarks on the fundamental defects of this work in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1842, pp. 540 sqq. Moreover, to understand all the Biblical accounts with the requisite accuracy, far more investigation ought to be made on the spot than has been hitherto; but it is above all essential to comprehend the real difficulties which are encountered by every accurate reader of the statements in the Pentateuch; the true solution of which cannot be even attempted by one who wishes to remain enslaved to the mere letter of the Bible. Bartlett's work *Forty days in the desert on the track of the Israelites* (London, 1848) does not once touch upon these difficulties, and attempts no solution of any of these questions; and J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible* (Edinburgh 1847, 2 vols.), does very little to enlighten the present obscurities, and some of the most recent and very lengthy works still less: see *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 257 sq., xi. p. 250 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii. 14 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxi. 11; Judges xi. 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxi. 11-13, 16, 18 end (where, according to ver. 16, for 'נַעֲמָה' we must read 'נְעַמָּה', unless the name of one place has fallen out)—20, and the different enumeration in Num. xxxiii. 45-47.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxii.-xxv.

<sup>5</sup> i.-iii.

We find indeed clear indications that the Israelites tarried long and willingly in this country, and contracted intimate relations with the Moabites; and that at a later period in Canaan they looked back with conscious pride upon the time which they had passed there. How powerfully indeed the memory of this exercising ground, which prepared them for their earliest manifestations of power and glorious victories, swayed the minds of the Israelites, is sufficiently testified by the few still extant old national songs,<sup>1</sup> which point entirely to this ground and to this time, the closing period of Moses' leadership, and also by fragments of ancient poetical stories<sup>2</sup> of deeds done there. How ardent a national feeling was then aroused, we may infer even from the short song of the water-drawers in Num. xxi. 17, 18; which seems to turn upon an insignificant circumstance, and yet betrays all the beautiful enthusiasm of the time:

'Spring up, oh well!' sing thus to it,  
A well which princes digged,  
Which the noblest of the people bored,  
With the ruler's staff, with their sceptres.

This is indeed only an ordinary well-song such as women may sing to inspire each other in the alternations of the frequently laborious task of raising water from a deep well; with the aid of a hearty song to second their labours, the wish that the well would spring up, i. e. give water from its depth, is most pleasantly fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> But a well-song insignificant as this gains a peculiar charm from the fact that the singers know that they labour at a task in which the highest among the people have not disdained to render hearty cooperation; as if the well had been dug by the princes and the nobles themselves, though they might have no meaner implement to use than their sceptres of rule. And thus, in the fugitive stanzas of a song on a passing event, breaks out all the glad zeal of that period, springing from mutual trust between a helpful ruling class that condescended to the real wants of the people, and an industrious nation which

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxi. 17-30.

<sup>2</sup> xxi. 14, 15. See above p. 446 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Judges v. 11; Gen. xxix. 2, 3, and similar passages enable us easily to realise the whole scene. And even should the threshing song which Champollion (followed by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, iv. p. 88) thinks he has found in hieroglyphics on Egyptian tombs, rest upon an error, yet such songs are quite conceivable in any age. Remember also the designation of heavy labour by *ad puteum* and *ad molam*,

Plaut. *Poen.* v. 3. 39. See Klausen's *Aeneas*, i. p. 140. We find very similar examples of popular songs accompanying the alternate strokes of various kinds of hard labour in Virgil's *Moretum*, v. 29, 30; Athenaeus, *Deipn.* xiv. 10; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 400, 401; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, iv. p. 74; *Journal Asiatique* for 1847, i. p. 236, 250; *Ausland* for 1852, p. 512; Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 223.

looked up to them with real affection. Is there then a want of water in the desert, or of anything else that is necessary? through their unanimous and vigorous cooperation a marvel may speedily occur to supply the need; and even an apparently trivial work, such as a new well, charmed as it were into being by such participation of the upper classes, will ever after strengthen and elevate the self-consciousness of the humblest labourer. This song dates undoubtedly from the earliest times, and is connected with an encampment in the ancient land of Moab, called Beer, or Well; which well there is no difficulty in believing to have been dug at that very time. Thus, learning from the living voice of the age the real elevation of the national life, and seeing the marvellous virtue of Moses' sceptre of rule exhibited in the desert (so to speak) before our very eyes, we can more easily understand, how, in the words of 'the ancient narrator,' Jahve could say to Moses 'Gather the people together, that I may give them water,' and how the Book of Origins could describe the sacred staff in the hand of Moses as striking water from the rock.

But to produce such a result, favourable external conditions must have been combined with the inner regeneration of the people, as is evident when we see how opposite is the relation into which the Israelites now entered with Moab, to that in which they had stood towards Edom. And in truth, if we give some attention to still extant traces of tradition, we need not leave the question respecting this secondary cause wholly unanswered. If we weigh, especially, the full meaning of that song of victory,<sup>1</sup> which gives utterance to the exultation of the age, and the ancient historical explanation appended to it,<sup>2</sup> we discover that Moab was then very differently situated from Edom. Under the predecessor of Balak, then king of Moab, whose name is wanting in our present records, the Amorites, the original inhabitants formerly subjugated by Moab, had successfully rebelled against both Moab and their brethren of Ammon, and subdued almost the whole country between the Arnon on the south and the Jabbok, which flows into the Jordan, on the north, including the elevated and easily fortified city of Heshbon: a victory obviously all the more dangerous for the Moabites, because they were entirely separated by this new kingdom of the Amorites from their brethren of Ammon who dwelt to the north-east: while at the same time in the city of Jazer and the surrounding country at the south-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 26.

west border of Ammon, a similar but smaller Amorite kingdom maintained itself.<sup>1</sup> The presence and friendship of Israel therefore might be even acceptable to the Moabites: for these gained thereby a reinforcement against the victorious Amorites, while the Israelites could not reach the fords of the Jordan without their friendship and without first rendering harmless the Amorites, whose power then undoubtedly extended to the southern Jordan. The best alliances are those cemented by mutual need: and in this case the Israelites had not to wait long for the expected recompense. When Moses from the desert of Kedemoth<sup>2</sup> sent to Sihon<sup>3</sup> king of the Amorites at Heshbon, requesting permission to pass through and promising every possible forbearance, and was refused, nothing remained for the leader of Israel and the common enemy of Moab and of Israel but an appeal to the sword, which we observe Moses to be generally desirous of avoiding. Sihon however advanced immediately against the Israelites, who conquered him in a battle at Jahaz, and as conquerors took possession of the entire country between the Arnon and the Jabbok, with the important city of Heshbon near the still more important fords of the Jordan; while Moab and Ammon do not appear to have claimed the restitution of territories which formerly belonged to them. Thus the Israelites were for the first time the victorious possessors of a fruitful country, and we understand the emphasis with which henceforth it was repeated that, 'the Arnon was the boundary of Moab,' all that lay north of it therefore belonging to Israel.<sup>4</sup> The feelings that then crowded in upon this youthful and victorious people are seen most strikingly in the song in Num. xxi. 27-30, which, bursting forth in the midst of victory, taunts with the bitterest scorn the Amorites,—those proud warriors, who had shortly before been the conquerors and destroyers of Moab, but were now themselves utterly subdued and as if burnt up by fire on every side:

<sup>1</sup> This follows from Num. xxi. 24 (according to the correct reading of the LXX. יַם for יָם), 32; see xxxii. 1, 35; Josh. xiii. 25. The city Jazer, together with its ancient name, is certainly preserved either in the ruins of Seir southwest from 'Ammân, or in 'Ain Hazir close by Ssalt. It was so important in early times that it was elevated into a Levitical city, Josh. xxi. 39; and maintained its existence in later times also through every vicissitude, Is. xvi. 8, 9; 1 Macc. v. 8; see Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 393, 398, 406. It is self-evident that the sister-nations Moab and

Ammon may have been torn asunder from one another only through recent conquests by the Aborigines; and that Ammon experienced a like fate is shown Josh. xiii. 25; Judges xi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. ii. 26; Josh. xiii. 18, see p. 632.

<sup>3</sup> A high mountain on the southern edge of the Arnon is still called Shihan; so also another north of Ssalt. On the old ruins there see De Sauley's *Voyage*, i. p. 324 sq. See also Wetzstein's *Haurân*, p. 26 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 13-15, 26; Deut. iv. 47, 48.

## 1.

Come home to Heshbon !  
Let the city of Sihon be built up and restored !

## 2.

For fire went out from Heshbon,  
A flame from the fortress of Sihon ;  
It devoured the city of Moab, the lords of the heights of Arnon.  
'Alas for thee, Moab ! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh,  
Who hath yielded up his sons as fugitives and his daughters as captives  
Unto Sihon king of the Amorites !'

## 3.

We have burned them— Heshbon has perished !—unto Dibon,  
And laid them waste even unto Nophah,  
With fire unto Medeba.<sup>1</sup>

Upon closer examination there is no doubt that this song of victory has a satirical introduction,<sup>2</sup> and is by no means a song of thanksgiving, such as, for instance, the Song of Deborah. 'Come home, to Heshbon' — the city which can no longer give you home and shelter; 'rebuild if you can that city' — which for you lies in ruins for ever, but which we now, unmolested by you, hold as our own new capital, and shall restore in our own way!<sup>3</sup> Thus with loud mockery did the victors call to the conquered exiles who were never to return. But to announce more seriously the guilt of the vanquished, a second voice takes up the history : 'yet surely this is the same city of Heshbon, out of which once burst forth the devouring fire of battle against Moab—unhappy Moab, over whose fall and the powerlessness of whose God Chemosh, the most scornful triumphal songs of the Amorites then broke forth !—for Chemosh had suffered his sons to be expelled, and his daughters to be taken prisoners', i.e. all his worshippers to be vanquished. But just when these Amorites, who destroyed Moab with fire and sword, deemed themselves most secure—thus returns the full chorus of the victors to the

<sup>1</sup> Verse 30, which in the Masoretic text is unintelligible, only becomes clear if we read with the LXX. וְיָהִי for וְיָשַׁב; and as the figure of fire in ver. 28 evidently still continues through the whole of ver. 30, נִמְלֵד is to be derived from יָרַח = אֶרְאָב =

וּרְכָּת (Sansk. *ush*, or even *ar*, whence *aranya* 'wood,' Lat. *uro*) 'to burn,' and מְלֵדָה to be explained as Hiphil from נִשְׁתַּחַת = נִצְחָה 'to devastate' (see Jer. iv. 7), and in the later language נִמְלֵד 'to kindle,' תִּמְלֵדָה 'funeral pile,' M. Rosh Hashana ii. 2, 3. Nophah is indisputably the same place as Nobah in Judges viii. 11 (compare Num. xxxii. 38), but not the same as Nobah in Num. xxxii. 42. With this comment the ancient song will be

found quite intelligible; Dibon lay most to the south, Medeba to the north-east, Nophah probably most to the north-west.

<sup>2</sup> The historian himself undoubtedly intends to describe it as a satirical poem, in attributing it to the בְּנֵי לְשָׁן as composers or reciters of it; for these persons 'that speak in proverbs' may easily become Satirists, Ezek. xvi. 44, considering that a proverb which lashes folly or presumption borders closely upon satire: see Micah ii. 4; Hab. ii. 6; Isaiah xiv. 4; Ps. xliv. 15 [14].

<sup>3</sup> The best comment on these brief words is afforded by the ancient story that the Israelites themselves restored these towns and gave them new names, Num. xxxii. 38; and see something similar in the time of the Kings, 2 Kings xiv. 7.

first strain of the song—‘then we burned and wasted them with the fire of battle, from Heshbon the chief and central place to all ends of the land’; and so Israel avenged Moab. That this song springs directly from the very first period of the conquest, is evident from the fact that Heshbon was soon afterwards restored by the tribe of Reuben and remained ever after an important city.<sup>1</sup>

The possession of the rich pasture-lands on the eastern side of the Jordan is very alluring to nations which, like some at least of the tribes of Israel, prefer great herds of cattle to mere agriculture. The Book of Origins<sup>2</sup> assigns this as the reason which induced the two tribes of Reuben and Gad to settle down in this region, contrary to the original intention of Moses. And as the occupation between new neighbours of a single strip of land readily leads to more extensive conquests, the Israelites soon took possession of the Amoritish Jazer to the north, and then after the battle of Edrei, of the Amoritish kingdom of Og, lying to the north of the Jabbok in Bashan as far as Hermon, i.e. as far as the foot of Antilibanus (p. 227 sqq.). On this occasion however they carefully spared their brethren of Ammon, as the ancient account relates.<sup>3</sup> Since Edrei lies very far to the north-east over against the sea of Galilee,<sup>4</sup> the war which was then carried on must have been decisive in the extreme: but unfortunately we do not possess any ancient authorities enabling us to follow it in its details; unless from the iron bed of this Giant King, which at a later age was shown in the chief city of the people of Ammon,<sup>5</sup> and which must have been a trophy of victory, we may conclude that the Ammonites joined Israel in the war against Og, a relic of whom they thus laid up in their chief city. The position of the Ammonites also favours the idea that they took part in the war. But it is doubtful whether Moses lived to see the diffusion and the settlement of the two-and-a-half tribes on the far side of the Jordan, since the northern and eastern territories are kept quite in the background in the narrative of Num. xxxii.

At all events, the Book of Origins speaks of the camp of Moses, which was of course the centre of the activity of the people after the conquest of the territory between the Arnon

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxii. 37.

<sup>2</sup> xxxii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> xxi. 31–39, see Book of Origins, Num. xxxii. and Deut. iii. 3 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> On the ground of the modern D'raa (Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 384). This town in the Grecian age was called Adrasa; it is

different from Ezra, the ancient Zorava, which lies to the north-east of it. See *Lex. Geogr. ed. Juynboll*, i. p. 39, for other places in this district with names of similar sound.

<sup>5</sup> Deut. iii. 11.

and the Jabbok, as still remaining in the low lands, named from their former possessors 'Plains of Moab' not far from the embouchure of the Jordan into the Dead Sea on the bank opposite to Jericho; not far removed from the place of his death.<sup>1</sup> To this region accordingly must be assigned the seduction of many of the people to partake in the orgies of the Midianites already mentioned (p. 604), as well as the attack upon the Midianites which followed, and their conquest by Israel.<sup>2</sup> The Book of Origins expressly calls this act of war the last in the life of Moses.<sup>3</sup> But certain as is the fact of this defeat of Midian, even the five conquered and executed princes being mentioned by name, we have to regret that in the Book of Origins (so far as its extant remains extend; for in Num. xxv. the introduction, as we have seen (p. 604, note), is wanting) neither the relation of Midian to these countries and nations, nor the place of the battle, is given. In the fuller narrative of the overthrow and booty in Num. xxxi., this book has moreover mainly a legislative object. From another brief and ancient account<sup>4</sup> we may assume a close connection between these five Midianite princes and the Amorite king in Heshbon, perhaps a connection which entitled the king to call them in for his defence after his defeat.

While national songs and the records of victory thus testify to great movements in the last days of Moses, we meet also with accounts of the encampments of the people derived from a twofold source. But since the districts beyond the Jordan have been hitherto but little investigated by intelligent Europeans, the greater number of the names here also are at present more obscure than we could wish. Meanwhile the mere comparison of the two authorities is instructive. According to the one,<sup>5</sup> the nearest encampment from Zered (p. 623) was immediately on the opposite (or northern) side of the Arnon (the modern Mojeb): Israel therefore without much delay marched on northwards, along the whole extreme eastern border of the kingdom of Moab, which was at that time much weakened, thus keeping always on the edge of the Arabian desert; the same reasons doubtless which (according to pp. 622 sq.) decided Moses to pass round the land of Edom holding good also of Moab.<sup>6</sup> Here, not far from the sources of the

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 63, xxxiii. 50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1, 8; see Num. xxxiii. 48, 49, xxv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Ver. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xiii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Num. xxi. 13-20: on the river Zered see Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 350; but the Suph in Seetzen, i. p. 387, lies too far to the north for that mentioned p. 614.

<sup>6</sup> According to the narrative in Judges xi. 17, Moses had addressed the request

Arnon, and therefore near the territory of the Amorite kingdom which had then forced itself in between Moab and Ammon, was the desert named Kedemoth from the neighbouring Amorite city,<sup>1</sup> from whence Moses sent to beg a free passage from King Sihon (p. 628). The city of Jahaz or Jahza, where Sihon was conquered (p. 628), cannot have lain very far from this,<sup>2</sup> and not till after this victory does Israel appear to have occupied the camp at Beer (p. 626 sq.), still not far from the edge of the desert, as this place is elsewhere reckoned as belonging to the habitable country.<sup>3</sup> From hence probably the expedition against Bashan (p. 630) set out. The two next encampments Mattanah (*Gift*) and Nahaliel (*Brook of God*) are mentioned nowhere else : since however we know from other sources the names of the ancient cities of this region more accurately than those of many others,<sup>4</sup> it seems probable that they were merely open spots well supplied with water, where the Israelites had been long accustomed to encamp. Assuming therefore that Mattanah may correspond with the present ruins of Tedûn at the source of the Lejum, a tributary of the ancient Arnon, and Nahaliel with the present Wadi Enkhaileh of similar sound<sup>5</sup> (which name is interchangeable with Lejun), the next encampment, Bamoth, must be the same as Bamoth-baal (*Hill of God*) which city is elsewhere<sup>6</sup> introduced between the more southern Dibon and the more northern Baal-meon (now Ma'in near Heshbon) and was therefore apparently near the high mountain now called Attârûs, The next and last encampment, 'The Dry Valley

Which in Moab's land begins with Pisgah,  
And looks far into the waste desert,'

must according to all indications have been an elevated valley which stretched downwards from the mountains opposite to the most southern point of the Jordan into the desert which here

for permission to pass to the king of Moab also as soon as he reached Kadesh, but without effect. And certainly he could not at that time have exactly wished for a direct passage through Edom alone.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the occupation of this town by Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18; 1 Chron. vi. 64[79]) that it was not then Moabitish.

<sup>2</sup> It is coupled with Kedemoth in Josh. xiii. 18; and also in Isaiah xv. 4, it is implied that it lay near the frontier. The modern Jezia probably does not lie too far to the south-east of 'Ammân.

<sup>3</sup> Beer-elim (*the Well of the terebinth or turpentine tree*) in Isaiah xv. 8, which lay on the frontier, may very well be the same place ; especially as, according to

Num. xxxii. 9, there were twelve wells and seventy palms at Elim. This need not however invalidate the assumption that this place, like Gilgal under Joshua, was at first only a military camp of the Israelites. The same place is meant in Judges ix. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Especially from Num. xxxii. 34 sqq. ; Josh. xiii. 16 sqq. Isaiah xv. xvi. Jer. xlviij.

<sup>5</sup> Burckhardt, Syr. p. 635, 636, and De Saulcy's *Voyage*, i. p. 329. On the other hand Burckhardt conjectured on p. 632 that Nahaliel was identical with the Wâleh, the great north-western tributary of the Arnon.

<sup>6</sup> Josh. xiii. 17.

surrounds that river; for these lowlands around the Jordan are elsewhere often called the steppes ('Arboth) of Moab, and here also lay a spot with a similar name Beth-jesimoth<sup>1</sup> (*house of the desert*). And with this place is easily connected the last encampment mentioned in the second enumeration,<sup>2</sup> 'in the steppes of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho,' where Israel encamped spreading out 'from Beth-jesimoth unto Abel at the Acacias';<sup>3</sup> so that we cannot doubt that this designates the last encampment but one. Whilst in that first enumeration five or six encampments, reckoning from the southern boundary of Moab, precede this last but one, which was not far from the Jordan, we find in the second only three named before the last, and these three have perfectly different names; Dibon, Almon near Diblathaim, and the mountains of Abarim east of Nebo. Dibon was an important place north of the middle course of the Arnon, whose ruins still bear the same name;<sup>4</sup> Diblathaim, whose exact position we do not yet know, lay apparently more to the north. Since then Dibon was not far from the assumed position of Nahaliel, and Nebo according to all other accounts lay opposite the southern Jordan upon the mountain range here described by the general name 'Abarim,' it follows that the two accounts describe the same journey, which accordingly proceeded first straight to the north, from the sources of the Zered to those of the Arnon, then through the region north of the Arnon westwards to Dibon, and again from thence northwards till opposite Jericho. But it is also evident that the two lists of encampments had distinct origins, as also that the enumeration of Num. xxxiii. passed over smaller encampments, and preferred to describe localities by a reference to well known cities and mountains; of which we have already seen an example (p. 624). But according to all these traditions, the district close to the Jordan at that time belonged not to Moab but to the kingdom of the Amorites; Israel stood therefore finally by the Jordan upon land which had only formerly been Moab's. From this camp by the Jordan was prosecuted the last war of Moses, that with Midian (p. 630 sq.); and at the close of his life he retired from hence eastward to Mount Nebo, the highest peak of the Pisgah range, whence, as stated in the Book of Origins, Jahve showed him all the Holy Land to the Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 49; Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20; perhaps Βῆσμωθ in Josephus *Jewish Wars*, iv. 7. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxxiii. 45-48.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Num. xxv. 1 and Micah vi. 5 with Num. xxxi. 12, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Burckhardt's *Travels*, p. 372.

This locality however does not seem as yet to have been specially explored.<sup>1</sup>

But although we possess more ample information respecting the last actions and journeyings of Moses, their chronology is no more certain. We must therefore now content ourselves with the certainty of his great deeds, and with the generally well-ascertained sequence of the events of his life. This may satisfy us the more readily, that the essential features of his whole life are still sufficiently recognisable. At all events every attempt and every conjecture which has been made subsequently to the time of the Greeks towards the restoration of a more accurate chronology of the life of Moses has been wasted labour founded more upon error than upon truth.<sup>2</sup>

## *2. His Death. Balaam's Blessing.*

Here therefore we stand at the close of this great leader's life, and may calmly survey it as a whole. Doubtless it became evident even during the rule of Moses, that the new principle he had established could not in its immediate development maintain that purity and elevation in which it dwelt in the leader's breast; and had been distinctly realised during a short period. The new life for the present seeks a secure abode only among this one people: Jahve becomes the banner under which this nation, springing into existence amid all the cramping necessities of life, strives for position and repute among the peoples of the earth; war and victory over other nations are the emphatic watchwords of the time; and since thus immediately upon the foundation of the higher religion the lower problems of national life are urgently felt, the higher and purer truths run the danger at their earliest dawn of being again beclouded and repressed. This change in the national life, which in the succeeding

<sup>1</sup> See the mere conjectures in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. p. 569-70 and E. G. Schultz's *Jerusalem*, p. 43; also Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 318 sq. and *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* x. p. 166. The name Phôshga (also written Phôschâ) is now given to a mountain on the north-western shore of the Dead Sea, almost exactly opposite the ancient Pisgah.

<sup>2</sup> As e. g. the view of Eupolemus as early as the second century (reported by Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30) that he fled from Egypt and became a prophet at the age of 40 years (see page 469). In the *Seder 'olam* c. viii.-x. an early attempt is made to assign the length of the several periods of his life, but the book is full of capricious and idle imaginations. Thus

from the expression in Deut. ii. 14 (which as a brief summary is obviously to be interpreted in accordance with i. 46, ii. 1), it assumes that of the thirty-eight years the Israelites journeyed nineteen years and remained quiet in Kadesh during the remaining nineteen years. Lysimachus, and other similar writers already mentioned (p. 509) who narrate that Israel journeyed six days and on the seventh conquered Canaan, must originally have assumed that the forty-two encampments mentioned in Num. xxxiii. corresponded as  $6 \times 7$  with the working days, and the conquest with the sabbath of a great divine week.

centuries grows continually more decided until it reaches its culmination, commences in a less perceptible and weaker form even under Moses. But yet, as far as these overpowering necessities of a time of national newbirth did not interfere, Moses, contemplated from the close of his career, stands before us as a great and perfect hero. No danger, no obstacle, either before or after the liberation of the people, broke down his courage or chilled his pure enthusiasm during the long and weary time of probation. Himself the type and pledge of an ever youthful power and a Divine energy,—so that according to the words of the Book of Origins even at his death in extreme age ‘his eye was not dim, and his moisture (i. e. humour, freshness and animation of spirit) was not abated,’<sup>1</sup>—he sees at the very close of his life a new generation growing up strengthened by an inward transformation and a steadfast faith, and going forth victorious to meet its further earthly destiny. Once only, as the Book of Origins strikingly relates, had he suffered himself to be carried away by the murmuring of the people against Jahve to a momentary despair; but on account of his very elevation at all other times, this one slight fault was heavy enough to bring upon him the Divine decree, that he should not live to see the entire fulfilment of his desire for the people’s safety and assured repose. He was ordained to meet his death upon Mount Nebo, opposite to Jericho, enjoying only the consolation that before his departure he could from that height at least cast his eye on the broad and beautiful lands on the nearer side of the Jordan, and over the entire circuit of the fruitful regions on both banks of the river, the appointed possession of his people. Thus in his last moments he had at least a foretaste of the future glory of his nation; that glory which the author of the Book of Origins rejoiced to see completely realised in his own day.<sup>2</sup> Nor assuredly could the Book of Origins have concluded the biography of the great hero of the revelation of Jahve either more simply, or more truly and beautifully.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xx. 2-13, xxvii. 12-23; Deut. xxxii. 48-52, xxxiv. 1-5, 7-9. We must conceive that some words have dropped out before ver. 48, Deut. xxxii. because the day there indicated is not clearly defined, and the Book of Origins is marked by accuracy and fulness in such statements. We undoubtedly find a later addition in Deut. xxxiv. 6, because the Book of Origins distinctly states that Moses should die upon Mount Nebo, and the account of his death is similar to that of Aaron’s (Num. xx. 28, 29), who

throughout this book stands almost upon an equal elevation. To this must be added that neither in the case of Aaron, nor in the preliminary arrangements for Moses’ burial is the interment specially mentioned, to say nothing of its being elsewhere than at the place of death. And since vv. 10-12 are also derived from a later hand, and point in style to the Deuteronomist (comp. ver. 12 with iv. 34, xxvi. 8), we must refer ver. 6 also to him, and not to the Fourth Narrator; compare iii. 29.

But the importance of a nation's spring-time of glory, dawning and gradually rising to its full splendour, meets with an ever higher appreciation from succeeding ages the longer its vast results are present to their rejoicing eyes. That the Fifth Narrator therefore should employ this concluding section of the Mosaic history to depict in a separate narrative the glory of Israel as the true community, already existing in its mighty germ in Moses' time, and bearing within it (as the narrator knew partly from his own experience) the happiest fruit for all the future, is in harmony alike with the age in which he lived and with his own character. Undoubtedly his design was merely an attempt to present this truth in a new and characteristic dress, and attach it to older traditions. We have discovered this narrator to be generally in the main a creative moulder of old traditions to new forms: and here too he can be proved with tolerable clearness to have maintained his usual character. In describing this last division of the Mosaic history, the author found himself in the camp in the 'steppes of Moab' on the further side of the Jordan: but this very ground would best serve for the confirmation of his view, because the power of Israel ever since the time of David had shown itself gloriously in the repeated conquest and holding of Moab. And if it were desired to introduce a prophet as acting at the close of Moses' life upon this very soil, and consequently as entitled, on any occasion arising there, to prophesy the future of Israel in its later period of development, such a one was found to his hand in the Book of Origins, and possibly in yet older sources:—viz. Balaam (otherwise pronounced Bileam) the son of Beor,<sup>1</sup> of whom that book must have furnished a full account. Although the chief part of this is now lost to us, together with the original commencement of the narrative concerning Midian in Num. xxv. (see p. 604 sqq.), yet we see clearly<sup>2</sup> that according to these older accounts Balaam belonged to Midian, and as a prophetical leader of the people in the ancient sense of that word enjoyed among the Midianites who invaded these lands as great consideration as their five princes who are mentioned by name. As to his external influence he may have borne much the same relation to them that Moses bore to Israel; and since the Midianites are to be placed generally far eastwards and belong to the so-called 'Sons of the East' or 'Saracens,'

<sup>1</sup> It is mere chance that the name of the first King of Edom Bela, son of Beor (Gen. xxxvi. 32), agrees so nearly with that of the Midianite Prophet; besides the LXX. here read *Balak*. The pronun-

ciation *Βερόπ*, in 2 Peter ii. 15, probably sprang from *Βοερ*, only by a misreading, although in our ordinary manuscripts of the LXX. *ΒΕΩΡ* is found.

<sup>2</sup> From Num. xxxi. 8, 16; Jos. xiii. 21 sq.

i.e. the tribes who extended as far as the Euphrates, and lived along its banks (see p. 315), it becomes intelligible how, in a narrative undoubtedly derived from the same old sources, he could be represented as coming from Pethor on the Euphrates, or, speaking less definitely, from Aram.<sup>1</sup> Thus far he is a true historical personage, and from his example we may see in how high esteem the prophetic dignity was then held in its most ancient exercise, even in the distant East. We also know<sup>2</sup> that he seduced Israel (we cannot see exactly how) to participate in the licentious festival of Baal-Peor, Num. xxv.

However, the remodeller of the ancient traditions respecting him immediately encountered two difficulties arising from these facts. In the first place he was not, properly speaking, a prophet for Moab, but for Midian; and it was Moab and not Midian who at that time warred against Israel. But this innovating author was precluded from employing the Midianites in his version, because in his own day they had already lost all importance. Since however even according to the Book of Origins the Midianites fought against Israel upon the ancient territory of Moab, the writer could at least represent the then ruling king of Moab as becoming alarmed at the extending power of Israel and seeking help from Midian and Balaam: and if this version of the story were once allowed to pass, Moab might then in the further course of the narrative, be insensibly made to assume the whole importance.<sup>3</sup> In the second place Balaam was properly the prophet of an idol and a great enemy of Israel, as indeed he was regarded in the ancient tradition, according to which he was at last slain together with the five princes, when the Israelites conquered the Midianites. Nevertheless this reviser of the history needed him as a prophet, foreseeing and predicting the greatness of Israel and the fall of Moab and the other heathens. But to a profounder view of

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxii. 5, xxiii. 7. On the contrary, all that the Rabbinical age imagined respecting Balaam, and even wrote in his name, is mere inference, founded primarily upon the few words about him in the Old Testament: see Origen in *Cels.*, i. 12. 1, 3, and *Liber Jos. Samar.* c. 3–5. 41. The confusion between Balaam and the sage Lokman probably did not arise until the latter, whom tradition connects rather with the Himyarites, had been mentioned in the Koran, Sur. xxxi. 11 sq., where however he is not called (as he is later, through the confusion in question) *Son of Beor*. With the exception of a slight similarity of sound in the two

names and their apparent derivation from the synonymous roots בָּלָם and פְּאֵר to devour, no real identity or similarity of person can be proved.

<sup>2</sup> From the passing observation, Num. xxxi. 16.

<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable how at the beginning the compiler without any intimation leads the narrative away from the Midianites, Num. xxii. 4 sq., and finally returns to them in the words of the Book of Origins xxv. 1–5; wherein we clearly see that it is the compiler only who brought Moab into this context.

prophecy the reviser justly felt this second obstacle to fade away so completely, that he was able to found upon it a plan of representation, which furnished at once a most exciting complication, and a fitting though surprising solution of his problem. For in the Prophet (according to the view which pervades all the earliest antiquity) the God stands above the man; and according to this popular view, even an inferior prophet might be so carried away by a higher influence, at least in the sacred moment of the commencement or during the flow of his discourse, as to declare the truth contrary to his own will. This is not the place to discuss the degree of truth involved in such an idea. It suffices that if it prevailed in that age, and there was added to it the special faith of a Hebrew, that Jahve was above all gods, and therefore also above the prophets of all idol deities, and from time to time made himself felt by them as the alone Omnipotent; it then became possible upon such a basis to build up a narrative, unparalleled in effectiveness, and, as it now stands in Num. xxii. 2—xxiv., unsurpassable in artistic finish. Balak king of Moab invites Balaam by an embassy to come to him, that he may see the Israelites, and by a prophet's curse accomplish their destruction. 'As a man he might have wished to go, but his God forbade him;' this is his first answer, perfectly simple and straightforward, xx. 2-12. Upon a second and more pressing invitation Jahve permits him to go, because he had not at once rejected this second request, and Jahve does not wish to take away man's freedom; but he warns him to speak only that which was given him, vv. 13-20. Since he still undertakes the journey notwithstanding its equivocal character, he is conducted on his way not by a favouring but by a terrific angel. This angel first thrice affrights the ass on which he rides, and which perceives the danger sooner than the now blinded prophet (for a beast is often more sagacious and foreboding than an obdurate man),<sup>1</sup> and finally he so terrifies the prophet himself, that he loses all desire to speak otherwise than as Jahve wills, 21-35. Thus arriving, after the careful preparations made by Balak, he begins to prophesy, but the curse which he is to speak always turns in his mouth to a

<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely necessary to recall here other examples of beasts endowed with the power of speech, occurring elsewhere than in the Old Testament. See, besides what was told of Silenus' ass, *Il. xix.* 404 sq., *Aelian's History of Animals*, *xii.* 8, Virgil's *Georgics*, i. 478, Qirq Vezir p. 117. 3 sq., Wakidi's *Egypt*, p. 193, *Journal As.* 1843. i. p. 216. Even rivers

were endowed with a similar faculty by heathen imagination; compare the *Life of Pythagoras* by Porphyry, c. *xxvii.* and by Iamblichus c. *xxviii.* (134). But the example before us in the Old Testament is not merely perfectly original, but also highly instructive, viewed in its true connection and import.

blessing, increasing in strength and fervour the oftener Balak attempts to draw from him a different declaration, xxii. 36—xxiv. 9 ; until after the third blessing, each having been sublimer than the former, Balak loses all patience, and wishes to drive away the seer. He then of his own accord begins to announce to Moab and to all the heathen the fate which impends over them from that community to which, as perfectly righteous and worshipping the true God, no curse could cleave, and which must for ever advance from victory to victory, and could not be injured even by the extremest and most pressing dangers, xxiv. 10-24. Now this is the genuine praise and the true blessing which even enemies—be they prophets or kings—must involuntarily speak or hear : and the Fourth or the Fifth Narrator, both of whom delight to put such prophetic words into the mouth of the Patriarchs, could not better close the history of the Mosaic age (as he scrupled to put such words into the mouth of Moses), than with prophecies which promise duration and development to the true community as established in the last days of Moses.

### III. IDEAS ON THE GRANDEUR OF MOSES AND HIS AGE.

If the history of the long leadership of Moses closed thus triumphantly, we can easily understand how, although a few dark blots always marred the memory of that time, the exodus from Egypt and the interval of sacred repose at Mount Sinai, and indeed the entire period of the guidance of the people by Moses naturally shone in the after-memory of the Israelites as the brightest portion of their history. Of any extraordinary period of history some few ideas, brief and easily repeated, but all the more expressive, gradually form themselves in the memory ; attaching themselves to special objects characteristic of the age, in themselves insignificant, but which thus become the bearers of grand and comprehensive thoughts ; and when the peculiar grandeur of such an age is for ever gone, and the enthusiastic desire to revive it can no longer accompany the memory of its vanished glories, these standing symbols of recollection become more spiritualised. Such ideas, in which all that is remembered of the essential glory of such ages is concentrated, and which we therefore consider most suitably in this place, do not properly form a part of the history itself, but are expressed in every place wherever a short notice of the wonderful nature of the age in question suffices ; but in time they become a more integral part of the history, as the original

story gradually loses its details, and has to supply their place by more general ideas.

The free elevation of a people towards the Divine grace, which is in reality ever coming forth to meet man, but yet at favoured moments calls to him with especial power, and the fruitful cooperation of human action with Divine truths and powers, are the sources of all true nobility of character among men, and therefore in an especial degree of the nobility of the Mosaic age. So perhaps the most beautiful idea concerning this age is that of the great Prophets of the eighth century, that Jahve found Israel young and helpless in the desert, and in pure love adopted him as his son, and Israel then responded to this great and prevenient love of Jahve and willingly submitted to his guidance. But yet those ages were not always so peaceful as they might appear from this conception: towards without, against other nations, the permanence of this new and unique community could only be rendered possible through the most violent convulsions of the world. Looking back upon those times, the Israelites knew that it was only through the newly-felt power of Jahve in their midst that they had won this position amidst the other nations of the earth, and thus it would appear to them as if Jahve when leading his people, had made the opposing world to tremble so that even mountains like Sinai shook before him, until the new nation, and with them the new law, had won a firm resting-place among the nations. This conception would occur most naturally in times of war, when the people were again fighting as they had done under Moses.<sup>1</sup>

Consolidating all that here is disjointed, the Earliest Narrator sets up the beautiful image of an Angel of God, invisible and yet powerful, preceding the host of Israel and leading it securely on all its ways: the simplest idea here possible, and prevalent on other similar occasions in the same age.<sup>2</sup>

But when the historical spirit required something more short and tangible, the idea sprang up, that the glory (majesty) of Jahve was in the Mosaic age actually cognisable in a physical phenomenon, and as it were personally present among the people.

<sup>1</sup> Its prototype is found in Deborah's song, Judges v. 4, 5, in a short form, and at greater length in the equally ancient Paschal Hymn, Ex. xv. Afterwards the same images were sometimes verbally repeated, Hab. iii. 2 sq., Ps. lxxviii. 8 [7] sq., warlike periods; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxxviii. 14 [13] sqq., exir. 3 sq. also 4 Ezra 1 (3) 17, 18, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> See passages from the Earliest Narrator already brought under consideration, p. 449 note 6. We are fortunately able to compare with these the passage in Deborah's song, Judg. v. 23, and thus to see still more clearly how vivid such conceptions were at that time even in respect of events of the day.

The Angel whom the Earliest Narrator described as present among the people or going before to guide them, was gradually corporealised into a more visible appearance and a more tangible form. We find this more corporeal conception first in the Book of Origins. Here, although the idea is already very fully developed, its origin is still very easily recognisable. Indeed it is in general a characteristic feature of this book, while following the popular tendency of the times in elevating the fragmentary reminiscences of the Mosaic age into the region of the supernatural, still to allow the original more tangible and visible forms of an antiquity hardly yet felt to be gone beyond recall to peep through here and there. According to this new conception, the visible image of the Majesty then present in the people to protect and guide was a bright cloud which floated above the earthly sanctuary (the Ark of the Covenant or the Tabernacle), as if the heavenly cloud of fire in which Jahve descended upon Mount Sinai<sup>1</sup> (according to the Earliest Narrator also) had descended so as to form a permanent cover to the earthly sanctuary built according to his plan, and from thence to protect the entire people who faithfully gathered around it. Now in ordinary times this bright cloud covered the Sanctuary only lightly, and was scarcely visible from the outside. Strictly speaking, during the most sacred moments it occupied only the Ark of the Covenant in the mysterious darkness of the innermost Sanctuary, into which therefore the priest must only enter with a thick cloud of incense to meet and evoke,<sup>2</sup> as it were, the Divine cloud. In a wider sense the cloud is said to fill the whole inner Tabernacle,<sup>3</sup> and in the widest sense of all, even the outer one.<sup>4</sup> Just at the first blazing up of the flame it so completely filled the innermost sanctuary that even Moses could not enter there.<sup>5</sup> In extraordinary cases, however, it rose up high and was seen far and wide. Thus when the people were to start upon their journey, it appeared, and remained visible as a light<sup>6</sup> to guide their steps, until they reached their night's encampment. Thus, too, in still more exceptional cases, it suddenly burst forth with terrific glory to menace the refractory, and to afford to Moses or Aaron protection and shelter from their rage.<sup>7</sup> It is added that by night this sacred

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xix. 16, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xl. 34; Num. ix. 15 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xvi. 2, see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 402 sq. The entire passage, Lev. xvi. 3-13, is merely an exposition of the few brief words in ver. 2, where the cloud being regarded as a sacred apparition, is first mentioned quite apart.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xl. 35; see 1 Kings viii. 10 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. xl. 36, 37; Num. ix. 17-23, x.

11, 12, 33, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Num. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xvii. 7 [xvi. 42]

sq.; Ex. xvi. 10; instead of *רְכָבָה*, which would be wholly without meaning here, it is necessary to read *אַהֲלָ מִזְבֵּחַ*, as in the

<sup>7</sup> *רְכָבָה*.

cloud became fire, especially during journeys.<sup>1</sup> If we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is clear that insofar as this idea is due to the memory of any actual phenomenon occurring during the journey in the desert, we are driven at length to think of the sacred altar-fire alone. At the sanctuary an eternal fire must burn. Such a fire actually was kept up even in a comparatively late age,<sup>2</sup> as we see from certain evident indications. But upon journeys through the desert, and especially by night, this fire must have been kept up with especial brilliancy, on account of the great importance of holding together the extensive caravan by a visible token around the sanctuary as a centre; so that it would appear by day as a moving cloud, and by night as fire. But at the time of the composition of the Book of Origins the things real and apparent belonging to the desert and to the migratory life in general were already removed from the province of distinct memory. This obscured recollection, and the natural desire of forming a visible image of the Divine glory then present, might then easily combine to produce the above-described conception, which is certainly not a simple but a highly complex one. It is easy to see what particular points of this conception do, and what do not, rest upon real facts of experience. But the conception which had thus arisen was treated again differently by the Third Narrator; and again upon a nearer survey we discover that this newest version is separated from the former by a great interval in the development of the age. The cloud, being no longer regarded as subject to the variations in altitude alluded to above, is now termed a Pillar<sup>3</sup> of cloud, and regarded as wholly unconnected with the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle, and as being in itself the visible covering of Jahve. Now therefore the cloud itself guides the people, or freely comes to and vanishes from the sacred Tabernacle, as only Jahve himself can freely appear in kindness or retire in wrath; and especially it tarries at the sacred Tabernacle in front, and is adored by the people whenever Moses goes out of the camp to speak with Jahve in the Tabernacle, and obtain

parallel passages in the Book of Origins. It is obvious that especially after the preposition *bēt* one word might be readily mistaken for the other.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xl. 38; Num. ix. 15, 16; compare Num. xiv. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 549 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> By this characteristic expression, wholly foreign to the Book of Origins, we are able to recognise the Third Narrator

even apart from other indications, Ex. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 24, xxxii. 9, 10; Num. xii. 5, xiv. 14; Deut. xxxi. 15. Such passages indeed in their present form are for the most part quoted by the Fourth Narrator; still I believe that the Third Narrator is the real author of this conception, because the chief interest of the Fourth Narrator turns rather on another point, namely the staff of Moses.

counsel (an oracle).<sup>1</sup> The conception of the cloud has here imperceptibly become confounded with the originally very different one of the Cherubim (p. 322), and has become in reference to Moses only a tangible sign of his Divine appointment, a heavenly glory surrounding the sacred place of his oracle appearing and disappearing there as Moses himself comes and goes. And whilst in the conception found in the Book of Origins it is self-evident, as well as expressly stated, that the cloud never appeared till the sacred Tabernacle was raised and dedicated,<sup>2</sup> the Third Narrator can without difficulty represent his so-called Pillar of cloud as appearing long before from the very beginning of the exodus, now guiding the Israelites, now with terrible forms of fire scaring away their foes.<sup>3</sup> Many similar conceptions might then without difficulty attach themselves and become amalgamated with this.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, even the apparently unimportant things and events of daily life must undoubtedly have been regarded in a peculiar manner, with reference to an age whose spiritual life was conceived to have attained such an elevation. When once the seeing eye and the grateful heart of a nation are opened for the recognition of the true God, the nation sees, even in the daily gifts and blessings which it enjoys and through which it lives, more than mere physical matter. But in all alleviations of present trouble and privation, which come unexpected and undeserved, it feels far more inwardly and deeply the hand of the Infinite and Invisible God, whom even independently of this experience it had already begun to recognise. Now the desert, like the sea, seems as if created on purpose to remind man, whose spirit is so easily overwhelmed and corrupted by the luxury of some regions of the earth, of his bodily helplessness and frailty, and in this very contrast to teach him to esteem more truly and highly those remarkable alleviations and deliverances which surprise him often, even in the desert. And as we speak of seamanlike bluntness and honesty, so, even at the very earliest time known to us, the example of the Arab of the desert proves the desert

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxiii. 7-11; Num. xii. 4, 5, 9, this word in the form *אֵלֶּךָ* has even passed into the Koran, *Sûr.* ii. 249, and thence into Islam poetry. (*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ii. p. 204, v. 49.)

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xl. 34; Num. ix. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 24. According to this conception also Prophets spoke, as Isaiah iv. 5, 6, Rev. xxi. 11 sq. and with it was bound up the entire feeling of the living energy and glory of God's presence (see my *Allerthümer*, p. 379 sq.). Thus there were formed from it the Rabbinical expressions of the *בָּיִת יְהוָה* i. e. dwelling, presence, manifested glory of God; and

<sup>4</sup> The ancient Hebrew conception, e. g. of the appearance of the God of heaven in the heavenly fire, p. 528; or those derived from the aspect of volcanic mountains. See Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages* (Paris 1845) i. p. cxxi.; Hanno's *Peripl.* c. xvi.; Dio Cass. lxvi. 21.

capable of educating its children to be an upright, generous, and grateful race. The sudden appearance of manna, of birds of passage, and of drinkable water, must have made a powerful impression upon the Israelites, especially as upon them, who had only just left a land of luxury and opulence, the terrors and privations of the desert had fallen with double weight, and as moreover they had immediately before had the most living experience of the presence of the true Redeemer and Deliverer among themselves. The profoundest doctrines and sublimest exhortations might easily be founded upon such a theme. All this is tolerably self-evident, but is also clearly indicated by the Earliest Narrator.<sup>1</sup> Besides, this lofty spirit, once awakened, will certainly be more likely to discover the scanty and infrequent supports of life supplied by the desert, and to use them cleverly; as in the case mentioned in the earliest narrative, of a piece of wood found by Moses and seeming to be shown him by Jahve himself in answer to his earnest entreaty, by which he made the bitter water sweet;<sup>2</sup> and as in the case of the manna and the various methods of preparing it described by the same Narrator.<sup>3</sup> But the longer the nation was established in Canaan, the further removed would all such recollections of the desert become; and of the full circle of memory it was natural that only one half should be retained, the more interesting to the devout and thankful heart, the recollection namely of the wonderful preservation in the very midst of the waste unfruitful desert. The prophet Hosea<sup>4</sup> deals with the intrinsic truth of this memory in the freest and most apposite manner, indicating that what had formerly happened might happen again, in the same or a different form. And so, even in the Book of Origins, it was Jahve himself who sent Manna, the Bread of Heaven, to be the constant food of the desert, and birds of passage occasionally, to be the concomitant meat to it, and who caused Moses to strike the rock with his sacred staff and bring forth the streams of water to satisfy man and beast.<sup>5</sup> In fact the region occupied by the wonders of the desert is by the writer of that book already so far removed from the inspection of any mere historical eye, that he can inseparably combine with these views his chief object, viz. the explanation of the law, and represent the manna the pure food of heaven<sup>6</sup> (in whose production man cannot aid, as in the case of corn), as always appearing in

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xv. 24-26.

<sup>8</sup> Ex. xvi. Num. xi. xx. 1-13.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 25.

<sup>6</sup> It is named 'angels' food' as early as Ps. lxxviii. 25; compare Ps. cv. 40;

<sup>3</sup> Num. xi. 7 sq.

Wisd. xvi. 20, 4 Ezra i. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Hos. ii. 16 [14] sq.; compare xi. 1-5,

xii. 10 [9].

precisely the right quantity to supply not only the ordinary wants of the people, but also the double quantity required to render possible the observance of the Sabbath in the desert.<sup>1</sup> The Deuteronomist finally goes further,<sup>2</sup> and says that the raiment and the shoes of the wanderers (things which it appeared impossible to procure in the desert) did not wax old during the forty years. This idea, derived from such figures as the Prophets often use,<sup>3</sup> was in fact only the widest extension of the idea of the exalted inner power of the Mosaic age, asserting itself even in external things.

And finally, as we have already said, it is not easy to realise how great and holy was the actual power of that man upon whom rested the entire elevation and glory of that age, so far as it can be referred to man, whether we regard its source or its effect—the man who first made the amazing attempt, as national leader and commander, to act upon mind by mind alone, and to whom, if to any one, the staff of command was given and maintained by God himself. But even the Book of

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xvi. 15–36. The question respecting the real nature of this manna, and whether it is identical with that found still, though in smaller quantities, in that region, can only receive a strictly scientific answer from men who like Ehrenberg of Berlin have carefully investigated the manna in all parts. It is clear from Ex. xvi. 32–36 that even when the Book of Origins was written manna was regarded by the nation as a sacred memento of the glorious age when the community was founded; and therefore a basket-full (doubtless renewed from time to time) was brought from Sinai, and preserved in the Ark of the Covenant. It was regarded therefore by the ancient community somewhat as Christians view baptismal water from the Jordan; and as water from the Jordan does not differ from water elsewhere, but all depends upon faith, and the faith in this case is directed towards a fact of past history, so with regard to the manna little depends upon its external form, when the question is restricted to its religious aspect. But hence it follows undoubtedly that the manna was an ordinary natural substance and not something possible only then. Indeed it is still found upon certain trees among the mountains of Sinai, and collected and distributed by the monks of the adjacent monasteries; and it may have been much more abundant in former ages than at present. If however this alone does not suffice to render intelligible all the various accounts of the manna given in the Old Testament, we

must not forget among other considerations that edible gums are still to be found in those regions, as also many rarer kinds of such ‘heavenly food;’ see the collections in Ritter’s *Erdkunde*, Band xiv. p. 665–695; C. Galton’s *Bericht eines Forstlers im tropischen Südafrika*, Leipzig 1854, p. 65; *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Ges.* iv. p. 224; Seetzen’s *Reisen*, i. p. 323, iii. p. 75–80, 129; Burckhardt’s *Syria*, p. 738; and that most recent striking example reported from Algeria in the *Literary Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1849, and in the *Athenaeum*, Oct. 6, 1849, not to mention stories like Riculf’s in Laurent’s *Peregrinatores medii aevi*, p. 123. Diodorus Sic. i. 60, relates how quails appeared in surprising multitude at Rhinocolura; and similar traditions are not very uncommon, even the locusts of the desert sometimes appearing as a ‘food of God;’ see *Le Grand Désert*, par Daumas et Ausone de Chancel, Paris 1851, compare this with my *Altirth.*, p. 167; also Porphyry *de abstin.* i. 25.; Paroemiogr. Gr. i. p. 143; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* 1864, p. 466. Moreover, respecting the water of the desert see similar instances in Tabari’s *Annals*, i. p. 190 sq.; W. Roth’s *Ogba der Eroberer Nordafrikas, Gött.* 1859, p. 37, 59; *Notices et Extraits*, xii. p. 461, 552, 631; *Journal Asiat.* 1848, p. 190, 195; Seetzen’s *Reisen*, iii. p. 13; Olympiodorus in Photius’ *Bibliotheca* lxxx. p. 191, Hösch; Klausen’s *Eneas*, i. p. 10; Brugesch’s *Hist. d’Egypte*, i. p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Isaiah v. 27.

Origins regarded this staff as a mere external power, described its origin,<sup>1</sup> and made Moses by its efficacy draw water from the rock.<sup>2</sup> Then in the hands of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, it became ‘as the staff of God’—a mere outward sign of the great divine power then revealed upon earth under Moses and Aaron. By its instrumentality, even before the advent at Sinai, Moses drew water from the rock;<sup>3</sup> and by raising it, as if it were a general’s bâton, during the same period he conquered Amalek, since the host under Joshua pressed forward or retired according as it remained firmly raised up in his hands or not, wherefore Aaron and Hur came finally to support his hands on either side;<sup>4</sup> and by means of this same staff, even in Egypt before the exodus, Moses and Aaron accomplished all their noble achievements (see p. 484 sqq.). Thus even here, in the case of the staff, one simple telling image becomes the current coin for the expression of the recollection of a very manifold spiritual agency, like a new technical term adopted to describe a newly-discovered natural agency.

But on the nature of Moses’ relation to the people, after his influence had been long firmly established among them, the extant fragments of the Third Narrator contain some ideas, as peculiar as they are significant. This Narrator tells how the countenance of this greatest of all Prophets had, without his knowing it, become shining, through discoursing so long with God face to face. Returning from Sinai to the people with the tables of the Law, he had around his head a bright reflection of the pure eternal Light, to which he had approached nearer than any before. Aaron himself and all the elders of the community were so surprised at this unexpected appearance, that none ventured to approach him until he encouraged them to come on and hear the word of God by him. Not to affright them again in the same way, he ever afterwards covered his shining countenance with a mask, which he only laid aside when he entered the Sanctuary.<sup>5</sup> Nothing could declare more ex-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xvi. xvii. See above p. 603.

<sup>2</sup> xx. 1-11; compare Apollod. Bibl. iii. 14-1; Paus. Perig. iv. 36. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvii. 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> Vv. 8-13. Indeed among the Romans also, the ascent or descent of the Eagle was the signal for the attack or retreat.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 29-36; מִזְבֵּחַ, which Onkelos has best rendered by בֵּית יְהָוָה mask (in Arabic it is directly given as شَفَّافٌ, πρόσωπον), is properly similarity, and hence mask, from שְׁמֹנֶה שְׁמֹנֶה = שְׁמֹנֶה and

שְׁמֹנֶה, which may mean both to *shine* (to appear, to be like) and also to *rejoice* and to *desire*. The LXX. render the word somewhat too loosely by καλύμμα. On other occasions also the ancients often speak of a shining countenance, but it is undoubtedly only as an imitation of the Old Testament that these images recur in Islam (see Reinaud’s *Déscription des Monuments*, i. p. 137, ii. p. 71, 163), and that in the second century of the Hegira the so-called Moqanna in like manner put on a mask (see *Ibn-Challikan*, i. p. 441).

pressively both the peculiar elevation and glory of the life and work of Moses in its final transfiguration, and the wide interval which gradually separated him from the rest of the nation (as was observed on p. 601 sqq.). Nothing shows more clearly both the timid awe, increasingly felt by the community, of the Divine power shining forth from him, and their own incapacity to cast an undimmed and undazzled eye upon that Glory which now rose as never sun rose before, to be perfectly and permanently manifested in Moses. And whenever Moses passed through the camp to the sacred Tabernacle—so says the second of these traditions—all stood up and followed him with reverential eyes; but only when the pillar of cloud, described p. 642 sq., rested over the sacred Tabernacle, did they fall down and worship.<sup>1</sup> In this act however is embodied the whole truth of genuine religion, which even in the highest Prophet can only see and honour the man, and not directly the Divine itself.

But if the exaltation of Moses was already distinctly expressed in such symbols of supernatural transfiguration, it was only consistent to invest the close of his life with equal mystery. There is little probability (even from the remarks on p. 556 sqq.) that in the earliest times the graves of the leaders who died beyond the Jordan, such as Aaron or Moses, were much visited: and the precise spot of the death of Moses must early have become uncertain. Thus the Deuteronomist<sup>2</sup> says that he was buried at Hag-gai in the land of Moab, i.e. (according to pp. 632 sqq.), at a place which may be regarded as the last encampment during the wanderings, but that no one knew his grave—as if it were more suitable that his grave should not be like that of another man. From this rudimentary conception grew many later ideas respecting the mysterious end of this unique being, whose life had not been less miraculous.<sup>3</sup>

But in general, even in the Book of Origins, Moses was the

*ar. Slane.* Iamblichus related that even Pythagoras appeared with a cover before his exoteric disciples: *Life of Pythagoras*, c. xvii. cod. lxxi.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxii. 8–11; compare p. 452 note, and my *Alterthimer*, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiv. 6, see above, p. 636.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequent writers went further in the same direction; but the most utterly incongruous account is that given by Josephus (*Antiquities*, iv. 8. 48), who introduces a cloud which at the last moment made him invisible *on an abyss*, as if בְּנֵי נְהַרְיָן could bear that meaning! Besides בְּנֵי נְהַרְיָן is certainly indefinite; see my *Lehrbuch*,

§ 274 b. The first further allusion to this point is found Deut. xxxiii. 21. The Rabbinical notion that Moses died in consequence of a kiss of God is seen in its germ in Philo (*on Cain's Offering*, in *Opera* I. p. 165), and in Ev. Nicod. c. xvi. in the phrase he died by the word of God (τὸν φθαρτὸν Κυπίον, for the LXX. had at all events already translated וְנִפְתַּח by διὰ φθαρτὸς Κύπιον). By degrees therefore Moses was associated with Elias: Philo, *Quaes. in Gen.* v. 24 (in Aucher II. p. 59 sq.); Matt. xxvii. 3; Ev. Nicod. c. xvi. compare Rev. xi. 3.

type of the Prophet, Aaron of the Priest : with whom was associated, to form the third member of a typical circle, their exalted sister Miriam (or Mariam, according to the Hellenistic pronunciation), as type of the position of highest dignity to which woman could aspire under Jahveism. In this religion the sacerdotal dignity could not be held by a woman ; but the prophetical, as being freer and bound by no external conditions, might. It would in fact be most readily conferred on women who, like the Prophetess<sup>1</sup> Miriam, restricted their controlling energy to the female portion of the nation. The later narrators carry still further this idea of the typical significance of the greatest minds of that age. Thus even in this region, as in that of the Patriarchs, mere abstract types, not historical characters, would have been left us, had not the historical recollection of the characteristics of those minds and the age to which they belonged been previously committed to writing.

The exalted veneration for Moses, which in the centuries immediately before the Babylonian captivity received an immense impetus, after that period gradually passed all reasonable bounds, both with the Jews and still more with the Samaritans. After the time of Ezra this veneration was extended to the Pentateuch as his abiding work. This excessive veneration cared less and less for the real facts of ancient history, and took an eccentric pleasure in pursuing the strangest conceits. Among the known writings of this winter-season of the nation, the most honourable place is occupied by Philo ‘on the Life of Moses.’ Philo here treats of Moses in the four capacities of King, Lawgiver, High-Priest and Prophet,<sup>2</sup> and writes his history strictly and solely from the Pentateuch and with his characteristic refined taste throughout ; but quite freely as regards the manner, with the extreme of rhetorical adornment, and with an attempt at artificial restoration of the circumstances of the Mosaic age,

<sup>1</sup> The expression ‘Prophetess’ in the ancient reference to her, Ex. xv. 20, 21, 22, cannot by any means be equivalent to ‘poetess,’ as has been seriously maintained. Neither נָבָת nor מִרְיָם (compare my *Propheten des Alt. B.*, vol. i. p. 12 note) are ever thus employed. Besides, according to Ex. xv. 1, Miriam is by no means to be regarded pre-eminently as the composer of that song. Micah vi. 4 rather unites together, and rightly, the three members of this exalted family. It is besides obvious that in the original accounts respecting the noble sister of these

glorious brothers far more was related than has come down to us in the extant records.

<sup>2</sup> Hence in printing this work it ought to be divided into four instead of three Books ; the fourth beginning with iii. 23 (T. ii. p. 163 Mang.). Moreover this Sermon (to give it its right name) is not a complete Life of Moses, since Philo passes over many particulars as superfluous for his object, or possibly as not intelligible to himself ; he does not e. g. give any account of the discourse of Balaam’s ass.

rather in the style of a pulpit-orator. Nevertheless, besides his figurative interpretations (allegories), he introduces many of the scholastic opinions then current, and takes the idea of a Sacred Book in so inflexible a sense as to teach that Moses historically described his own death, and with all its circumstances, before the time. But though Philo held so strictly to the Pentateuch, there were others even in that age who used this sacred territory with much greater freedom. The Book of Jubilees (p. 201 sq.), written about the last century before Christ, pretends that the contents of the Pentateuch were communicated by God to Moses during his forty days' fast upon Mount Sinai. But especially the mysterious youth of the hero (see p. 511 sq.), as also the close of his life, which also had very early been drawn into the region of mystery (see p. 647), were tempting fields to fill up with inventions and fictions:<sup>1</sup> just as the two extremities of the Gospel history ultimately became the chief subject of the Apocryphal Gospels. One of the most innocent conceits in which that age indulged was that Moses on account of his high dignity and incomparable excellence had various widely differing names.<sup>2</sup> The better part of the nation in its best ages had however been wise and modest enough to distinguish him only by one name—which in its original fulness of meaning was the most expressive and beautiful possible—the *Man of God*.<sup>3</sup> As far as we know, this name was given first to him, and long borne by him alone, being applied to him even at the time of the Book of Origins long after his death only rarely, and therefore with all the greater emphasis. But much wilder and

<sup>1</sup> The passage, Jude 9, which is certainly quoted from some work extensively known in the very first century after Christ, shows how early the attempt was made to describe exactly the final moment of the life of Moses, and to weave into this description a complete answer to the questions which arose concerning his highest glory, and his guilt or innocence. A fragment of this ‘Ascension of Moses’ in the old Latin translation has now been rediscovered and published. In the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1862 p. 4, I have discussed its exact age. Probably it was this work which, subsequently undergoing repeated modifications, finally assumed the full Rabbinical form, which under the name Petirath-Moshe it has retained in two widely differing elaborations. Both of these have been made known chiefly by Gilb. Gaulmyn, 1627, and subsequently (but without the Hebrew) by J. A. Fabricius, 1714. To these two books is prefixed a smaller one on the Life of Moses, which

is chiefly devoted to the history of his youth, but treats it differently from that already described p. 511 sq. It may indeed have originated in the early Rabbinical age as a supplement to the work on the Death of Moses, but it has been preserved in an older and simpler form than the two versions of that book. A saying of Moses not now found in the Pentateuch may be read in Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 50; compare also Justin *contra Tryph.* ch. xc. 111 sq.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. that after the ascension to heaven he ought to be called Μελχί (kingly?) Clement. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23 (p. 343); other names again are found in the work edited by Gaulmyn, pp. 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Book of Origins, Josh. xiv. 6, he is first so called in solemn language under Joshua; and in fact in the Pentateuch it is only the Last Editor (see p. 130) who calls him so, Deut. xxxii. 1; as is also done in the title to Ps. xc.

more presumptuous fictions, which in the end almost overturned the true history, were sanctioned by some writers, after the 'Man of God' as such was said to have risen up a second time in the world, without being again recognised in his true historical form. Thus some one produced the fable, that the two high mountain-ranges which surround the Wadi Maujeb, i.e. the Arnon (mentioned p. 625 sqq.) had formed an arch to make a firm bridge for Moses and his host.<sup>1</sup> How freely these fable-makers could act when once in their region, raised far above all historical restraints, is yet very clearly to be seen in the stories of Moses in the Koran.<sup>2</sup> But since among these there are absolutely no new sources for the history of Moses brought to light, we may here pass them completely by.

But all such later glorifications and embellishments of the history of the great founder of the true community are the less needed by us, because the further course of the history after his death brings us new and not unimportant evidence of his true greatness. For, different as was the form assumed by the history of Joshua as an independent leader from that of his predecessor, yet in its main points it is only a direct continuation of all the aspirations first and powerfully aroused in the Israelites by Moses, and now developed in the form they naturally assumed in the age immediately succeeding his personal agency. All then that appears great and glorious in the history of Joshua is ultimately only one of the first fruits of the

<sup>1</sup> A short notice of this is still found in Chron. Samar. c. 42 msc. p. 206, compare i. 19. But what inventions must have existed when such a one could be publicly brought forward! The same author fabled that the kings of Ammon, Moab, and Midian were destroyed in order that the Israelites might plunder their flocks! On a par with this is the story that God himself guarded his people by tents from the heat of the sun, whereby at the same time the origin of the Feast of Tabernacles was explained, 4 Ezra i. 20, and the story that he bent the rocks of Sinai over them for a shelter, *T. Abûda zara*, p. 2b, which must be borrowed from an *Apocryphon*, and yet is there professedly only derived from Ex. xix. 17; see also 4 Ezra iii. 18 sq. We are told by Hermas i. 2. 3 of a book belonging to the same age on Eldad and Medad, the prophetic non-prophets known from Num. xi. 26 sq. The Epistle of Barnabas also (ch. xii.) alludes to an Apocryphon on Ex. xvii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover these are generally derived with but little change from Rabbinical legends: see G. Weil's *Biblische Legenden*

der *Muselmänner* (Frankfort, 1845) p. 126-191. Connected with the great freedom used by the Arabs in the repetition of these and many other of the earliest histories, we find a great change in the pronunciation of many names. Thus they said Shu'aib for Hobab, p. 467 sq., Hârîn for Aaron, and in like manner Qârîn for the Korah mentioned p. 601. This Korah was then always depicted as the most determined opponent and rival of Moses, and therefore as a true Egyptian magician, alchemist, and treasure-collector (see *Sur. xxviii.* 76-82 and also *Baidhâfi*), just as the artisan who made Aaron's calf (p. 606) was, from the notorious hatred of the Jews towards the Samaritans, stigmatised as 'the Samaritan,' *Sur. xx.* 96. But many new names of places also emerge; the sacred valley of the calling of Moses, e.g., is here named Tovâ, *Sur. xx.* 12, lxxix. 16; comp. p. 316 note. B. Beer's *'Leben Moses nach Aufassung der Jüdischen Sage'* (in the *Jahrb. für die Geschichte der Juden*, iii. p. 1-64, 1863) is left unfinished.

activity of his greater predecessor. And though the latter had to depart from the visible scene before the national efforts of Israel had reached the goal of even the first and most pressing necessity, still he had so thoroughly transformed the inner character of the people, and especially of the strongest and boldest spirits among them, and so filled them with the lofty spirit of true religion, that even while dying he created the entire glory of the age of Joshua. Thus one glory rises out of another glory, one victory out of another victory. In the second great stage of the history of Israel, from the soul of the departing Samuel, the true restorer of the Mosaic Theocracy to his age, the glory of David arose, perfecting the external realisation of what already existed as an inner principle through him. So here the true greatness of the real glory of Moses is now seen most evidently in this, that immediately out of it Joshua arose to bring the secular task of Moses to its final completion in a manner equally glorious. For it is everywhere the sign of true historical greatness, that it cannot die out, but propagates itself; although upon one elevation which is the highest attainable in its age, another equally lofty cannot immediately follow.



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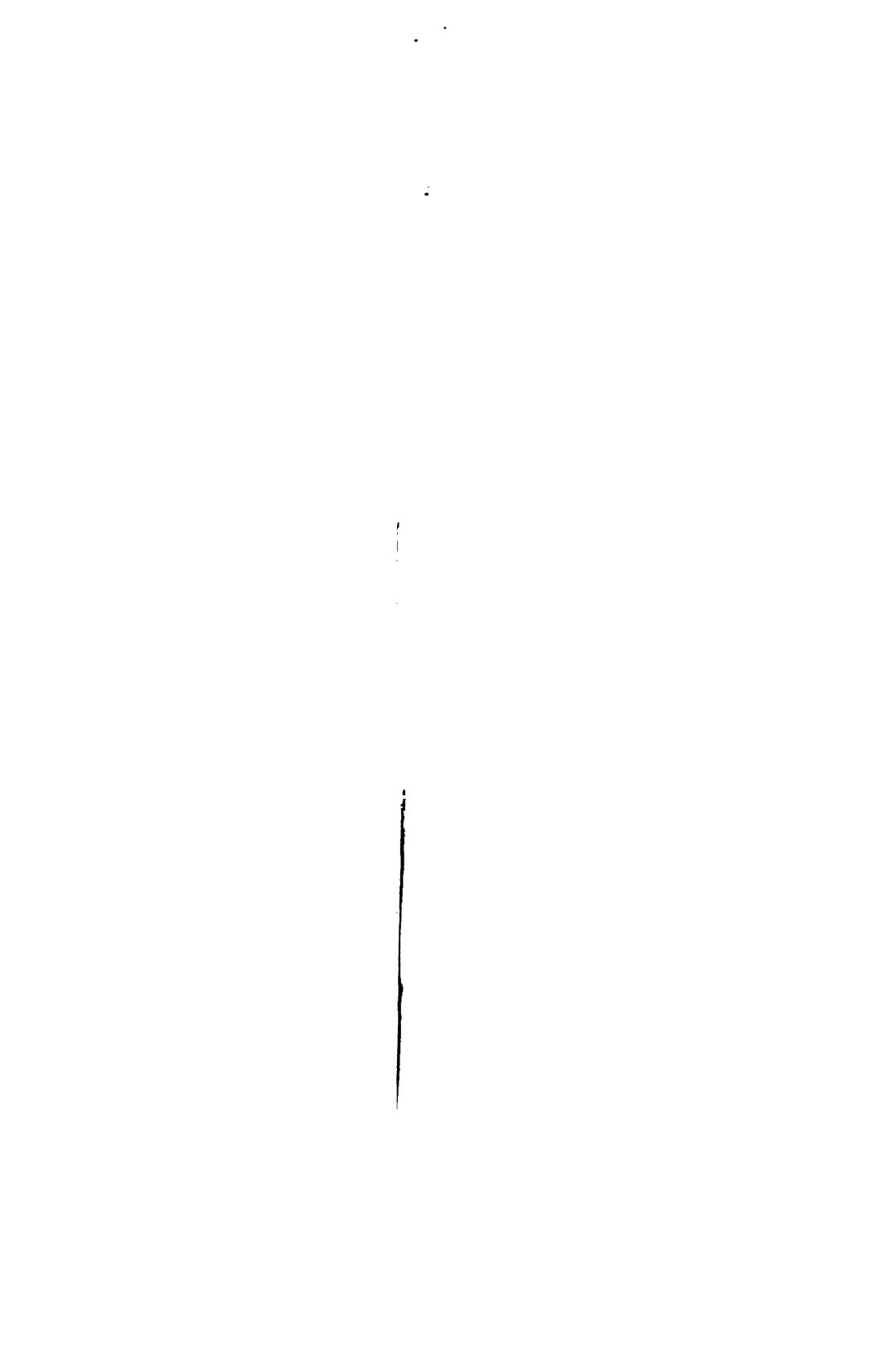
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